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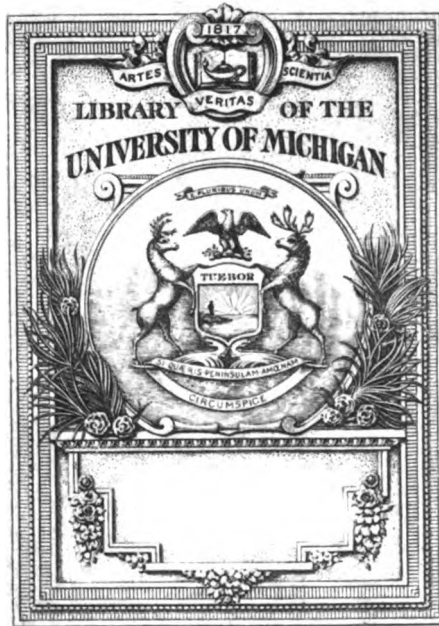
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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL  
OF SOCIOLOGY

**THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

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LONDON AND EDINBURGH**

**THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA  
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VOL. 22  
BI-MONTHLY  
JULY, 1916—MAY, 1917



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



**Published**  
**July, September, November, 1916**  
**January, March, May, 1917**

**Composed and Printed By**  
**The University of Chicago Press**  
**Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.**



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Business correspondence should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

Communications for the editors and manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Entered as second-class matter, August 14, 1895, at the Post-office at Chicago, Ill., under the Act of March 3, 1879



# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME XXII

JULY 1916

NUMBER 1

## THE ORGANIZATION OF EFFORT

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Organization is an effective way of combining the efforts of many for the achievement of a common end. From planless, haphazard co-operation—settlers fighting a prairie fire or lynchers storming a jail—organization is approached by a number of steps. One is the submitting of like efforts to direction, as when planters fortify a levee against a flood or citizens come together as a sheriff's posse. Another is the combining, under direction, of unlike efforts, as in a barn-raising, a rabbit-drive, or road-building. When, as in railway operation, a military enveloping movement, or a fleet maneuver, the several diverse efforts must be very precisely timed and adjusted to one another, direction will be very minute and authoritative. If the work is difficult, an authority will be needed to assign tasks according to individual aptitude or skill, and, if the organization is permanent, to provide that individuals are especially trained for the performance of their special functions. In large organizations there appear subheads, deputies, and supervisors, so that a hierarchy of authority grows up, uniting the apex of the pyramid with the base. Finally, organizations may, with or without modification, be combined into larger organizations, and these, in turn, enter into still more comprehensive schemes.

The chief determinant of the character of organization is *the nature of the task*. If it is something to be *done*, say erect a building or move trains, an organization is called for, the parts of which work smoothly together like the wheels and levers of a machine. But if the purpose sought is the beneficial influence which members may exert upon one another, organization is merely a means of promoting association and fellowship.

Again, is the effect aimed at *physical* or *psychic*? In an organization dealing with brute matter, like a plantation or a factory, the spirit of the workers is by no means as important as in the case of a newspaper staff, an associated charities, a propagandist society, or the soliciting force of a life-insurance company—all of them working in the realm of *mind*. Sullen men who hate their work may still cut sugar cane or tend machines, but no one who feels himself to be a slave, a drudge, or a cogwheel can teach, persuade, or inspire. All organizations, therefore, which work on *people* rather than on *things* have to pay heed to the *morale* of their force. Obligated to rely on hope rather than dread to call forth the best powers of their workers, they must appease the demands of the latter to the point of contentment and supply motives which arouse the higher faculties to their tasks. Pure folly, therefore, is the notion of some “practical” men that the head of a college or a school system should be a glorified mill boss.

When life and death are at stake, responsibility must be definite, and strict obedience will be exacted even from an intelligent personnel. Thus, after trained nurses came into hospitals, a great quarrel broke out between nurses and doctors over the question whether the nurse should be entirely subordinate to the physician or enjoy some discretion. The issue was settled by the complete subordination of the nurse. In the management of railroads and of ships the links in the chain of authority are very definite; the subordinate must in every case show an order received as his warrant for doing whatever he has done.

Still greater is the subordination required in dealing with tasks which are subject to crisis. When tremendous consequences for weal or woe hinge on what is done in a few hours, or even a few minutes, mistake and failure must be eliminated at all costs. A

fighting force, then—whether it is to cope with foes, mobs, fires, surf, floods, or epidemics—tends toward a military organization. Not only is literal and prompt obedience enforced by severe penalties, but, in order that the right thing may be done in the emergency, it must be ingrained as habit. Hence, all organizations which are subject to *crisis* make much of *drill*.

Military organization, just because it reached a high development as early as the middle of the eighteenth century, has unfortunately served as pattern for later types of organization which are not subject to the strain of crisis. Hence, in government bureaus and in business administration has prevailed the false idea that the usefulness of the subordinate to his superior consists in executing orders and furnishing reports. It is irrational, however, to repress the natural doubts, queries, or remonstrances of the intelligent and loyal subordinate in a non-fighting organization. In an industrial concern, a school system, or a government bureau there ought to be an interchange of thought between those who have to determine policies and those who may be called upon to carry them out. The higher may well consult with the lower, while retaining the power to decide. Question or criticism or demur from the intelligent under-man, with reference to orders or policies that seem unworkable, ought not to be treated as if it were the murmur of a soldier under fire against the commands of his officer.

In sharpest contrast to the discipline imposed by crisis stands monastic discipline, which is imposed not by the needs of a common task but by the difficulty of realizing the religious life. Under the Rule of St. Benedict, the disobedient and unruly monk should secretly be warned by the deacon once, and again. If this warning prove fruitless, he should be shut off from the common table or from common prayer. In the case of a serious misdeed the monk is also forbidden intercourse with the other monks; but, in order that no offender should be driven into obstinacy, the elder monks, with the permission of the abbot, should sometimes approach him to comfort him and try to move him to repentance. A monk hardened in wickedness should suffer bodily punishment; if this is unavailing, the abbot with all the monastery should pray for

his recovery. If he remains obstinate, he should be turned out of the monastery. If a monk who has been turned out sees his fault and prays penitently to be taken in again, his wish should be granted to him, even to three times; but the fallen monk should prove his humility by taking the lowest place.

No working organization could afford to be so patient with a recalcitrant.

Again, does or does not the task in hand put a great strain on ordinary human nature? The more it does so the stricter will be the discipline, the harsher the penalties for disobedience. This is the culminating reason why military discipline is more methodical than any other, why rigid training is so insisted on for a man of so little skill as the common soldier. To build a habit that shall hold him steady before the cannon's mouth and cold steel—this is the reason for the endless drill, the rhythmic regularity, the automatic obedience exacted by the makers of armies. "A perfect army," says a military writer, "would be one in which each part would respond to the will of the commander as quickly and certainly as the muscles of the body respond to the impulses of the brain."

The monk like the soldier is under a strain, but the end sought is utterly different. Military organization has in view physical action, while monastic organization is for the sake of the spiritual life. Hence, the rules of the former are clear-cut, to be carried out without hesitation; while the rules of the latter, though in their effects on personality far more gripping than military rules, are undefined in outline, fluid, subtle, complicated by particular circumstances, as one would expect when it is the soul that is to be controlled and not simply the body.

Finally, a distinction is to be made between a working group the members of which from long practice have gained a smooth team play and one in which each man may readily be replaced. When, as in a football team or an orchestra, the members of an organization have become mutually adapted to one another, the dismissal of one hurts the whole, so that discipline will be milder than in an organization of interchangeable parts.

Another determinant of organization is *the character of the organized*. Here is the cause of much roughness, which often pretends

to be justified by the nature of the task. The peon, the green immigrant, the navvy, the needy working-girl, the child operative, are driven or underpaid because they are helpless. They are fined heavily for slight faults, not because teamwork demands it, but just because they are weak. Even an employer who treats his skilled help with consideration will, perhaps, give the ignorant and easily replaceable alien the last turn of the screw.

On the other hand, those who enjoy options, the accountant, the experienced salesman, the engineering expert, must needs be driven with a loose rein. In a dramatic troupe, or a symphony orchestra, the need of harmony of effort is much greater than in a factory, yet the discipline is never harsh, because actors and musicians are in a stronger moral and economic position than mill hands.

Men who appreciate the indispensableness of plan and order in great undertakings will, without in the least lowering their self-respect, render due obedience to their superiors. The more intelligent, therefore, the rank and file of an organization the less is the need of prestige and severity in order to uphold the authority of the superior. Before hinds it may be necessary to set the officer apart by gold lace, feathers, charger, and sternness of demeanor, in order that he may be looked upon as a higher being; but intelligent enlisted men may regard their officer as above them in a military sense without feeling that he is above them in everything. An army can never be a mass meeting or a debating society, but democrats may be organized into a well-disciplined fighting force without losing their sense of civic equality. Likewise the head of a school system, a hospital, or a bureau, while he must command the confidence of his teachers, nurses, and agents, is not obliged to inspire them with fear or awe in order to get his plans carried out.

Unpaid workers cannot be disciplined by the crude methods of reprimand, fine, lay-off, demotion, or dismissal, but must be reached through *esprit de corps* or conscience. Unless it inflicts death, a secret revolutionary organization cannot punish without risking betrayal. A heavy hand on boy scouts, party workers, Red Cross volunteers, or friendly visitors will in the end disrupt the organization. The member of a relief party or an exploring expedition is controlled chiefly through pressure by his fellows.

In the religious order, the priesthood, the ministry, or the foreign mission, the fulcrum for authority is the solemn vow by which one has freely surrendered one's self to God and the acceptance of this vow by order, church, or mission board. The means of discipline—entreaty, rebuke, isolation, prayer, warning, and suspension—are not punishments so much as appeals to conscience. The contrast between exacted and volunteer service is so broad that the executive who has conducted with success military or industrial organization may fail ignominiously when directing a body of scholars, missionaries, or social workers.

A third determinant of organization is the *spacing between the organized*. Men fall more readily into the grades imposed by the technique of associated effort if they are already spaced. Thus the relation of superior to subordinate chafes little if the former is older. The instructor cheerfully bows to the head professor's twenty years' advantage in experience. Boy scouts find it easy to obey their adult leader. The snowy crown of abbot or bishop lends a fatherly character to his authority. The young fellows in the ranks are literally "boys" to the grizzled colonel and they feel that "the old man knows." The cub reporters will run their heads off to execute the orders of the old war horse at the managing editor's desk. Sex reinforces age in making it easy for the male school superintendent to direct the work of young women teachers and for the male doctor to hold in obedience young women nurses.

*Special knowledge and training* set apart their possessor. The men on the team recognize the fitness of their taking orders from the star player who coaches them. Artisans accept as master the architect with his wealth of technical knowledge. To their lieutenant enlisted men attribute all manner of inscrutable wisdom acquired at West Point or Annapolis. Singers feel a wide gulf between themselves and the chorus director who from a thousand voices can create a single mighty instrument. Knowledge of the mysteries of navigation helps put a distance between forecabin and cabin.

Finally, it makes a difference whether the controlling purpose in an organization is *the doing of a worth-while work* or *the maximizing of profits*. As a rule, capable workers become interested in

some concrete aspect of what they are doing. For example, a railroad force will be keen for mastering snowdrifts and floods, for making schedule time, breaking records, beating a rival road, or perfecting the service. They strain continually to reach a standard of excellence in their minds, and normally, as their efforts succeed, their standard rises.

Now, this disinterested eagerness is best developed when the president of the railroad is a railroad man, when the newspaper owner is a newspaper man, when the schools are under an educator, and when the philanthropy is in charge of a social worker. But it dies when capital comes out in plain view, takes the reins, and drives for profits without heed to excellence. Zeal is chilled in artisans required to make sham things instead of real, in reporters when their news stories are killed in the interest of advertisers, in railroad men when avaricious banker management denies their plea for safety devices, in teachers when their chief is an agent of property-owners working to keep taxes down, and in professors when their head is not a scholar but a money-raiser, or a conservative deputized to "sit on the lid."

In factory, mine, or department store, the quality of the work may suffer little from the control of the private capitalist. But in the production of such services as protection, education, communication, transportation, and publicity, the ascendancy of the commercial motive deadens the spirit of real efficiency. One object of the extension of government activity in these fields is the substituting of public service for private profit as the motivating force behind the organization.

#### THE BENEFITS OF ORGANIZATION

The benefits of organization are unmistakable. Among them are:

1. The accomplishment of ends which are quite unattainable by means of unorganized efforts becomes possible. The soldiers of an army broken up into bands may still wage a feeble guerilla warfare, but in weather forecasting, canal digging, railroad operation, or the postal service unorganized effort is completely impotent to furnish the desired result.

2. A common interest cared for intermittently by all—such as fire-fighting, thief-catching, levee-mending, or road-making—may be turned over to the continuous efforts of a few who have gained skill from experience or fitted themselves by a preliminary training.

3. The division of a work into its natural parts and the assignment of these to different individuals permit the utmost advantage to be taken of special aptitude, knowledge, or training. Conversely, men with particular weak points may keep to lines of work in which they are not handicapped by them.

4. Narrowing the field of attention is favorable to the attainment of a higher degree of expertness. Thus we see a deliberative body resolve itself into committees, each to study and report upon a particular class of questions. Not public bodies alone, but civic, commercial, and scientific bodies as well, organize themselves on the committee plan.

5. Many distinct efforts are fitted into a single comprehensive, intelligent plan. We see this not only in industry and war but also in a clearing-house, an educational system, a party effort, an agitation, a propaganda, a commercial campaign, weather observation, and scientific research, in so far as they are well organized. Ordinarily those who plan a work direct its execution, but there is a tendency to form a thinking and planning branch of the administrative body, which advises but does not execute. This is the "general staff," a device used first in the army, but suitable for other kinds of organization.

One reason why many matters which might be looked after locally—such as public security, poor relief, the care of defectives, public education, the administration of highways and forests—have so often devolved upon the state is that the state has the better chance of finding able and expert men to provide the plan and determine the policies under which the work shall be conducted.

6. Co-ordination into a larger whole ends that needless duplication of effort which often shows itself among agencies which are striving for the same end, such as charities, missionary undertakings, educational institutions, propagandist groups, and reform movements.



7. Elimination of the wastes of competition is possible. This is seen particularly in the economic field. Combination among producers in the same line ought to cut down their outlay for advertising, salesmen, selling agencies, and cross-freights.

8. Serving as a useful part in a great beneficent, permanent organization supplies some men with a large superpersonal end which appeals to their imagination and sustains them in their life work.

9. Not all men are fit for solitary work. Many a man finds in working on a team an inspiration and a stimulus he can find nowhere else. The fellowship of his mates, the leadership of his superior, the spur of rivalry, and the hope of promotion provide powerful incentives which he would miss as an isolated worker.

#### THE WASTES OF ORGANIZATION

But the gains through organization are subject to deduction on account of the wastes to which it gives rise:

1. In a team or gang, the man who directs is also a doer, but, as the group becomes larger, there comes a time when he drops his tools, and from that moment begins the burden of "overhead expense." In large enterprises the cost of the timekeepers, checkers, inspectors, storekeepers, overseers, bosses, foremen, superintendents, and managers becomes a serious offset to the saving effected by intelligently concerted effort.

2. In an organization that has not outgrown the powers of one man, the manager's eye checks waste of time and material, and his memory holds the records by which the competent worker is promoted or the poor worker dismissed. But in the big concern there must be installed an elaborate system of record, check, and audit which constitutes another deduction from the operative force. In extended organization the subordinate with his heart in his task chafes under the necessity of making entries, filling out forms, filing memoranda, and writing reports which do not in the least advance the work he has in hand.

3. Not without loss is energy transmitted through a series of shafts, belts, or cogwheels; nor is it possible for the intelligent purposes of the heads of elaborate organizations to be carried out

without waste through friction between the parts. The center forms no true picture of the situation confronting the extremities. Orders are misunderstood or lose in force as they descend in the chain of authority. As Burke said of the effect of the Atlantic on the government of the colonists of Great Britain, "Seas roll and months pass between the order and the execution, and the want of a speedy explanation of a single point is enough to defeat the whole system. . . . In large bodies the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities." Improvement in communication has removed much of this difficulty in government, yet all large organization is liable to such waste.

4. A tendency to formalism and red tape is to be noted. A French commission on the naval budget found on shipboard "together with thirty-three volumes of regulations intended to determine the details of administrative life on board, a list of 230 different types of registers, ledgers, memoranda, weekly and monthly reports, certificates, receipt forms, journals, fly-leaves, etc." In the ministry it found that "hundreds of employ  s are occupied exclusively at calculating, transcribing, copying into innumerable registers, reproducing on countless fly-leaves, dividing, totalizing, or despatching to the minister figures that have no reality, that correspond to nothing in the region of facts, which would probably be nearer the truth if they were one and all invented."<sup>1</sup> Although such waste is avoidable, it is a disease to which only organizations are subject.

5. There is, finally, the relative inflexibility of all machinery composed of numerous correlated parts. No complex organization is prompt to adapt itself to rapidly changing conditions. Individuals who by themselves might quickly change their activities or their methods find themselves locked, as it were, in an iron system.

#### THE ABUSES OF ORGANIZATION

Organization is furthermore liable to be abused in various ways:

1. Executives may misapply for personal ends the power which has been given them for the good of the work. Nepotism may

<sup>1</sup> Le Bon, *The Psychology of Socialism*, p. 177.

govern appointments and promotions. A post-office department may be made a political machine. High military commands may be used to win publicity and prestige. The railroad president may manage his road to promote his secret stock speculations. The head of a central organization may encroach on the local chapters under pretext of efficiency, but really from craving for power. Superior may misuse his authority over subordinate to gratify his lust of domination, to exact a tribute of flattery, to indulge a personal spite, to keep down a possible rival, or to cover up his own shortcomings.

2. When an executive attempts to keep everything under his hatband, he comes to lean too much upon his immediate helpers. The result is that his chief clerk handles communications to department heads who are his official superiors, and matters of moment may hinge on the decision of a mere office subordinate. This tendency of executives to assume responsibility for more matters than one man can cope with amounts, in fact, to an evasion of responsibility. The local mine manager justifies himself by showing that during the labor war he was continually reporting to his distant chief, while this overburdened chief pleads ignorance of the lawless policies pursued by his subordinate. Between the two stools real responsibility comes to the ground.

3. It is pleasanter to be near the apex of the pyramid than the base. There is, therefore, a constant tendency for organizations to become top-heavy—too many officers for the privates, too many planners and supervisors and too few doers, too many dawdlers about headquarters or the main office and too few at the front, on the road, on the firing-line, at the railhead, behind the crowbar, or before the mast.<sup>1</sup>

4. Men in different departments of a large organization may become too specialized to take one another's viewpoint or to work

<sup>1</sup> "In my university the corps of instructors is five times as large as the administrative force; but in a Chinese school of modern languages with twenty-seven teachers, I found ten administrators, to say nothing of the servants. Half of them twiddle their thumbs and draw their pay. In a higher commercial school with twenty teachers there are ten officers, of whom three are mere sinecurists. In a law school with 800 students there are twenty-five non-teaching officials, most of them sinecurists."—E. A. Ross, *The Changing Chinese*, p. 324.

smoothly together. The soldier in the field, the salesman on the road, the engineer on the line, all have their troubles with the man in the office. The staff officer becomes eccentric and overbearing, while the line officer is too busy getting things done to think out the principles underlying his work or to originate better methods.

Overspecialization may be prevented by rotating men through related functions. Temporary details from the line are substituted for permanent appointments on the staff. Men in the forestry service spend half the year in the bureau and half in the forests. The hampering of good men by the mistaken vigilance of clerks in an accounting bureau thousands of miles away is obviated by sending out traveling auditors to examine accounts. Friction between engineer officers and regular officers of the navy is removed by amalgamating the two corps. Railroads adopt the "unit system," by which the various specialists—master mechanic, train-dispatcher, trainmaster, division engineer, and others—serve as assistant superintendents. General managers combat overspecialization by getting the heads of departments to lunch together frequently and "talk things over," or, better yet, group them into committees to examine and report on particular problems.

5. The organization becomes an end in itself rather than a means. For instance, the Archduke Constantine of Russia once voiced the naïve sentiment, "I do not like war; it spoils the soldiers, dirties their uniforms, and destroys discipline." Army officers oppose a cutting down of the military establishment when the nation comes into a safer position. Partisans continue to work for the success of their party long after it has bartered away its principles and forgotten its ideals. The educational system cannot be induced to consider the child and ask itself what real good it is doing him. Pious clergymen will labor to advance the ends of their church after it has become a soulless ecclesiastical machine, the foe of true spirituality. Railroad officials who have risen from the ranks develop a loyalty to the company which leads them to commit for it crimes they would not commit for themselves. In general, it is outside, not inside, forces which keep an organization in proper relation to its work and to other interests of society.

## THE SACRIFICES ORGANIZATION REQUIRES

Human nature shaped by a primitive life in the woods does not easily meet the conditions of technical efficiency. Night duty, monotonous toil, and sedentary work are to most of us made tolerable only by habit. Still greater is the strain of being a cog in some intricate machine. Unquestioning obedience, for instance—how revolting it is at first to any intelligent person! Team harness may be cruelly galling to such as are not quick at personal adjustment. Punctuality, schedule, method, regularity of stroke, standardized performance—these surely go against the native grain. Machinery should be built of metal, not of living, plastic beings. It is significant that the orator rarely and the poet never has struck fire on contemplating human organization.

Hence, there ought always to be reserved a large place for those who in organization feel like squirrels in cages, those to whom freedom and spontaneity are the breath of life. Society should leave a broad footing for the solitary worker who labors when and where and as he pleases. Under excess of routine we tend to become wooden and unresponsive, so that the artist type, that depends on mood and whim, that waits for the moment of inspiration, will be needed to revive and freshen us as the system of group labor extends.

## INTERNAL PROBLEMS

Organization in general has been so little considered philosophically that it abounds in unsettled problems. Only a few of them can be stated here:

1. As regards the selection and placement of men, it is not always best that the man in charge of a work should pick his helpers unaided. The master of a technique may be a poor judge of men. Not only is it costly to "try out" the unfit man, but often the man who has failed in one post would succeed in some other place in the organization. The difficulty of getting the round peg into the round hole and the square peg into the square hole is so great that some organizations, in adding to their personnel, call in the experimental psychologist or the character expert.

2. A vacancy to be filled raises the question: "New blood or promotion?" The shortsighted executive imports a seasoned outsider "who can do the work." This policy deadens the force and in the long run deters the capable from joining. To the more enterprising in an organization the prospect of rising is the only thing in it which lends interest to the future. Otherwise the years stretch away in full view to retirement, pension, and death. A cut-and-dried future is revolting to the high-spirited, although it may attract the plodder. Chance of advancement introduces that element of adventure, of surprise, which induces the ambitious young man to enter army, navy, public service, or corporate service, instead of carving out a career for himself.

In a well-built organization there will be no "blind-alley" or "dead-end" jobs, leading to nothing. Normal promotion routes—with short cuts for the very exceptional man and cross-paths for one who changes his goal—should be worked out for every position, and posted charts showing such routes should visualize to each worker his path of possible advancement. The prick of the spur will be sharpest when selection for advancement is made on merit as revealed in carefully kept records of each man's performance. In order to dispense with the need of calling in the outsider—except to start a new line of work—each man should train his best subordinate into an understudy for himself, and his own promotion should hinge in part on his producing a man competent to fill his shoes.

3. The isolated worker has the natural incentive to growth, but in a fixed system the supplying of incentive has to be carefully considered. The appeal to fear is the first resource of the dull, unimaginative manager. Hence, in keying up performance, much more has been made of punishment than of attraction. Yet the low productiveness of all slave labor in comparison with free labor ought to have made it clear that the normal man can be led at a faster pace than he can be driven.

Graduated reward lures one to do his utmost. Pay, in addition to a fixed element, should include an element varying with one's efficiency—premium, bonus, a commission on one's sales, or on the profits of one's sales—or with one's length of service.

Insurance, permanency of employment, and retiring allowance after a term of service leave good men free to do their best work.

Since honor is coveted as well as money, honor should be as carefully graduated and as punctually paid. A non-discriminating treatment of those on different rungs of the organization ladder flings away a precious means of stimulation. In order to whet the eagerness to earn advancement, something, however slight, should be used to distinguish men of each grade from those below. It may be a uniform, a stripe, a band of gold braid, a cap, or a button. It may be the right of precedence, of dining at a reserved table, entering by a special door, sitting on a higher seat, or having one's desk behind a railing or on a raised floor. It may be the privilege of sitting in the presence of the top man, of being addressed as "Mr." or "Sir," of receiving a certain salute, or of donning a certain robe. Whatever be the mark of honor, it should be patent without being conspicuous, its value should be symbolic rather than intrinsic, it should be certain to him who is entitled to it, and it should be consistently withheld from all others.

Pitting a man against his record or pitting gang against gang, shop against shop, branch office against branch office, school against school, battleship against battleship, rouses the spirit of emulation. The party organizer gets his workers vying to see whose ward will roll up the biggest majority for the party ticket. The gun squads of different battleships engage in the hottest rivalry for honors in marksmanship. The trusts have shrewdly stimulated production by playing plant against plant and mill against mill. In money-raising campaigns extraordinary zeal can be developed by fostering rivalry among soliciting "teams." In some armies certain regiments retain a historic individuality and for centuries accumulate trophies and honors.

4. In contrast to the fostering of loyalty and *esprit de corps* the earliest authorities made little use of "imponderables." "Hear, tremble, and obey" was supposed to provide every incentive. But as we learn more about human nature more heed is given to the spirit of the rank and file.

It is something if the body to which one belongs is believed to render a valuable service to society. It is better yet if this value

is openly recognized so that one feels himself a member of a popular and honorable organization. When the soldier's uniform commands respect, when a university is old and famous, *esprit de corps* comes of itself. Even street sweepers develop it after the public has been taught to appreciate the work of the street-cleaning department.

If the chiefs keep all the glory that comes from the achievement of their organization, the underlings have the deadening sense of being mere instruments. So, if he is wise, the commander passes the credit down to the common soldier, the administrator ascribes his success to his zealous subordinates, and the railroad manager attributes the safety on his line to the men at the throttle.

The rivalry of one organization with another soon kindles *esprit de corps*. The competition of two neighboring cities invigorates their commercial organizations. The approach of an election sets party workers "on edge" even if there is no real issue between the parties. Intercollegiate contests in debating and athletics are valued for their production of "college spirit." When competing transcontinental railroads have been merged it has been found advisable to preserve their distinct organizations in order to retain the stimulus of rivalry.

#### CENTRALIZATION

In extended organization it is a problem how far the local body should be subordinated to the general body. History shows a marked drift of authority from the local toward the general. Thus, in the earlier religious orders, each monastery was independent; its monks belonged to it. But the mendicant orders and all the younger orders had each its master-general, its provinces under a prior or warden, and the friars belonged not to any one house or province but to the whole order, and would be told off by the master-general to live in whatever friary or province he pleased.

There is abundant evidence that religion tends to lose itself in shallows unless the local congregation is knit up with others into a general church. Without this steadying relation, religious beliefs often become eccentric, while exacting ideals sag towards common inclinations. In the same way a Greek-letter fraternity



will see its standards lost sight of if it lacks in district organization and a strict supervision over its local chapters.

Owing to chance, circumstances, and faults of leaders, any local association for general objects is subject to vagary and fatuousness unless it is steadied by membership in a general organization, which of necessity has attained to clear-cut aims and rational methods. Possessing the advantages of experience, breadth of view, and able leaders, the general organization may well exercise control over the local. In the management of common affairs there is much to be said for the general as against the local political body. Too often local control sacrifices general and permanent interests to individual and immediate interests. Local control of education leaves its fate on the whole to men of less caliber and vision than those who determine it under state control. Local care of highways means less outlay on the roads of the commonwealth than sound economy demands. Local administration of forests or care of public health will generally be less enlightened than that of the state. Law enforcement by locally chosen officers permits each locality to be a law unto itself. In a word, removing control farther from the ordinary citizen and taxpayer is tantamount to giving the intelligent, farsighted, and public-spirited element in society a longer lever to work with.

The state, too, enjoys the economy of large-scale service. The county has too few blind, deaf-mutes, or feeble-minded to care for each class in a special institution. The management of state charitable institutions by a single central board instead of by separate local boards has proven highly successful.

On the other hand, matters which can be appreciated by common-sense, such as poor relief, the providing of local conveniences, etc., should be left to the local community.

Although, as we have seen, the characteristics of an organization flow primarily from the nature of the task, there is, nevertheless, a tendency for organizations to agree in pattern. The principle of the dominant organization or organizations is likely to reappear in all the rest. Thus if, in government, the relation of superior to subordinate is purely authoritative, this spirit may be expected to prevail in family, school, church, business, industry,

and voluntary associations. If, on the other hand, government admits into this relation a consultative element, something like it will be found in most other organizations in society.

We have seen that the requirements of combined effort go rather against the native grain. As organization comes to embrace more of us, certain adjustments are necessary if human beings are not to become painfully warped. One is ample provision for holiday and recreation, to allow the bent bow to straighten. Another is access to a variety of means of recreation. The more closely the individual is boxed in while at work by schedule, routine, and direction the wider should be his range of choice out of working hours and the more scrupulously should his freedom to choose be respected. The more one's work conforms to plan, or pattern, or orders the more one's manner of life and one's disposal of leisure time must be relied on to nourish and to express an individuality. This is why that unity in moral and religious ideas and in ground pattern of life which has sometimes worked out quite well among a peasant or fisher folk is an utterly impossible and undesirable ideal for a people subject to the trying discipline of modern organization.

## SOCIAL DEVICES FOR IMPELLING WOMEN TO BEAR AND REAR CHILDREN

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"Again, the breeding function of the family would be better discharged if public opinion and religion conspired, as they have until recently, to crush the aspirations of woman for a life of her own. But the gain would not be worth the price."—E. A. Ross, *Social Control* (1904).

In this quotation from Ross we have suggested to us an exceedingly important and interesting phase of social control, namely, the control by those in social power over those individuals who alone can bring forth the human young, and thus perpetuate society. It is necessary that at the very outset of this discussion we should consent to clear our minds of the sentimental conception of motherhood and to look at facts. Sumner<sup>1</sup> states these facts as well as they have ever been stated, in his consideration of the natural burdens of society. He says:

Children add to the weight of the struggle for existence of their parents. The relation of parent to child is one of sacrifice. The interests of parents and children are antagonistic. The fact that there are or may be compensations does not affect the primary relation between the two. It may well be believed that, if procreation had not been put under the dominion of a great passion, it would have been caused to cease by the burdens it entails.

This is especially true in the case of the mothers.

The fact is that child-bearing is in many respects analogous to the work of soldiers: it is necessary for tribal or national existence; it means great sacrifice of personal advantage; it involves danger and suffering, and, in a certain percentage of cases, the actual loss of life. Thus we should expect that there would be a continuous social effort to insure the group-interest in respect to population, just as there is a continuous social effort to insure the defense of the nation in time of war. It is clear, indeed, that the social

<sup>1</sup> W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*, 1906.

devices employed to get children born, and to get soldiers slain, are in many respects similar.

But once the young are brought into the world they still must be reared, if society's ends are to be served, and here again the need for and exercise of social control may be seen. Since the period of helpless infancy is very prolonged in the human species, and since the care of infants is an onerous and exacting labor, it would be natural for all persons not biologically attached to infants to use all possible devices for fastening the whole burden of infant-tending upon those who are so attached. We should expect this to happen, and we shall see, in fact, that there has been consistent social effort to establish as a norm the woman whose vocational proclivities are completely and "naturally" satisfied by child-bearing and child-rearing, with the related domestic activities.

There is, to be sure, a strong and fervid insistence on the "maternal instinct," which is popularly supposed to characterize all women equally, and to furnish them with an all-consuming desire for parenthood, regardless of the personal pain, sacrifice, and disadvantage involved. In the absence of all verifiable data, however, it is only common-sense to guard against accepting as a fact of human nature a doctrine which we might well expect to find in use as a means of social control. Since we possess no scientific data at all on this phase of human psychology, the most reasonable assumption is that if it were possible to obtain a quantitative measurement of maternal instinct, we should find this trait distributed among women, just as we have found all other traits distributed which have yielded to quantitative measurement. It is most reasonable to assume that we should obtain a curve of distribution, varying from an extreme where individuals have a zero or negative interest in caring for infants, through a mode where there is a moderate amount of impulse to such duties, to an extreme where the only vocational or personal interest lies in maternal activities.

The facts, shorn of sentiment, then, are: (1) The bearing and rearing of children is necessary for tribal or national existence and aggrandizement. (2) The bearing and rearing of children is painful, dangerous to life, and involves long years of exacting labor and

self-sacrifice. (3) There is no verifiable evidence to show that a maternal instinct exists in women of such all-consuming strength and fervor as to impel them voluntarily to seek the pain, danger, and exacting labor involved in maintaining a high birth rate.

We should expect, therefore, that those in control of society would invent and employ devices for impelling women to maintain a birth rate sufficient to insure enough increase in the population to offset the wastage of war and disease. It is the purpose of this paper to cite specific illustrations to show just how the various social institutions have been brought to bear on women to this end. Ross has classified the means which society takes and has taken to secure order, and insure that individuals will act in such a way as to promote the interests of the group, *as those interests are conceived by those who form "the radiant points of social control."* These means, according to the analysis of Ross, are public opinion, law, belief, social suggestion, education, custom, social religion, personal ideals (the type), art, personality, enlightenment, illusion, and social valuation. Let us see how some of these means have been applied in the control of women.

*Personal ideals (the type).*—The first means of control to which I wish to call attention in the present connection is that which Ross calls "personal ideals." It is pointed out that "a developed society presents itself as a system of unlike individuals, strenuously pursuing their personal ends." Now, for each person there is a "certain zone of requirement," and since "altruism is quite incompetent to hold each unswervingly to the particular activities and forbearances belonging to his place in the social system," the development of such allegiance must be—

effected by means of types or patterns, which society induces its members to adopt as their guiding ideals. . . . To this end are elaborated various patterns of conduct and of character, which may be termed social types. These types may become in the course of time personal ideals, each for that category of persons for which it is intended.

For women, obviously enough, the first and most primitive "zone of requirement" is and has been to produce and rear families large enough to admit of national warfare being carried on, and of colonization.

Thus has been evolved the social type of the "womanly woman," "the normal woman," the chief criterion of normality being a willingness to engage enthusiastically in maternal and allied activities. All those classes and professions which form "the radiant points of social control" unite upon this criterion. Men of science announce it with calm assurance (though failing to say on what kind or amount of scientific data they base their remarks). For instance, McDougall<sup>1</sup> writes:

The highest stage is reached by those species in which each female produces at birth but one or two young, and protects them so efficiently that most of the young born reach maturity; the maintenance of the species thus becomes in the main the work of the parental instinct. In such species the protection and cherishing of the young is the constant and all-absorbing occupation of the mother, to which she devotes all her energies, and in the course of which she will at any time undergo privation, pain, and death. The instinct (maternal instinct) becomes more powerful than any other, and can override any other, even fear itself.

Professor Jastrow<sup>2</sup> writes:

. . . . *charm* is the technique of the maiden, and *sacrifice* the passion of the mother. One set of feminine interests expresses more distinctly the issues of courtship and attraction; the other of qualities of motherhood and devotion.

The medical profession insistently proclaims desire for numerous children as the criterion of normality for women, scornfully branding those so ill-advised as to deny such desires as "abnormal." As one example among thousands of such attempts at social control let me quote the following, which appeared in a New York newspaper on November 29, 1915:

Only abnormal women want no babies. Trenchant criticism of modern life was made by Dr. Max G. Schlapp, internationally known as a neurologist. Dr. Schlapp addressed his remarks to the congregation of the Park Avenue M.E. Church. He said, "The birth rate is falling off. Rich people are the ones who have no children, and the poor have the greatest number of offspring. Any woman who does not desire offspring is abnormal. We have a large number, particularly among the women, who do not want children. Our social society is becoming intensely unstable."

<sup>1</sup> W. McDougall, *Social Psychology*, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> J. Jastrow, *Character and Temperament*, 1915.

And this from the *New York Times*, September 5, 1915:

Normally woman lives through her children; man lives through his work.

Scores of such implicit attempts to determine and present the type or norm meet us on every hand. This norm has the sanction of authority, being announced by men of greatest prestige in the community. No one wishes to be regarded by her fellow-creatures as "abnormal" or "decayed." The stream of suggestions playing from all points inevitably has its influence, so that it is or was, until recently, well-nigh impossible to find a married woman who would admit any conflicting interests equal or paramount to the interest of caring for children. There is a universal refusal to admit that the maternal instinct, like every other trait of human nature, might be distributed according to the probability curve.

*Public opinion.*—Let us turn next to public opinion as a means of control over women in relation to the birth rate. In speaking of public opinion Ross says:

Haman is at the mercy of Mordecai. Rarely can one regard his deed as fair when others find it foul, or count himself a hero when the world deems him a wretch. . . . For the mass of men the blame and the praise of the community are the very lords of life.

If we inquire now what are the organs or media of expression of public opinion we shall see how it is brought to bear on women. The newspapers are perhaps the chief agents, in modern times, in the formation of public opinion, and their columns abound in interviews with the eminent, deploring the decay of the population. Magazines print articles based on statistics of depopulation, appealing to the patriotism of women. In the year just passed fifty-five articles on the birth rate have chanced to come to the notice of the present writer. Fifty-four were written by men, including editors, statesmen, educators, ex-presidents, etc. Only one was written by a woman. The following quotation is illustrative of the trend of all of them:

M. Emil Raymond has made this melancholy announcement in the Senate: "We are living in an age when women have pronounced upon themselves a judgment that is dangerous in the highest degree to the development of the population. . . . We have the right to do what we will with the life that is in us, say they."

Thus the desire for the development of interests and aptitudes other than the maternal is stigmatized as "dangerous," "melancholy," "degrading," "abnormal," "indicative of decay." On the other hand, excessive maternity receives many cheap but effective rewards. For example, the Jesuit priests hold special meetings to laud maternity. The German Kaiser announces that he will now be godfather to seventh, eighth, and ninth sons, even if daughters intervene. The ex-President has written a letter of congratulation to the mother of nine.

*Law.*—Since its beginning as a human institution law has been a powerful instrument for the control of women. The subjection of women was originally an irrational consequence of sex differences in reproductive function. It was not *intended* by either men or women, but simply resulted from the natural physiological handicaps of women, and the attempts of humanity to adapt itself to physiological nature through the crude methods of trial and error. When law was formulated, this subjection was defined, and thus furthered. It would take too long to cite all the legal provisions that contribute, indirectly, to keep women from developing individualistic interests and capacities. Among the most important indirect forces in law which affect women to keep them child-bearers and child-rearers only are those provisions that tend to restrain them from possessing and controlling property. Such provisions have made of women a comparatively possessionless class, and have thus deprived them of the fundamentals of power. While affirming the essential nature of woman to be satisfied with maternity and with maternal duties only, society has always taken every precaution to close the avenues to ways of escape therefrom.

Two legal provisions which bear directly on women to compel them to keep up the birth rate may be mentioned here. The first of these is the provision whereby sterility in the wife may be made a cause of divorce. This would be a powerful inducement to women who loved their husbands to bear children if they could. The second provision is that which forbids the communication of the data of science in the matter of the means of birth control. The American laws are very drastic on this point. Recently in New York City a man was sentenced to prison for violating this law.



The more advanced democratic nations have ceased to practice military conscription. They no longer conscript their men to bear arms, depending on the volunteer army. But they conscript their women to bear children by legally prohibiting the publication or communication of the knowledge which would make child-bearing voluntary.

Child-rearing is also legally insured by those provisions which forbid and punish abortion, infanticide, and infant desertion. There could be no better proof of the insufficiency of maternal instinct as a guaranty of population than the drastic laws which we have against birth control, abortion, infanticide, and infant desertion.

*Belief.*—Belief, "which controls the hidden portions of life," has been used powerfully in the interests of population. Orthodox women, for example, regard family limitation as a sin, punishable in the hereafter. Few explicit exhortations concerning the birth rate are discoverable in the various "Words" of God. The belief that family limitation will be punished in the hereafter seems to have been evolved mainly by priests out of the slender materials of a few quotations from Holy Writ, such as "God said unto them, 'Multiply and replenish the earth,'" and from the scriptural allusion to children as the gifts of God. Being gifts from God, it follows that they may not be refused except at the peril of incurring God's displeasure.

*Education.*—The education of women has always, until the end of the nineteenth century, been limited to such matters as would become a creature who could and should have no aspirations for a life of her own. We find the proper education for girls outlined in the writings of such educators as Rousseau, Fénelon, St. Jerome, and in Godey's *Lady's Book*. Not only have the "social guardians" used education as a negative means of control, by failing to provide any real enlightenment for women, but education has been made a positive instrument for control. This was accomplished by drilling into the young and unformed mind, while yet it was too immature to reason independently, such facts and notions as would give the girl a conception of herself only as future wife and mother. Rousseau, for instance, demanded freedom and individual liberty of

development for everybody except Sophia, who was to be deliberately trained up as a means to an end. In the latter half of the nineteenth century when the hard battle for the real enlightenment of women was being fought, one of the most frequently recurring objections to admitting women to knowledge was that "the population would suffer," "the essential nature of woman would be changed," "the family would decay," and "the birth rate would fall." Those in control of society yielded up the old prescribed education of women only after a stubborn struggle, realizing that with the passing of the old training an important means of social control was slipping out of their hands.

*Art.*—A very long paper might be written to describe the various uses to which art has been put in holding up the ideal of motherhood. The mother, with children at her breast, is the favorite theme of artists. The galleries of Europe are hung full of Madonnas of every age and degree. Poetry abounds in allusions to the sacredness and charm of motherhood, depicting the yearning of the adult for his mother's knee. Fiction is replete with happy and adoring mothers. Thousands of songs are written and sung concerning the ideal relation which exists between mother and child. In pursuing the mother-child theme through art one would not be led to suspect that society finds it necessary to make laws against contraconception, infanticide, abortion, and infant desertion. Art holds up to view only the compensations of motherhood, leaving the other half of the theme in obscurity, and thus acting as a subtle ally of population.

*Illusion.*—This is the last of Ross's categories to which I wish to refer. Ross says:

In the taming of men there must be provided coil after coil to entangle the unruly one. Mankind must use snares as well as leading-strings, will-o-the-wisps as well as lanterns. The truth by all means, if it will promote obedience, but in any case obedience! We shall examine not creeds now, but the films, veils, hidden mirrors, and half lights by which men are duped as to that which lies nearest them, their own experience. This time we shall see men led captive, not by dogmas concerning a world beyond experience, but by artfully fostered misconceptions of the pains, satisfactions, and values lying under their very noses.

One of the most effective ways of creating the desired illusion about any matter is by concealing and tabooing the mention of all

the painful and disagreeable circumstances connected with it. Thus there is a very stern social taboo on conversation about the processes of birth. The utmost care is taken to conceal the agonies and risks of child-birth from the young. Announcement is rarely made of the true cause of deaths from child-birth. The statistics of maternal mortality have been neglected by departments of health, and the few compilations which have been made have not achieved any wide publicity or popular discussion. Says Katharine Anthony, in her recent book on *Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia* (1915):

There is no evidence that the death rate of women from child-birth has caused the governing classes many sleepless nights.

Anthony gives some statistics from Prussia (where the figures have been calculated), showing that

between 1891 and 1900 11 per cent of the deaths of all women between the ages of twenty-five and forty years occurred in child-birth. . . . During forty years of peace Germany lost 400,000 mothers' lives, that is, ten times what she lost in soldiers' lives in the campaign of 1870 and 1871.

Such facts would be of wide public interest, especially to women, yet there is no tendency at all to spread them broadcast or to make propaganda of them. Public attention is constantly being called to the statistics of infant mortality, but the statistics of maternal mortality are neglected and suppressed.

The pains, the dangers, and risks of child-bearing are tabooed as subjects of conversation. The drudgery, the monotonous labor, and other disagreeable features of child-rearing are minimized by "the social guardians." On the other hand, the joys and compensations of motherhood are magnified and presented to consciousness on every hand. Thus the tendency is to create an illusion whereby motherhood will appear to consist of compensations only, and thus come to be desired by those for whom the illusion is intended.

There is one further class of devices for controlling women that does not seem to fit any of the categories mentioned by Ross. I refer to threats of evil consequence to those who refrain from child-bearing. This class of social devices I shall call "bugaboos."

Medical men have done much to help population (and at the same time to increase obstetrical practice!) by inventing bugaboos. For example, it is frequently stated by medical men, and is quite generally believed by women, that if first child-birth is delayed until the age of thirty years the pains and dangers of the process will be very gravely increased, and that therefore women will find it advantageous to begin bearing children early in life. It is added that the younger the woman begins to bear the less suffering will be experienced. One looks in vain, however, for any objective evidence that such is the case. The statements appear to be founded on no array of facts whatever, and until they are so founded they lie under the suspicion of being merely devices for social control.

One also reads that women who bear children live longer on the average than those who do not, which is taken to mean that child-bearing has a favorable influence on longevity. It may well be that women who bear many children live longer than those who do not, but the only implication probably is that those women who could not endure the strain of repeated births died young, and thus naturally did not have many children. The facts may indeed be as above stated, and yet child-bearing may be distinctly prejudicial to longevity.

A third bugaboo is that if a child is reared alone, without brothers and sisters, he will grow up selfish, egoistic, and an undesirable citizen. Figures are, however, so far lacking to show the disastrous consequences of being an only child.

From these brief instances it seems very clear that "the social guardians" have not really believed that maternal instinct is alone a sufficient guaranty of population. They have made use of all possible social devices to insure not only child-bearing, but child-rearing. Belief, law, public opinion, illusion, education, art, and bugaboos have all been used to re-enforce maternal instinct. We shall never know just how much maternal instinct alone will do for population until all the forces and influences exemplified above have become inoperative. As soon as women become fully conscious of the fact that they have been and are controlled by these devices the latter will become useless, and we shall get a truer measure of maternal feeling.

One who learns why society is urging him into the straight and narrow way will resist its pressure. One who sees clearly how he is controlled will thenceforth be emancipated. To betray the secrets of ascendancy is to forearm the individual in his struggle with society.

The time is coming, and is indeed almost at hand, when all the most intelligent women of the community, who are the most desirable child-bearers, will become conscious of the methods of social control. The type of normality will be questioned; the laws will be repealed and changed; enlightenment will prevail; belief will be seen to rest upon dogmas; illusion will fade away and give place to clearness of view; the bugaboos will lose their power to frighten. How will "the social guardians" induce women to bear a surplus population when all these cheap, effective methods no longer work?

The natural desire for children may, and probably will, always guarantee a stationary population, even if child-bearing should become a voluntary matter. But if a surplus population is desired for national aggrandizement, it would seem that there will remain but one effective social device whereby this can be secured, namely, *adequate compensation*, either in money or in fame. If it were possible to become rich or famous by bearing numerous fine children, many a woman would no doubt be eager to bring up eight or ten, though if acting at the dictation of maternal instinct only, she would have brought up but one or two. When the cheap devices no longer work, we shall expect expensive devices to replace them, if the same result is still desired by the governors of society.

If these matters could be clearly raised to consciousness, so that this aspect of human life could be managed rationally, instead of irrationally as at present, the social gain would be enormous—assuming always that the increased happiness and usefulness of women would, in general, be regarded as social gain.

## TRADE UNIONS AND EFFICIENCY

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The great majority of employers who boast of efficiency in their establishments do not deal with trade unions. Most employers who work with trade unions are dissatisfied with present-day efficiency. The largest employing group of all do not have efficiency, nor do they recognize labor organizations. Why this dilemma?

To the minds of many employers, the root of the evil has been in certain policies more or less advocated and practiced by trade unions. These policies are believed to have poisoned the morale of the whole wage-earning group. Analysis of the experiences which led to their adoption may very well clear the air and lead to practical suggestions which may indicate a way out of the dilemma. The policies are:

I. *Limitation of output.*—(a) In many lines of work it has been the general custom for the employer to release his men when a job is once done until another is in sight. To claim that the more work they do the more work employees will find to do flatly contradicts the bitter experiences of workers who have repeatedly been hired for one job and then dropped. It is clearly a case where a general economic truth finds little or no concrete application. A sound theory is cold comfort to a plasterer who knows full well that when so many square yards are plastered he must join the rest of the job-seekers. What is more logical than, in self-defense, to limit the amount of work that will be done in a day and to spread the work over more time? (b) With the introduction of "speeding-up" devices, whether piece rates, task and bonus payments, or the use of one fast worker as a "pace-setter," the drive becomes the pace that kills. Again and again, when a high standard of output has been achieved, piece rates have been reduced to keep wages

at a moderate average. The resulting physical strain and nervous tension, and the unfairness in payments, have soon brought employees to seek methods of self-protection. Limitation of output has been the result.

II. *Limitation of apprentices.*—This means more work and better pay for those already employed. It protects aged workers from too strenuous competition with the youth. In a state of affairs where the first end of man must be to get and hold a job, and to get as much pay as possible, it is not strange that men band together to create a monopoly of their skill. Their lesson in the power of monopoly has already been well taught them. In a society where no adequate opportunity is offered to put by for age, it is natural for older men to cling desperately to jobs. The upshot of this has been limitation of apprentices.

III. *Collective agreements at uniform rates.*—The sacred right of workers to bargain individually with employers has been zealously defended—by employers who would preserve the liberty and equality of opportunity for employees. But *equality in bargaining power* cannot be so obtained. Inequality of bargaining power may be satisfactory to some; it is impossible if democracy, liberty, and justice are to be more than words. The worker must sell at once at the best possible price the one thing he has to sell—labor. The employer can generally pick and choose, and wait to obtain labor when he wants it, at a price agreeable to him.

To bring any approximation of equality into this situation, employees must stand together as one man in bargaining with managements. It is not easy to discharge, to replace, or to cut the wage rate of a whole working force. There is a stronger likelihood that a mutually self-respecting adjustment can be reached with a united group than with each worker separately.

In this collective agreement it is necessary and legitimate that the rights of all to a living wage be recognized. Where union men are signally deficient, there is no objection to replacing them with more satisfactory union men. But the right of all, regardless of skill, to enough to perpetuate and conserve sound vitality is established by a uniform rate. Objection to extra pay for more efficient work has been that either directly or indirectly it sets

a too exacting standard for all workers, leading to a lowered wage rate and to larger output (resulting the sooner in unemployment).

IV. *The union shop*.—A collective agreement is made with an *organization*. Its members have exerted themselves to create and maintain their organization and to conclude agreements with employers. They have to an extent equalized bargaining. To their organization should rightly be the fruits thereof. Those who would profit by the terms of agreement are with justification expected to have joined the union. To require such membership in fellow-employees as a part of a collective agreement is to establish a union shop (less accurately called "closed shop"). This renders secure the party of the second part, who can count upon his organization to enforce the conditions of collective agreement. Only so can they be enforced upon either workers or managers.

Those who confront this situation with the proposition that it takes away liberty of individual contract fail wholly to understand that the liberty of the manual worker is already exceedingly limited. It is limited by (a) skill in only one kind of work, or (b) no skill; (c) lack of appreciable savings, and (d) consequent urgency of earning money to support himself and his family; (e) inability to go far for work; (f) competition for what jobs there are.

V. *Sympathetic strikes*.—Frequently employees by themselves cannot secure conditions of equal bargaining. Organization to include employees in other concerns so that a whole class of workers can act together is necessary. When adjustment of troubles with one employer, by means of an employees' strike, is impossible, conditions of equality have been sought by asking employees in other similar concerns to join in a sympathetic strike. This was an especially equalizing force when unionism was weak and opposition strong. It had the effect of bringing the question before a larger tribunal, where less partisan judgment could have weight. Sympathetic strikes have been one more way by which employees have gained respectful and effective hearing. They are resorted to less and less frequently, as better machinery for conciliation and arbitration develops.

VI. *The walking delegate*.—He is the union agent in whom more or less power to make agreements and call strikes, both direct and



sympathetic, has been placed. Employers call in lawyers to secure collections, protect trademarks, and the like, in order to escape personal encounters and to secure expert help. But they have vehemently resented the intrusion of a representative to protect employees' interests. Direct intercession by workers on their own behalf has very often led to discharge and even to blacklisting. It is dangerous to be employed at the same time that one speaks for the employed. If employees would speak effectively, a third party is required. Enter the walking delegate, or, more correctly, the business agent. Chosen with an eye to his ability to state and carry his case, he has become skilled in representing employees in the most able fashion. Incidentally, the power of such officials to call strikes is being very much restricted by the unions themselves as better constitutional forms for the government of unions and of their relations with employers develop.

VII. *The boycott*.—A further cause of disruption pertains less directly to efficiency—the boycott. This is still another method of putting organized labor into an effective position in dealing with employers on equal terms. So far as it is only the organized power of consumers urging other consumers to refrain from dealing in certain goods it is a prerogative absolutely necessary and defensible. The place of the consumer in the control of industry is a vital one too long overlooked.

These facts emerge from our analysis. Management and workers are at odds in determining: (a) conditions of work; (b) hours; (c) base rate of wages; (d) "efficiency rate" above base rate, or ways of distributing profits; (e) methods of conciliation and arbitration; (f) tenure of employment; (g) what is a sufficient supply of skilled workers.

May not this be because (a) conditions of work have been determined solely by employers; (b) hours are settled upon by employers; (c) the base rate of wages is governed by "supply and demand" (which means that where workers are plenty the pay approximates a low subsistence wage); (d) efficiency rates of wages and profit-sharing plans are wholly optional with the employer; (e) where the foreman has absolute power of discharge and

discipline there is little chance for conciliation over grievances; (f) length of employment rests wholly in the employer's hands, dependent generally on volume of business; (g) there has been no comprehensive effort by the community to assure industrial training for citizens, or to determine accurately what type of skill is in demand?

Most important of all, may it not be that the employer has conceived that "this is my business," to do with as he sees fit? And in the pressure of competition he has felt forced to look out for "my business" with a single eye. And having to protect his own interests so predominantly, he has not realized that employees in self-defense were only resorting to tactics which grew from the same root—"every man for himself," "this is business we're running, not charity."

To give as good as you get may not be sound ethics. But employees, between the millstones of rising cost of living and the economy of employers, have not been in a position to learn or to teach "industrial peace," "identity of interests," or "co-operation." As a recent writer has put it: "Let us *all* dress and have dinner before we talk of morals."

One of the great strides of improvement that a more judicial attitude toward unionism and efficiency is bound to bring is that we shall frankly face facts that are now admitted only with reluctance. Such facts are that the present relationship between worker and manager does *not* conduce to harmony or efficiency; that there is no approach to identity of interest between the two; and that there is little or no effort to conduct this irrepressible conflict in constitutional and parliamentary rather than in military fashion. Bad blood and resort to strikes are frequent, and might with reason be more so. "Efficiency," maximum output, "looking out for the interest of the firm"—these are unceremoniously laughed out of union meetings.

Common-sense joins with business acumen and a more consistent interpretation of democracy in demanding that *unions have more to say about the conduct of business*, and that *the community assume its responsibility in setting the industrial stage in an orderly, statesmanlike fashion*. This will give opportunity to do to some

extent in industry exactly what we try to do in politics—express and carry our opinions by securing majority consent.

Concretely, this would probably mean some such state of affairs as this: (a) workers would have a voice (by crafts and industries) in deciding conditions under which they and their fellows work, the tools with which they work, the manner in which the work is done; (b) workers would have a voice in determining hours; only so can excessive monotony of work and fatigue be guarded against, and ample leisure be secured; (c) workers would have a voice in determining base rates of wages; (d) workers would have a voice in fixing efficiency rates, or in the division of the profits; this is an essential condition of protecting earnings when productivity increases; (e) machinery for full conciliation, arbitration, and appeal to strike to settle all the above questions, as well as to settle questions of discharge and discipline, would be provided; (f) when individual concerns had steadied their own work so as to offer regular employment so far as possible, workers would have resort to a thoroughly organized system of state and interstate labor exchanges; fares could be advanced by employers or the state when new jobs were in sight in distant places, but with all this there would be unavoidable idleness of willing workers; state unemployment insurance to offer benefits for ten or twelve weeks a year must be provided; (g) opportunity would be given on part or full time, till at least the eighteenth year, for all youth to get general cultural and technical equipment (with specialized instruction through employers).

One need know only the elements of psychology to appreciate that developments in the above directions are indispensable if we are to have conditions under which workers approach work and embrace methods of efficiency with real interest, zest, and sympathy. It is unnatural and well-nigh immoral to expect fidelity, obedience, and diligence in industry today. Any person conscious of his own nature will find ineradicable instincts which point the way to and reinforce the preceding suggestions as necessary, if the organization of industry is to be in harmony with familiar facts of human nature.

The instinct to possess what one creates or helps to create and to dispose of it as one sees fit is sound and must be reckoned with. It is completely at odds with a condition where one owns and another operates.

The instinct to slacken effort when the connection between effort and reward exists only in economic theory is normal to the human economy. Yet by far the largest part of our payment schemes provide only an approximate relation between effort and reward. And our payments to investors (interest, dividends, and rent) make no pretense at such relation.

The instinct to see a thing grow under one's hand, and to exercise one's ingenuity as to the best way to proceed, is healthy. To give to one man all the planning work, to another only routine execution; to subdivide tasks into stupidly minute divisions—these are not ways calculated to stimulate initiative and interest.

The instinct which makes us carry through with alacrity a self-chosen task, when we rebel at the same task forced upon us by someone else, is one notably human. The practical bearing of this is twofold. People must be given a greater measure of choice of occupations, which can come about only with longer general and technical training; and they must be allowed wider latitude in the choice of particular jobs, and in ways of working at those jobs.

The instinct to do a piece of work in the easiest way, to save labor, is inherent in organisms which more often than not follow lines of least resistance. Out of this grows our hatred of waste. To conceive that human beings love the old, laborious ways so much that, when easier and more rapid ones are disclosed, they will deliberately turn from them, contradicts all experience. *Guarantee all displaced workers other work at pay, hours, and working conditions equally favorable*, and watch the increase in demand for and supply of labor-saving devices.

The instinct of self-preservation is fundamental; and equally so is the instinct to propagate and to provide for one's family. Both can be satisfied only where there is permanent employment with adequate earnings. We have already suggested that greater permanence of employment waits upon more discerning internal management of business, and upon better organization in the labor

market. Adequate earnings will result from strong organization, determination of wage rates by the collective bargaining of joint boards, high productivity, social insurance during weeks of idleness due to accidents, disability, sickness, or unemployment.

In a word, it is contradictory to the deep predispositions of men—contrary to what we know of human nature—that industry should be at the same time despotic and efficient. And more, in order for it to be wholly efficient, industry must be wholly democratic—in the sense of affording to all concerned the impulse and inducement to contribute their best, and to assume full and equal responsibility as members of a close-knit society.

All points of view lead to two main conclusions: (*a*) industry must become an actual and working partnership, with full representation and consent of all involved; (*b*) to this end the immediate demand upon each industry is that it be so conducted that all workers be trained as rapidly as possible into a sense of responsibility, into good judgment, into full play of all capacities.

A sense of responsibility and judgment, like other human accomplishments, develops only with exercise. There must be a sharing of real responsibility, an actual chance to use judgment. Industry must have a definitely educational motive, and this education must be toward full and equal participation in the control of industry.

Already trade unions are a highly educative force. Potentially the organization of labor, let it assume what forms it will, assures the workers' participation in control. Ultimately this is indispensable to efficiency, since efficiency is humanly impossible unless operation is either under the direct or representative control of all the affected parties. In due season the outgrowth of the full organization of labor will be democracy and efficiency in industry.

**YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS**  
**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TWO GROUPS, EACH OF 1,000**  
**YOUNG RECIDIVISTS<sup>\*</sup>**

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The after-careers of young offenders of our first series, studied some years ago, show very clearly the immense importance of studying the causation of delinquency at the only time when it really can satisfactorily be studied, namely, during the years when delinquency begins. All of our experience goes to show that the many writers who insist that practically all criminal careers begin during youth are entirely correct. Not only is the high point for crime, according to ages, well within the later years of adolescence, but very many delinquents begin their careers even younger.

That thorough case studies can only be made during these earlier years is amply witnessed to by many facts we have observed. Later, the individual has broken away from his family, has frequently taken on a new attitude which makes the ascertainment of fundamentals difficult, is more likely to have drifted from his home town, perhaps shows deterioration from dissipation that is altogether hard to distinguish from innate mental defect. Besides this, the many interesting and more subtle psychological considerations concerning the earliest growth of criminalism steadily become more difficult to discern.

Treatment of delinquent tendencies, to say nothing of prophylaxis, rapidly becomes more difficult with the increment of years; while etiology and diagnosis may not be fairly developed without a wide range of facts.

There should be every rational demand for this more thorough study, both as a large social issue and because, if anything is going

<sup>\*</sup> Read at the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, Washington, D.C., January 3, 1916.

to be offered to courts and institutional people that is safe as a guide, it must be offered from the standpoint of adequate diagnosis and prognosis. In this country we have swerved already, with the advancing socialization of our courts, from the tradition of set punishment for a given offense. But to help the adjudicating authorities in their decisions they must not be given a mere bald statement of what the individual is on the physical side and on the mental side from the psychiatric standpoint; there is much more at the foundations of delinquency than that. What are all the main elements which have caused this offender's conduct? What efficient remedies can be offered? To meet these fundamental issues a broader study is necessary.

We have watched many cases of our first series steadily develop anti-social trends, and we have observed many others achieve great moral successes. To discuss reasons for the variance would necessitate the introduction of a large number of long case histories. To get some general light on our subject, we have now undertaken a different study, namely, that of a comparison of a number of important facts pertaining to two groups, each of 1,000 young recidivists. A study of the first series was elaborated in *The Individual Delinquent*. This later series is composed of a similar group not in any way overlapping. From this large number, so carefully studied during several years, it is hoped that there may be gathered many points of the most practical significance in this field.

By way of warning against superficial inferences from our findings, it is well to insist that conclusions must be drawn with circumspection. We present a picture of facts without any direct interpretation of causes of delinquency; that requires careful evaluation of factors in each case. Then, concerning differences between the two series, relating to environment, we feel that these may express little other than chance selection of cases and different standards of judgment about conditions.

#### AGE

There is no essential variation in the ages of the two groups. The average comes at about 16 years, as might be expected in juvenile-court material, where the upper limit for boys is 17 years

and for girls, 18 years. That we had to include children as young as 8 or 9 years will not surprise any one of large experience, since, as the result of effective teaching, perhaps by a criminal parent, there may already have been, even at this age, a couple of years of successful thieving. But these cases are rare, and much the largest proportion is made up of adolescents.

#### SEX

The sexes are involved in about the same ratio as in ordinary court work, the males being from two and one-half to three and one-half times as many as the females.

#### OFFENSES

Our figures on offenses should be of much interest to the student of criminalistics. They are worked up with a great deal of care, and include much information other than the ordinary court charge; in other words, they represent with considerable accuracy the actual anti-social trends of these young offenders. The interest of these statistics lies (a) in comparison of the sexes, (b) in comparison of the offenses of young individuals with what is generally known about offenses at later ages, (c) in showing some changes that are taking place in types of offenses under the rapidly altering conditions of our material civilization, and (d) in the remarkable differences which exist between the usual run of offenses committed in the older cities of Europe, and even of the United States, as compared to Chicago. Our city, with its problems of immigration, new growth, etc., without the more manifest problems of excessive poverty and social degeneracy of many European cities, is thoroughly typical of certain phases of life in the United States.

*Stealing.*—In our old series (hereinafter to be designated as O.S.) 66 per cent of the males and 32 per cent of the females, and in the new series (hereinafter to be designated as N.S.) 70 per cent of the males and 30 per cent of the females had engaged in stealing. Under the head of stealing we include all ordinary kinds of thieving where violence is not used.



*Burglary.*—O.S., males, 8 per cent; N.S., 17 per cent. Burglary consists in actually "breaking and entering" for the purpose of stealing. This indulgence on the part of our American youth in desperate and adventuresome undertakings is a very significant fact, and that in two successive series there should have been a doubling of the number of those engaged in burglary is itself of importance.

*Street robbery with violence: "hold-ups."*—O.S., males, 1 per cent; N.S., 4 per cent. Very striking is this increase in the desperate delinquency of street robbery. Everyone knows that this type of crime is committed for the most part by young men over the juvenile-court age; but there has been a steady tendency, among us in the last few years, to an increase of this delinquency among younger males. (Of course it is very rarely that females engage in either burglary or street robbery, although sometimes we find that they are accomplices. Occasionally out of pure spirit of adventure a girl may indulge in housebreaking.)

*Stealing automobiles.*—A new type of offense which offers peculiar inducements to the adventuresome youth is the stealing and driving away of automobiles. Because of the increase of the number of automobiles in the last few years, no satisfactory comparison is possible, but within the time that our new series was studied scores of cases have been brought to the Juvenile Court.

*Picking pockets.*—O.S. and N.S., 1.5 per cent each. It would be interesting to compare these figures, were it possible, with those for the same offenses in cities, such as those of Europe, where poverty is much more prevalent.

*Forgery.*—O.S., males, 1.7 per cent, females, 2 per cent; N.S., males, 2 per cent, females, 1.5 per cent.

*Carrying concealed weapons.*—O.S., males, 1.5 per cent; N.S., 2.5 per cent.

Of other types of "crime against property" we need say little, because the proportions are small and show no essential variation. In any practical situation it is impossible to follow the classical lines of differentiating delinquencies according to "crimes against property," "crimes against the person," etc. But, in considering offenses of the latter order, we first enumerate—

*Sexual offenses.*—

Female offenders: O.S., 60 per cent; N.S., 73 per cent. In studying the females of our old series, we did not discriminate between a slight amount of sexual offense with the opposite sex and the promiscuity which characterizes all grades of prostitution. But of the females in our new series 57 per cent were guilty of promiscuous offenses, being thus young prostitutes or on the border of becoming so. Other sex offenses of which females are found to be guilty are homosexual perversions, exhibitionism, extreme obscenity, and, particularly significant, the grave misdemeanor of deliberately teaching bad sex knowledge.

Male offenders: O.S. and N.S., 4.5 per cent. This represents those who were charged or were otherwise known to us as being sexual offenders with the opposite sex. These figures, with their great contrast to those for females, undoubtedly represent the truth of the situation, particularly because they are based on information over and beyond that which has been revealed in court. The fact is that males up to 17 years of age are very infrequently guilty of such offenses. Another proof of this is the infrequency of venereal disease among males coming before the Juvenile Court. On the contrary, a large number of the females are thus diseased. This last fact should be especially noted, as a reply to those who assert that young males are not brought before the court for sexual delinquencies and that females are thus unfairly treated.

*Sex perversions.*—O.S., males, 4 per cent, females, 3 per cent; N.S., males, 4 per cent, females, 1.5 per cent. Exhibitionism and extreme obscenity appear with about equal frequency in both sexes. The more violent sex offenses are, of course, almost entirely on the male side. We find 1 per cent of our boys guilty of tampering with little girls, and 0.5 per cent were guilty of serious sex assault. Also, 0.5 per cent of our males engaged in the strange offense of touching women on the street—an indirect sex demonstration, with no attempt at assault.

*Truancy.*—O.S., males, 32 per cent, females, 7.5 per cent; N.S., males, 43 per cent, females, 4 per cent. Under the head of truancy are counted only those cases in which non-attendance at school

has been excessive for reasons other than illness. Many of the boys had already been to the Parental School, a detention institution for truants. From these facts it may be surmised that, since the earliest offense is so frequently truancy, a good vantage-ground for the early understanding of delinquent tendencies and the treatment of them is to be found in thorough study of truants at the earliest possible moment.

*Running away from home.*—O.S., males, 39 per cent, females, 25 per cent; N.S., males, 48 per cent, females, 37 per cent. By running away from home we mean more than merely staying away overnight. (Of course we know of many others who have run away from home, whose action was justified on account of deplorable family conditions.) The unexpectedly large percentage of young females who run away from home is due to the general nature of their delinquencies, namely, sex offenses, which lead them to leave home in order to seek illicit partnership.

*Vagrancy.*—O.S., males, 2 per cent; N.S., 5 per cent. Vagrancy in the female is very uncommon.

*Not working, etc.*—N.S., males, about 10 per cent. Except when family circumstances justify it, not working is to be considered as a delinquency. It is an irregular charge and frequently brought by families themselves, and cannot be fairly enumerated for comparison.

*"Out nights."*—N.S., females, 10 per cent. In city life this constitutes a very real offense, particularly for young females, but the charge is only irregularly made, and figures, as for those classified as not working, are quite incomplete.

*Delinquencies of violence.*—N.S., males, 15 per cent; females, 15 per cent. Under the head of violence it is necessary to include malicious mischief, bad temper, and violent general behavior. These delinquencies are only of interest in comparing males and females. The physical characteristics of the average female who comes before the Juvenile Court explain the unexpectedly large number of offenses of violence. The facts of physical overdevelopment are shown below.

*Attempted suicide.*—O.S., males, 0.5 per cent, females, 3 per cent; N.S., the same.

Other delinquencies, such as cruelty to children, threats to kill, attempts to poison, manslaughter, arson, and rarely murder, occur, but only infrequently, generally in less than 1 per cent of our cases.

*False accusations.*—O.S., males, 1 per cent, females, 5 per cent; N.S., males, 0.2 per cent, females, 9 per cent. This category includes only cases of very serious and persistent false accusation.

*Excessive lying.*—O.S., males, 14 per cent, females, 27 per cent; N.S., males, 7 per cent, females, 14 per cent. This charge is made only when lying is a notorious characteristic of the individual. The overwhelming preponderance of proportion of this charge against females is, of course, quite characteristic and often commented on.

*Alcoholic intoxication.*—Each series, about 3 per cent for each sex. Drinking as a contributory cause of sex delinquency in young women is, of course, more common than is shown in the above figures. But, on the whole, there is very little use of alcoholic stimulants among our juvenile population.

*Use of drugs.*—The use of drugs is quite uncommon with offenders until the period beyond the juvenile-court age; it is very seldom that we encounter a case of it.

*Gambling.*—O.S. and N.S., males, 2 per cent. Sometimes the passion for gambling even at an early age leads to serious thieving.

#### PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

From the time of our earliest work we have noted that physical conditions of offenders found to prevail in Europe do not appear nearly so frequently with us. What is true for Italy or England in these respects is not at all true for Boston or Chicago. Nothing so well illustrates this as our small proportions of those who are suffering from malnutrition and who are victims of the developmental conditions resulting in so-called "degeneracy."

*Age-weight correlations.*—Perhaps the best indication of nutritional and general developmental conditions is to be found in correlating weight and age, and comparing with the established norm. For comparison we have always used Burk's curve, built up from data concerning 69,000 American young people. Of males, we find, O.S., 50 per cent; N.S., 64 per cent falling above the

normal curve, and of females, O.S., 73 per cent; N.S., 72 per cent were of more than average weight for their ages. The status of the males is only of interest inasmuch as it shows that crime in our community is not at all the consequence of malnutrition following upon poverty, to which it is largely ascribed by writers in the older countries. Of very great interest is the frequent physical overdevelopment of the young females. There can be no doubt that the common-sense observation of many judges is true, namely, that a girl's sex delinquency frequently is based on physical overdevelopment—perhaps directly causing her attention to be drawn to sex life, as well as leading her to be attractive to the opposite sex.

*General developmental conditions.*—Under the following headings we enumerate only cases where the respective conditions are well marked.

Poor general development: O.S., 5 per cent; N.S., 17 per cent (males, 21 per cent, females, 8 per cent).

General poor physical conditions: O.S., 3.5 per cent; N.S., 7 per cent (males, 7.5 per cent, females, 6.5 per cent).

Delayed puberty: O.S., 1 per cent; N.S., 5 per cent (practically none of these cases were among females). In estimating this point we have used the ordinary physiological standards.

Excessive overdevelopment for age: O.S., 4.5 per cent; N.S., 9 per cent (males, 5 per cent, females, 20 per cent). In both sexes we find this factor to be one prime cause of delinquency.

Premature puberty: O.S., 7.5 per cent; N.S., 14 per cent (males, 16 per cent, females, 9 per cent). The early onset of adolescence peculiarly gives rise to the well-known instabilities of this period and so readily leads to delinquency.

Good general physical conditions: N.S., males, 25 per cent; females, 32 per cent. In our new series we enumerated this positive finding to show how many could be considered physically well equipped.

*Sensory defects.*—

Defective vision: O.S., 10 per cent; N.S., 15 per cent. We have only counted this where the vision was less than half normal, or where there was some disabling from other ocular troubles.

Defective hearing: O.S., 1.5 per cent; N.S., 1.6 per cent (of course, only marked defects are included).

*Other ailments.*—

Diseases and defects of nose and throat (serious cases): O.S., 6 per cent; N.S., 18 per cent.

Otorrhea: Only enumerated separately in N.S., 3 per cent.

Defective teeth (cases of excessively carious teeth): O.S., 3 per cent; N.S., 5 per cent.

Signs of nervous disease: O.S., 2 per cent; N.S., 4 per cent. In general, this represents the distinctly neurotic types.

Somatic signs generally regarded as diagnostic of congenital syphilis: N.S., 5.2 per cent (O.S. not enumerated in this way). On many of these a negative Wassermann test was recorded, but, as everyone knows, this blood test sometimes shows negative when damage has previously been done to bodily structure.

Signs of head injury: O.S., 2 per cent; N.S., 2.7 per cent. This does not include ordinary scalp wounds or slight involvement of the skull. It is interesting to note the frequency of this injury preceding delinquency, as compared to the infrequency in the general population. Other minor ailments are found, of course, in various degrees. For a closer analysis of physical conditions, which are probably to be regarded as causative factors of delinquency in our old series, we may refer to the chapter on statistics in *The Individual Delinquent*.

*Stigmata of degeneracy.*—O.S., 13 per cent; N.S., 3.8 per cent. In this category we have placed only those who showed marked signs suggesting the "degenerate" type of individual. (Stigmata are found with us in greater proportion among the lower mental grades who are not recidivists. They are with increasing frequency being sent to institutions before environment has led them farther astray.)

#### MENTAL CLASSIFICATIONS

The subject of mental classifications of delinquents being so much before the public nowadays, we have made our diagnoses with much care. Many cases which have been difficult of diag-

nosis at first have been seen by us over and over at intervals, and considerable follow-up work has been undertaken.

(A quite unselected group of 500 delinquents brought into the Juvenile Detention Home, Chicago, some of them being only first offenders, showed 89 per cent to be clearly normal mentally, according to tests given; of the remainder, 9 per cent were probably feeble-minded, and 2 per cent were undecided. These are important figures as bearing upon the general problem of how many delinquents are mental defectives—the group studied being the most unselected large series that has yet been studied.)

*Certainly normal mentally.*—O.S., 67.5 per cent; N.S., 75 per cent (males, 76 per cent, females, 70 per cent). The remainder fall in various groups as follows:

*Clearly feeble-minded.*—O.S., 9.7 per cent; N.S., 11.5 per cent (males, 10 per cent, females, 15 per cent). (It should be remembered that our figures here do not necessarily represent fair proportions of all juvenile-court delinquents, since our services are sometimes invoked first because the individual is suspected by someone of being mentally subnormal.) Our grading has been made upon the basis of standard definitions and by the use of the Binet scale, supplemented, as it should be, by a considerable range of other tests.

*Subnormal mentally.*—O.S., 8.1 per cent; N.S., 6.4 per cent (males, 7.5 per cent, females, 3.3 per cent). This is a class of those not ranging low enough on Binet and other tests to be graded as feeble-minded, but who are certainly not normal, not even belonging to the group designated as poor in ability but normal.

*Dull mentally from physical causes.*—O.S., 7.9 per cent; N.S., 3 per cent (males, 3.1 per cent, females, 2.6 per cent). This group is composed of those who are not to be considered innately defective, because they have physical diseases or defects which may rationally be expected to interfere with normal mental functioning. A few cases of epilepsy are included which are not otherwise classifiable.

*Psychoses.*—O.S., 6.9 per cent; N.S., 4.3 per cent (males, 3.8 per cent, females, 5.5 per cent). Attempts to classify these psychoses meet with much difficulty. Undoubtedly the *dementia praecox* group preponderates, but even so it is not nearly so frequent

at this age as one would expect from the general literature of criminology. Certainly not more than 2.5 per cent of our old series showed this disease, and, indeed, we are inclined to discount even that figure because our follow-up records show some of these suspected cases unexpectedly recovering. In our new series, *dementia praecox* does not show as a probability in more than 1 or 2 per cent of the cases. Other insanities and psychotic ailments, such as traumatic constitution, hysteria, choreic and epileptic psychoses, etc., appear in very small numbers.

*Constitutional inferiority*.—O.S., 2 per cent; N.S., the same. There are 5 times as many cases among our males as among the females. This psychophysical condition forms a definite clinical entity, the individual being neither insane nor feeble-minded.

A contribution to the problem of the relationship of mental defect in females to prostitution is found in the accompanying table, based upon combined data from our old series and new series. It is to be remembered that our cases were studied at the average age of about 16, at an age when the standard tests are known to be safe, and before bad habits can have caused mental deterioration that from our good histories is not recognizable as such. Our studies of these groups have been made with great care.

MENTALITY OF 614 FEMALE OFFENDERS

Guilty of:	Normal (Percentage)	Feeble- minded (Percentage)	Showing Psychoses (Percentage)	Subnormal (Percentage)	Dull from Physical Causes (Percentage)
Extreme and promiscu- ous sexual offenses, 182 cases.....	60	17	11	4	8
Less extreme sexual of- fenses, 308 cases.....	60	16	10	7	7
Non-sexual offenses, 124 cases.....	74	10.5	5.5	....	10

## EPILEPSY

In O.S., 7 per cent. Accurate comparison between the two series is impossible because of incompleteness of developmental histories in the new series, but even so we learned of 4 per cent.



Many of the epileptics were to be classified as mentally normal, some were feeble-minded or insane, others merely showed the vacillating mental states peculiar to so many cases of this disease and were either called subnormal or dull from physical causes.

#### MENTAL PECULIARITIES

*Adolescent instabilities and impulses.*—O.S., 11 per cent; N.S., 21 per cent (males, 18 per cent, females, 27 per cent). No one can properly reckon up the genetics of criminalism without laying great stress on the peculiarities of the adolescent period. We have constantly been brought up squarely against these phenomena, and have enumerated merely the extreme cases.

*Extreme social suggestibility.*—O.S., 2 per cent; N.S., 3 per cent. Of course we enumerate here this special mental trait as it was shown bearing upon the causation of delinquency.

*Other mental peculiarities.*—Certain other characteristics come out, such as the racial qualities of the negro, obsessive mental imagery, the love of gambling, racial characteristics, and, finally, abnormal love of excitement and adventure, which leads some of our young people to seek unusual experiences. These appear in lesser percentages, as: inordinate love of adventure, N.S., 2 per cent.

#### MENTAL CONFLICT

The fact that there are mental mechanisms which, unsatisfactorily functioning, produce delinquency, forms one of the most important considerations for the student of criminalistic beginnings. Nothing stands out more clearly in our experience. We offer no estimation of the extent of these phenomena; in both series we have met with scores of cases among both males and females. It is a confession of a weakness in any study of a series of cases that mental conflicts are not carefully looked for in every instance.

#### BAD HABITS AND EXPERIENCES AS CAUSES

In both series we have known with considerable fullness the facts concerning habits.

*Masturbation in excess.*—O.S., 10 per cent; N.S., 11 per cent (males, 13 per cent, females, 7 per cent). We would not allege that

these figures are complete, but our findings are of highest significance, even in the proportions given. Ordinary amount of indulgence in this habit has not been counted in the above.

*Use of alcohol.*—Drinking alcoholic stimulants to an extent that could be alleged to be important is as follows: O.S., 3 per cent; N.S., 1.7 per cent. Of course even a small amount of drinking during adolescence is of great importance, and we have counted it as such.

*Use of tobacco.*—The use of tobacco to a serious extent was found as follows: O.S., 7.5 per cent; N.S., 10 per cent. Of course this was always entirely among males. Naturally, we have not counted a slight amount of indulgence.

*Use of drugs.*—Very few cases of drug habit, even of the use of cocaine, notwithstanding the popular ideas on this subject, are found during the juvenile-court age.

*Extremely early improper sex experiences.*—O.S., 13 per cent; N.S., 15 per cent (males, 13 per cent, females, 23 per cent). Probably this does not include by any means all of the cases, but the figures are highly significant. In the analysis of the mental history of delinquents these early harmful experiences show themselves as of vast importance.

*Early experience with sex perversions.*—O.S., 1.5 per cent; N.S., 2.5 per cent. The males suffer far more frequently in this respect. We have found that these experiences are particularly provocative of prolonged tendencies to misconduct.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL BACKGROUND

Through information obtained from various sources, our knowledge of the general environmental background in all cases is accurate enough in both series to be used for comparison.

*Good home conditions.*—N.S., 5 per cent. In our old series this positive point, that there was a really good home, was not enumerated.

*Extreme lack of parental control.*—O.S., 23 per cent; N.S., 46 per cent. Percentages for both sexes are about the same. In enumerating this factor we have had to include many types of causes, such as lack of control through negligence, through the

fact that both parents were away working, through an excessively large family, etc.

*Extreme parental neglect.*—O.S., 4.5 per cent; N.S., 16 per cent. This does not overlap with the former group.

*Alcoholism, immorality, or criminalism in the home.*—O.S., 20 per cent; N.S., 28 per cent. The proportions are practically the same for both sexes.

*Poverty.*—O.S., 8 per cent; N.S., 24 per cent. We have only enumerated poverty where it is a factor sufficient apparently to account in some way for the delinquent tendency. We are not sure that the difference between the two series represents anything significant.

*Home broken up.*—O.S., 10 per cent; N.S., 7.5 per cent.

*Excessive quarreling in the home.*—O.S., 12 per cent; N.S., 8 per cent.

*Mentally abnormal parent in the home.*—N.S., 7 per cent. This fact was not enumerated in this form for our old series. This category includes cases where at least one parent at home was insane, feeble-minded, or epileptic.

#### FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

In estimating the statistical value of the facts given below, it must be remembered that the average age studied in both series is about 16 years.

*Both parents dead.*—O.S., 6 per cent; N.S., 2.8 per cent.

*One parent dead.*—O.S., 26 per cent; N.S., 28 per cent.

*Parents separated.*—O.S., 20 per cent; N.S., 14 per cent. (Actual desertion by a parent, included in the above: O.S., 8.6 per cent; N.S., 7.7 per cent.)

*Both parents living at home.*—O.S., 48 per cent; N.S., 55 per cent.

*Illegitimacy.*—O.S., 2.6 per cent; N.S., 2.8 per cent. These figures are probably accurate, and, as compared with European statistics of delinquents, are remarkably small.

*Alcoholism of parents.*—O.S., 31 per cent; N.S., 26.5 per cent. Aside from alcoholism of a parent in the home at the time when the child showed delinquent tendencies, we must also, for fairness,

enumerate alcoholism of parents dead or deserted. By alcoholism we mean drinking to the extent of at least occasional intoxication; in most instances it is more than this.

#### BAD COMPANIONSHIP

This was found in the following proportions: O.S., 34 per cent; N.S., 55 per cent. There is practically no difference in the findings for the sexes separately.

Conclusions to be drawn from the above analysis of findings are too varied to be discussed here; many of them are too obvious to need comment. It is clear that much is involved which should be of particular interest, not only for the present awakening of psychologists in this field, but also for physicians who are constantly being drawn more and more into co-operative work with courts. That all officials dealing with offenders need to know basic facts goes without saying.

Our whole work shows nothing more certainly than that no satisfactory study of delinquents, even for practical purposes, can be made without building sanely upon the foundations of *all* that goes to make character and conduct.

## EXEMPTIONS AS A PRINCIPLE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

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It is practical to look for principles and programs of social justice among the policies that are already established in the law and institutions of the land. The law is influenced by an individualistic conception of equality. Nevertheless the common-sense of men causes the social limitations of individual liberty to be expressed in the law.

Among these well-settled remedial or limiting principles the present and potential uses of the idea of exemptions may be examined. If there is found general agreement that a small security of comfort may be guaranteed against the want that naturally results from rapidly working competition, or from centralization of property in the hands of a creditor class, it might be concluded that the quiet extension or equalizing of the terms of these exemptions is a desirable direction for social legislation.

The present idea of minimum incomes in industry has a somewhat more narrow but well-established forerunner in the principle of protection or favor to minimum properties. Socially it is desirable that protected incomes should be saved as protected properties are. These social protections of property against individual actions were incorporated into the law during the period when the theory, or perhaps better, the instinct, of individualism was most unrestrained. In the present period of co-operative organization, these protective laws may serve in some degree to maintain the equilibrium between the propertyless and the overpropertied classes. Perhaps ultimately the idea of securing a minimum might be given even more radical force.

These exemptions or protections of individual properties are of two general kinds. The first is the exemption of fixed minimum holdings of property from taxation. The same favor to the poorer

property-holders, if it may be called favor, is exhibited in the application of the idea of progression in taxation. These assure some small degree of protection from the claims of society as a whole.

The second class of exemptions, to which this study calls attention, is that of exemptions from debt payments. In contrast to tax exemption, debt exemption is a degree of protection of individuals from other individuals rather than from society as a whole, and debt exemption is more considerable in amount than tax exemption.

*Exemption from imprisonment for debt.*—There are several forms of this exemption, starting with the exemption of the person from imprisonment for debt. This has a certain relation to other property exemptions, in the degree that it was a discrimination of persons from objects in which a property claim could be established. In a somewhat strained sense of the term property, but conforming to the facts of life, many men were held wholly as property. Certain partial property claims, then, could arise in other men as well as in other objects.

The greater individual detachment from positions of servile relation to society and to property led to the greater peril of individuals at the hands of creditors. While the feudal incidents were being detached from the ownership of the land, the commercial or creditor class was increasing in importance. With these changes execution for debt developed, first against the person and then against the land. By the common law the king alone had execution against the body, land, and goods of the defendant. The common person was not entitled to arrest the defendant except in trespass *vi et armis*. Statutory innovations led to imprisonment for debt. Under the common-law system of procedure much difficulty was experienced in compelling defendants to appear in response to writs directed against them. To secure their appearance the Statute of Marlbridge (52 Henry III, c. 23, 1267) authorized writs *ad respondendum* to be issued by the sheriffs against bailiffs to compel them to an accounting. The Second Statute of Westminster (13 Edward I, c. 2, 1285) was applied to receivers to secure an accounting; and the same writ was soon applied to actions in debt and detinue (13 Edward III, c. 17, 1350). Finally

it was used in actions on the case (19 Henry VII, c. 9, 1503). Courts always assumed that in every action in which *capias ad respondendum* could issue the plaintiff was, after judgment, still entitled to execution against the body of the defendant.<sup>1</sup> In time it came to be true that there was at common law almost no exemption of personalty from execution. The debtor could claim nothing as exempt, "though the effect might be to deprive him and his family of the very necessities of life. His body might be taken on a writ *ad satisfaciendum* and he could be imprisoned till payment." His health and spirits might be destroyed, and his life shortened by imprisonment in narrow limits and a foul atmosphere. He was at the same time punished for non-payment and deprived of the means of payment, if the creditor were not merciful. In 1663 Mr. Justice Hyde said:

"If a man is taken in execution and lies in prison for debt neither the plaintiff at whose suit he is arrested nor the sheriff who took him is bound to find him meat, drink, or clothes. He must live on his own or the charity of others and if no man will release him let him die in the name of God says the law and so say I."

In 1696 in the case of *Hardesty v. Barney*<sup>2</sup> it was held that the sheriff could take anything but wearing-clothes, and that if a defendant had two gowns the sheriff might take one of them. The journal of the House of Commons<sup>3</sup> recorded the case of a woman who died in jail after an imprisonment of forty-five years for a debt of £19.

Mitigation of the condition of debtors has appeared in the abolishment of imprisonment of debtors; in the extension of the exemption of personalty from execution. The power of the writ *capias ad satisfaciendum* has been diminished and the writ specifically abolished in some states, although it is still used in cases of fraud, tort, and embezzlement. Imprisonment for debt has been abolished by all the constitutions, and these constitutions have been upheld in the courts. The insolvent statutes were the first legal means of release from imprisonment. Thus a prisoner might be

<sup>1</sup> *Coke upon Littleton*, 289b (Butler and Hargraves, 1853).

<sup>2</sup> Comb., p. 356.

<sup>3</sup> Reports of 1792, XI, vii, 647.

released from prison, if taken for a debt not exceeding £100, by the surrender of all his chattels and goods except a small quantity of clothing, bedding, and some tools.<sup>1</sup> Despite the surrender, the creditor could keep the debtor in the prison by making a small payment for his sustenance. These laws were repeated in the colonies.<sup>2</sup> Debtors were exempt from arrest on debts of very small amounts, as \$5.00 in Massachusetts.<sup>3</sup> Women were exempt from imprisonment for debt. Before the middle of the nineteenth century nearly all of the states had abolished imprisonment for debt. The governor of Massachusetts said: "No system of laws which treats poverty as a crime or subjects honest debtors to imprisonment like felons can have its foundation in justice, humanity, or sound policy."<sup>4</sup> The movement that put an end to the imprisonment of men for debts was a part of the new discrimination between men and property that led to further results in the emancipation of slaves.

*Exemption of personal property.*—The same period of emancipation of persons, that period in which the separation of personality from property claims was greatest, was also the time in which exemptions of property from penalties for indebtedness became imbedded in the laws.

These exemptions result from three lines of development. These are the bankruptcy laws, the exemption of the debtor's personal property, and then the exemption of his homestead.

The bankruptcy laws reflect the development of the principle of exemption, the right of the weaker to protection. The earlier bankruptcy laws were made for the protection of the creditor; the later regard the right of the debtor and the protection of society. Further attention to the bankruptcy laws is not here necessary.

In the United States the exemption of the personal goods of the debtor preceded the exemption of the homestead. Under the common law a few articles of personal property were exempted from execution on the ground of public policy: as, a horse being

<sup>1</sup> 32 George II, c. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Pennsylvania, Recorded Acts, Vol. II, p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> Massachusetts Laws, 1810, chap. 114.

<sup>4</sup> Statutes 1840, p. 310, Governor's Message.



ridden by a man or woman, an axe in a man's hand while cutting wood, are for the time privileged and cannot be distrained.<sup>1</sup> A man without family might have wearing apparel exempt from execution while in actual use. This exemption was soon extended to all necessary wearing apparel. By force of the greater humanitarian spirit of the early nineteenth century the number of exemptions greatly increased. This was caused by the desire to save the debtor from total destruction. "The destruction of the poor is their poverty."

The development of the laws exempting personalty may best be shown from the statutes of a few of the older states. Thus Massachusetts, in an act concerning bankrupts "and for the relief of creditors," in appointing a commission for the sale of property, besides excepting necessary wearing apparel and bedding, empowered the commission to "make an allowance in addition to the above, as an encouragement or reward, of a sum not exceeding five per cent and not exceeding fifty pounds in the whole."<sup>2</sup> In 1730 is found the law exempting from distress "beasts belonging to the plow, tools and implements of trade or occupation, arms and household utensils, bedding and wearing apparel."<sup>3</sup> By additions the exemption gradually grew to be in 1857:

the wearing apparel of the family; beds, bedding for every two in the family; one iron stove and fuel not to exceed \$20 in value; other household furniture not to exceed \$100 in value; bibles and schoolbooks and library not to exceed \$50 in value; one cow; six sheep; one swine and two tons of hay and the tools of trade not to exceed \$100 in value; materials and stock used in trade not to exceed \$100 in value; provisions for the use of family not to exceed \$50 in value; one pew, except that it may be sold for taxes; arms, accouterments and uniforms of the militia; rights of burial and tombs while in use as repositories for the dead.<sup>4</sup>

In general the earlier laws specified articles or supplies such as were characteristic of the states and most likely to be found in the possession of debtors. And the number and variety of these specifications and the amount of the exemption tended to increase,

<sup>1</sup> *Coke upon Littleton*, 47a.

<sup>2</sup> Acts and Resolves, Laws 1714-15, chap. 14, sec. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Provincial Laws 1730, chap. 1, sec. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Massachusetts Laws 1857, chap. 235.

and the principle of naming an amount in value was incorporated in the laws of most states.

The southern states are more liberal than the New England states. Alabama's law may be considered. As it stood in 1820<sup>1</sup> there was exempted one bed and furniture, one cow and calf, necessary wearing apparel, three spinning-wheels, one loom, six plates, six knives and forks, six spoons, one axe and one hoe, one-fourth part of the provisions in possession in every family. In 1833 is found a different statement of the articles exempt: two beds and furnishings, two cows and calves, two spinning-wheels, two axes, two hoes, five hundred-weight of meat, 100 bushels of corn, all the meal that may at any time be on hand, two plows, one table, one pot, one oven, two water-vessels, two pairs of cotton-cards, all books, one churn, three chairs, one work-horse, mule or pair of work-oxen, one horse- or ox-cart, one gun, all tools or implements of trade, and twenty head of hogs.<sup>2</sup> In 1843 is found the exemption of 1,000 pounds of fodder, one loom, one man's saddle, and one lady's saddle.<sup>3</sup> A money value in limitation appears in the Code of 1852, in which the value of household and kitchen furniture to be selected by the head of the family is set at \$150 and the value of tools at \$200.<sup>4</sup>

It would be unprofitable to repeat the laws of all the states, but those of New York and of California may be selected as examples of the particularity and liberality of such current laws in most of the states, and these may be compared with the meagerness of the earlier eastern laws and with those of the more backward eastern states. The New York law says:

The following personal property when owned by a householder is exempt from levy and sale by virtue of an execution and each movable article thereof continues to be so exempt while the family or any of them are removing from one residence to another: (1) all spinning-wheels, weaving-loom, and stoves put up or kept for use in a dwelling-house, and one sewing-machine with its appurtenances; (2) the family Bible, family pictures, and schoolbooks used by or in the family and other books not exceeding in value \$50 kept and used as part of the family library; (3) a seat or pew occupied by the judgment debtor or the family in a place of public worship; (4) ten sheep with their

<sup>1</sup> Toulmin's Digest 1820, p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> Clay's Digest 1843 p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> Aikin, Code 1833, p. 166.

<sup>4</sup> Code 1852, p. 453.

fleeces and the yarn or cloth manufactured therefrom, two swine, one cow, the necessary food for these animals; all necessary meat, fish, flour, groceries, and vegetables actually provided for family use, and the necessary fuel, oil, and candles for the use of the family for sixty days; (5) all wearing apparel, beds, and bedding necessary for the judgment debtor and the family; all necessary cooking utensils, one table, six chairs, six knives, six forks, six spoons, six plates, six teacups, six saucers, one sugar dish, one milkpot, one teapot, one crane and its appendages, one pair of andirons, one coal scuttle, one shovel, one pair of tongs, one lamp and one candlestick; (6) the tools and implements of a mechanic necessary to the carrying on of his trade not exceeding in value \$25.<sup>1</sup>

California in a list of exemptions even more specific and much longer embodies both the principle of specific exemptions and monetary limits of value. Thus of chairs, tables, desks, and books, the exemption is to the value of \$200. In the list of household belongings is found the exemption of the pictures, oil paintings, and drawings drawn or painted by any member of the family, and family portraits with their necessary frames, one piano, and—a provision frequently found in the western states—one shotgun, one rifle. Seed or vegetables reserved to sow or plant at any time within six months are exempt to the value of \$200. Seventy-five beehives are exempt. The vehicle of any maimed or crippled person used by him in his business is exempt. Among numerous business exemptions is found that of the typewriter used for the purpose of making a living, one bicycle used in the owner's calling or to transport the owner to and from his place of business. The miner's cabin to the value of \$500, and his sluices, pipes, hose, windlass, derricks, cars, pumps, tools, and other appliances necessary for carrying on mining operations up to the value of \$500 are exempt. The earnings of all fishermen and sailors are exempt to the amount of \$300 "regardless of where or when earned and in addition to all other exemptions otherwise provided by any law."<sup>2</sup>

Tennessee enumerates exemptions under seventy-nine heads, naming such things as one bread tray, one meal sieve, two gourds, two punger gourds, one carpet made by any female member of the family, one cream jug, three strings of red pepper, one hundred

<sup>1</sup> Parsons, Code of Civ. Proc., secs. 1389-90; Laws 1878, chap. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Kerr's Cyc. Code of Cal. III, Code of Civ. Proc., sec. 690.

gallons of sorghum, fifty pounds of lard, one pound of black pepper, one pound of spice, one pound of ginger, twenty bushels of peanuts, one bushel of dried peas, "a sufficiency of upper and sole leather to provide winter shoes for the family," and the like.<sup>1</sup>

Special exemptions are found in many states. Thus Washington allows a professional library of \$1,000 value.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the protection of the instruments of occupation, these laws seem sometimes to be used for the purpose of encouraging the development of particular industries. This might have been the case with the large exemption of printing apparatus in Wisconsin and Minnesota.<sup>3</sup> In Mississippi all colts less than three years old, raised by the debtor in the state, are exempt.<sup>4</sup> In Colorado it is provided that "all machinery, tools, and implements necessary in and for boring, sinking, putting down, and constructing surface or artesian wells, also the engines necessary for operating such machinery, tools, implements, etc., also all trucks necessary for the transporting of such machinery, tools, implements, engines, etc.," are exempt to the value of \$1,000.<sup>5</sup>

These laws are construed liberally in the interest of the debtor. Thus in an early New Hampshire case it was ruled that a statute reading "wearing apparel for immediate use" applied to an extra "overcoat and suit to go to meeting in."<sup>6</sup> A clock is household furniture.<sup>7</sup> An act exempting "all sheep to the number of ten with their fleeces" was held to secure to the family the wool in amount equal to that grown on a given number of sheep, though the debtor be not the owner of the sheep.<sup>8</sup> The exemption of "one cow and one swine" was interpreted to include the swine after it was slaughtered, on the ground that the statute intended the sustenance of a poor family.<sup>9</sup> A safe owned by a jeweler was held to be

<sup>1</sup> Code 1896, sec. 3794.

<sup>2</sup> Pierce's Code 1902, p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> Statutes 1894 Minnesota, sec. 5459.

<sup>4</sup> Code 1906, sec. 2139.

<sup>5</sup> Mills Annotated Statutes, 1891, chap. 62.

<sup>6</sup> *Peverly v. Sayles*, 10 N.H. 356.

<sup>7</sup> *Wils v. Ellis*, 1 Denio N.Y. 462 (1845).

<sup>8</sup> *Hall v. Penney*, 2 Wend N.Y. 45 (1833).

<sup>9</sup> *Gibson v. Jenney*, 15 Mass. 205.

a part of his necessary implements of trade.<sup>1</sup> By another decision the term "horse" was held to include the saddle and bridle. "A horse was not reserved because he was a horse but because of his useful qualities and his almost indispensable services, but what would be the use of a horse without shoes, or without saddle and bridle, or without gears, if employed for purposes of agriculture?"<sup>2</sup> "The usefulness and services of a mule are identical with those of a horse at least so far as the exemption is concerned; and as in common parlance the mule is hardly distinguishable from the horse, we are of the opinion that the word 'horses' as used in the statute includes mules also."<sup>3</sup> A hearse was exempted under the statute exempting "one wagon, cart, or dray," etc., on the ground that Webster defines a hearse as "a carriage for conveying the dead to the grave."<sup>4</sup>

The theory of these exemptions may be put in the words of an Illinois legislator:

It is well to protect this class of the community, the poor man the head of a family, but I apprehend, Mr. Chairman, that there are men who are in worse condition than those who have small homesteads. I refer to the men who have no homes, but are struggling to get them. I think the family without a home needs more sympathy, more protection, and more exemption than the families who have already acquired a homestead.<sup>5</sup>

*The exemption of wages.*—The exemption of wages is a general form of the exemption of personal property. There are three classes of laws as to this exemption: a few states provide for the exemption of wages without regard to the amount of wages earned; some states exempt wages to a specified amount; while others exempt an amount proportionate to time. These familiar laws need not be cited. The principle has little opposition. This is a consideration that invites attention to the possibilities of this kind of legislation. Thus: "The exemption statute was naturally designed to secure to the laborers and their families their small earnings, and

<sup>1</sup> *In re McManus*, 25 W. Law. Bul. 403 (Cal.).

<sup>2</sup> *Cobbs v. Coleman*, 14 Tex. 599 (1854).

<sup>3</sup> *Allison v. Brookshire*, 38 Tex. 202 (1873).

<sup>4</sup> *Spikes v. Burgess*, 65 Wis. 428 (1886).

<sup>5</sup> Godell in the *Illinois Constitutional Convention Proceedings*, p. 910.

it must be given such liberal and proper interpretation as will give it full force and effect."<sup>1</sup>

*The exemption of the debtor's homestead.*—To the exemption of person and personal property, the exemption of a homestead of a specified value has been added in most states. The principle is, however, not new. It is but one of many evidences of the reappearance in the property system of a condition of status as distinguished from personal detachment. Under the common law in feudalism the debtor's land could not be seized and sold at all.<sup>2</sup> By statutes passed at long intervals the creditor gained possession of the lands of the debtor. The ancient writ of *levari facias* allowed levies upon the present goods and fruits of the land, and the writ of *feri facias* allowed the amount to be made out of the goods and profits of the land. Even under the writ *elegit*<sup>3</sup> the creditor could not sell the land. The Statute Merchant<sup>4</sup> provided that the debtor in the course of trade might enter into a recognizance before the mayor of London or before the church warden of another city. Upon default the body and goods of the debtor were subject to execution. The plaintiff might take all of the land and hold it until the debt was recovered from the profits. The Statute Staple<sup>5</sup> permitted such recognizance to be made before the chief magistrate of any staple mart. Later the same provisions were extended to all of the subjects of the kingdom.<sup>6</sup> Thus it came that private property triumphed over feudal incidents and that in the height of a commercial régime the person was frequently punished more for debt than for crime. It was not, however, until 1833<sup>7</sup> that the interests in land of a decedent became assets for the payment of his debts. The creditor was permitted to make sale of the lands of the debtor, in order to satisfy his debts, by 1 and 2 Victoria, c. 110.

Protection of the homestead was not unknown even in the United States before the inauguration of true homestead exemption laws. Thus an act of 1682 in Pennsylvania says: "All lands

<sup>1</sup> *Rustad v. Bishop*, 80 Minn. 497 (1900).

<sup>2</sup> *Riggs v. Sterling*, 60 Mich. 643 (1886).

<sup>3</sup> Statute Westminster II, chap. 18, 1285.

<sup>4</sup> 13 Edward I, 1285.

<sup>5</sup> 27 Edward III, c. 9, 1354.

<sup>6</sup> 23 Henry VIII, c. 6, 1532.

<sup>7</sup> 3 and 4 William IV, c. 104.

and goods are liable for debt, except where there is legal issue, and then all the goods and one-third of the land only shall be liable."<sup>2</sup> Delay of execution of a judgment was further secured in favor of the homestead. Thus the Pennsylvania law was that "the messuage and plantation, with appurtenances upon which the defendant is seated, shall not be sold for one year after judgment, and the chief messuage shall be the last taken in execution."<sup>3</sup> In case of execution the real estate was taken last. Thus Rhode Island enacted that real estate should be attached if no personal estate could be found.<sup>4</sup> All lands were exempt in Pennsylvania for a period of seven years, which was allowed for the satisfaction of the debt.<sup>5</sup> In Louisiana appeared an interesting resolution providing that the payment for the public lands should be encouraged by the exemption of lands from alienation through a certain number of years following the purchase.<sup>6</sup>

The first real homestead exemption was that of the republic of Texas of January 26, 1839, by which a permanent exemption was granted to every citizen or head of a family.

The policy of the law is to secure an asylum free from the assaults of creditors; a home for the shelter and protection of the family. . . . Its design was not only to protect citizens and their families from the miseries and dangers of destitution but also to cherish and support in the bosoms of individuals those feelings of sublime independence which are so essential to the maintenance of free institutions.<sup>6</sup>

A man can go on with that feeling of security and pride which the head of a family likes to enjoy in his domestic affairs, to beautify and adorn his home. He can do so with a full consciousness that no trick of the law, no covetousness of his neighbor, can take from him that household altar after he has prepared it as the place where he expects to live and die and where his wife and children are to live when he has gone from them. They will be made happy by retaining that little spot of earth, which is always sacred to the human heart. The

<sup>2</sup> Duke of York's Laws, May 3, 1682.

<sup>3</sup> Laws 1700, chap. 48; Statutes at Large, Vol. II, p. 53. See also Territorial Laws of Michigan, 1809, II, p. 44, and the Laws of the Northwest Territory 1795, No. I, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Laws 1798, p. 204.

<sup>5</sup> Laws 1705, chap. 152; Statutes at Large, Vol. II, p. 244; Delaware, Laws 1829, p. 204.

<sup>6</sup> 1820, No. 86, p. 118.

<sup>6</sup> *Franklin v. Coffee*, 18 Tex. 415.

birthplace of the children would be left to them, and the family could still live in the home hallowed by the sacred associations of the past. The object and design of the homestead law is to give to every man security for his castle, for his home, to assure him that the place where his children have been born shall not in any event be taken away from him, to give him an opportunity to go on, without any fear that his little place will be at last stripped from him, to make all those little adornments which are so dear to his heart.<sup>1</sup>

Since the West and South have the more liberal laws, and since a period of liberal legislation followed the impoverished condition of the South after the Civil War, it may be supposed that the interest of the debtor and the promotion of settlement had much to do with homestead legislation. The western states passed many laws and resolutions looking to the encouragement of settlement by the enactment of generous provisions for distributing the public domain. Thus Iowa resolved:

WHEREAS, The preservation of public liberty and the perpetuity of our free happy form of government are dependent upon the virtue and intelligence of the masses of freeholders of the country, and

WHEREAS, A great number of the able-bodied inhabitants of the United States are destitute of a permanent home and of sufficient ready means to secure a sufficiency of land upon which to obtain a certain livelihood for themselves and families, and

WHEREAS, The best policy of the national government is to afford every suitable encouragement for the early settlement and cultivation of her extensive domain, thereby to encourage the industry and promote the comfort of the landless within her borders, bettering the condition of her citizens and the improvement of the country; therefore

*Resolved*, By the House, the Senate concurring therein, that our Senators in Congress be instructed and our Representatives be requested to use their best effort to procure the passage of some bill, the object of which shall be to secure to the honest industry of the country a permanent home and all the attributes of freedom.<sup>2</sup>

Similar resolutions appear in other western states. The same reasons that promoted the land policy in general greatly stimulated the exemption laws. In the competition to attract and protect the settlers the exemptions grew larger. It might almost be said that the poorer the state the larger the exemption that was offered.

<sup>1</sup> *Nevada Constitutional Debates and Proceedings*, 1864, pp. 285-89.

<sup>2</sup> *Laws 1852-53*, Resolution No. 12.



"Rights of creditors were forgotten and the vicious effect of such laws upon their own citizens was ignored."<sup>1</sup> The "peculiarly American laws"<sup>2</sup> for the exemption of the homesteads of debtors from execution are "the great gift of that young republic Texas to the world."<sup>3</sup>

Texas had been under the Spanish law, which exempted realty much as the laws of the English states did.

There are some kinds of property which cannot be taken in execution and these are: first, things sacred and destined for divine worship. Second, implements and beasts of husbandry and the bread which laborers shall bake by their own labors, except for royal duties or for tithes and ecclesiastical and seigniorial rents. Third, the tools which artificers possess for the exercise of their trade or calling. Fourth, the houses, arms, and horses of knights (*caballeros*) and noblemen (*hijosdalgo*) except for a debt to the crown. Fifth, mares destined for the breed of horses of a particular breed (*caballos de casta*). Sixth, the books of advocates and students. Seventh, the pay of military persons. Eighth, beds, wearing apparel, and other things necessary for daily use. Ninth, foreign ships or ships from foreign ports, with merchandise, unless the debtors should point them out to be levied on. Tenth, things destined for the public use nor the property of the inhabitants cannot be taken in execution for the debt of the corporation. Eleventh, execution may be levied on the thing subject to a right.<sup>4</sup>

But this was not the cause of the exemption of the homestead. That came from the encouragement of immigration. Just at the time of the establishment of Mexican independence, February 24, 1822, Moses Austin was allowed to establish an immigrant settlement in Texas, and on May 7, 1824, the state of Coahuila and Texas was formed by the decree of the Mexican Congress. Under the general colonization law of August, 1824, Austin added others to his colony. Under this law "impresarios" were allowed to designate to each of the one hundred or more families which they brought in, in exchange for land contracts with the government, one "labor" of agricultural land or one *sitio*, which was three square leagues

<sup>1</sup> Folz, "Exemption Laws and Public Policy," *Am. Law Register*, Vol. LIII, p. 728.

<sup>2</sup> *Barney v. Leeds*, 51 N.H. 253 (1871).

<sup>3</sup> Judge Dillon, q., 35 *Am. Law Rev.* 413.

<sup>4</sup> Institutes of the Law of Spain, Book III, Title 10, p. 6 (tr. by J. M. White, Vol. II, p. 322).

of land for stock-raising. After the Goliad declaration of independence by Coahuila and Texas, measures were taken to secure the land to the settlers. Thus they were exempt from taxation for ten years.<sup>1</sup> In the same year, 1835, 640 acres each were granted to the volunteers of the Army of the Republic of Texas.<sup>2</sup>

The first actual exemption of the homestead was that of decree No. 70 of Coahuila and Texas, 1829.<sup>3</sup>

The Congress of the State of Coahuila and Texas has thought proper to decree:

ARTICLE I.—The lands acquired by colonization law, whether general laws of the republic or private laws of the state, by native or foreign colonists and by impresarios shall not be subject to the payments of debts contracted previous to the acquisition of said lands, from whatever source the said debts originate or proceed.

ARTICLE II.—Until the expiration of twelve years from having held legal possession, the colonists and impresarios cannot be sued or incommoded by the judges on account of said debts.

ARTICLE III.—After the expiration of the term prefixed in the foregoing article, they shall not be obligated to pay them in lands, implements of husbandry or tools of their trade or machines, but expressly in fruits of money in a manner not to affect their attention to their families, to their husbandry, or to the art they profess. For its fulfilment the governor of the state shall cause it to be printed, published, and circulated. Given at the city of Leona Vicario on the 13th of January, 1829.

The constitution of 1836 contained the provision that all citizens who had not received a portion of land similar to that of the colonists should have, if heads of families, "one league and one labor of land," and if unmarried and over seventeen the third part of one "league."<sup>4</sup> These several provisions and others exempting the property of officers and soldiers and public officials while in attendance on their duty<sup>5</sup> indicate the generous policy appropriate to an unlimited frontier state, and were the natural ground for the application of the principle of exemption to the soil. In the law

<sup>1</sup> Laws and Decrees of Coahuila and Texas, p. 25; Gammel's Laws of Texas 1822-97, Vol. I, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Orders and Decrees 1836 (Gammel, Vol. I, p. 983).

<sup>3</sup> Gammel, Vol. I, p. 220.

<sup>4</sup> General Provisions, sec. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Sayles, Early Laws of Texas, Vol. I, p. 202.

of 1839 appears the first known exemption of a specific amount of land from the payment of all debt. The law of 1829 had applied to debts previously contracted. The Third Congress of Texas, with the approval of the president, Mirabeau B. Lamar, enacted the following:

That from and after the passage of this act there shall be reserved to every citizen or head of a family in this republic, free and independent of the power of a writ of *fiery facias*, or other execution issuing from any court of competent jurisdiction whatever, fifty acres of land or one town lot, including his or her homestead, and improvements not exceeding \$500 in value, all household and kitchen furniture (provided that it does not exceed \$200 in value), all implements of husbandry (provided that they do not exceed \$50 in value), all tools, apparatus, and books belonging to the trade or profession of any citizen, five milch cows, one yoke of work-oxen, or one horse, twenty hogs, and one year's provision, provided that the passage of this act shall not interfere with contracts between parties heretofore made.<sup>1</sup>

The authorship of this measure is unknown. A law of 1840<sup>2</sup> exempted from all prior debts the lands of all immigrants acquired under the preceding colonization laws. By an act of 1842 all previous exemptions were continued.<sup>3</sup>

Texas introduced this novel legislation into the United States in the constitution of 1845: "The legislature shall have power to preserve by law from forced sale a certain portion of the property of all heads of families," including the homestead to the extent of two hundred acres or city property to the value of \$2,000. A man might not alienate this without the consent of his wife.<sup>4</sup> This was a marked increase of the amount, but even this did not satisfy the desire to extend such protection, and the act of 1860 provided that the limit of valuation should mean \$2,000 at the time of the designation of the homestead, and that the exemption should not be affected by the subsequent increase of value through improvement or otherwise.<sup>5</sup> With increasing real values the exemption was again increased, by the constitution of 1869, to \$5,000 at the time of designation.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laws Republic of Texas, p. 126; Gammel, Vol. II, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Sayles, Early Laws, Vol. I, p. 401.

<sup>3</sup> Gammel, Vol. II; Laws 1842, p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> Const., Art. VII, sec. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Pascal's Digest, p. 662, Art. 3928.

<sup>6</sup> Art. XII, sec. 15.

The effectual carrying out of these liberal laws is shown in the following selected decisions: The homestead once acquired may be increased up to the value of the exemption allowed.<sup>1</sup> Separate lots if used as parts of the homestead may be exempt.<sup>2</sup> "It is very clear that the legislature by these reservations intended a real substantial benefit, that by fair construction the grants in the statute include not only the subject itself but everything absolutely essential to its beneficial enjoyment"<sup>3</sup>. It was held that rural homesteads do not diminish to urban homesteads in size by their inclusion within the corporate limits.<sup>4</sup> It had already been held before the statute of 1860 that improvements could not affect the homestead.<sup>5</sup> Thus in Texas there is no limitation to the valuation of city property that may be exempt.<sup>6</sup> Great latitude soon obtained in the permitted uses of a homestead. Exemption was held to apply to "such places as may be necessary for the support and comfort of a family: for example, the office of a lawyer or the shop of a mechanic."<sup>7</sup> Thus the business homestead was developed and the constitution of 1876 provides for it,<sup>8</sup> in exempting the "home and business" of the head of the family. It was held that urban homestead may embrace two lots, one for the home and one for the business. Thus one Menke resided on two lots and occupied two others with a store. When about to make an assignment as an insolvent, he erected a new store next to an old one; and since all four lots, without the improvements, were worth less than \$5,000 at the time of the designation of the homestead, his whole property was held exempt.<sup>9</sup> Thus the law secures to a man "dual homesteads, the one his vine and fig tree, the refuge of his family against the misery and degradation which the homeless know, the

<sup>1</sup> *Campbell v. McManus*, 32 Tex. 442 (1870).

<sup>2</sup> *Pryor v. Stone*, 19 Tex. 371 (1857).

<sup>3</sup> *Cobbs v. Coleman*, 14 Tex. 598 (1885).

<sup>4</sup> *Taylor v. Boulware*, 17 Tex. 74 (1856).

<sup>5</sup> *Hancock v. Morgan*, 17 Tex. 582 (1856).

<sup>6</sup> *Chase v. Swayne*, 88 Tex. 218 (1895).

<sup>7</sup> *Pryor v. Stone*, 19 Tex. 371 (1857).

<sup>8</sup> Art. XV, sec. 51.

<sup>9</sup> *Miller v. Menke*, 56 Tex. 539 (1882).

other a sea wall lifted against the tidal waves of poverty and disaster, securing to him a spot of earth where he, and his family after him, may toil and earn their bread."<sup>1</sup> "Calling or business" was held to embrace "every legitimate avocation in life by which an honest support for a family may be obtained."<sup>2</sup> This right is not affected even if the business results in fraud of the creditor.<sup>3</sup> It is not affected even if acts such as gaming occur on the premises.<sup>4</sup> One does not lose his claim to the business homestead if he is compelled to interrupt business through ill-health.<sup>5</sup>

The surplus after the sale of the homestead for the satisfaction of a debt is not subject to seizure under legal process.<sup>6</sup> Money from the sale of a homestead, if intended for reinvestment, is exempt also from seizure.<sup>7</sup>

The exemption is made as wide as possible. It has even been decided that the homestead is exempt from payment of the debt to the person who has loaned the money with which a homestead is purchased, and that this creditor must find his satisfaction from other property.<sup>8</sup>

*The early homestead laws.*—The Texas law was so quickly imitated in the other states that all the modern forms of exemption may be said to have been fixed by the middle of the century, while in 1875 Smyth said: "All except three of the states have incorporated in their statutes some provision for the preservation and protection of the home of the debtor."<sup>9</sup> The rapidity of the change is shown in the contrast between the messages of the governors of New York in 1843 and in 1850. Governor Bouck said in 1843: "The act exempting household furniture and working tools and teams to the value of \$150 is thought to have a demoralizing effect

<sup>1</sup> *McDonald v. Campbell*, 57 Tex. 614 (1882).

<sup>2</sup> *Shryock v. Latimer*, 57 Tex. 674 (1882).

<sup>3</sup> *Gassaway v. White*, 70 Tex. 475 (1888).

<sup>4</sup> *Tillman v. Brown*, 64 Tex. 181 (1885).

<sup>5</sup> *Gibbs v. Hartenstein*, 81 S.W. Rep. 59 (1904).

<sup>6</sup> *Hunter v. Wooldert*, 55 Tex. 433 (1881).

<sup>7</sup> *Jenkins v. Vols*, 54 Tex. 636 (1881).

<sup>8</sup> *Malone v. Kauffman*, 38 Tex. 454 (1873).

<sup>9</sup> *Homesteads and Exemptions*, p. 5.

as impairing the obligation of contracts."<sup>1</sup> Governor Fish said in 1850: "I suggest an extension of the present exemptions so as to exempt from sale on execution the premises occupied as a homestead to a limited value."<sup>2</sup> The history of the law for two generations is one of rapid increase of the amount of the exemption. The earlier exemptions were, for example in Pennsylvania in 1849,<sup>3</sup> a \$300 realty exemption in lieu of the personalty exemption; \$500 in Ohio in 1850;<sup>4</sup> and similar amounts in most of the eastern states, and exemptions in the western and southwestern states usually of \$1,000. Then after the Civil War there was in the South an increase in the amount of exemption for the benefit of impoverished owners of estates. Thus Mississippi exempted 240 acres of land regardless of value, or \$4,000 worth of real property in incorporated towns, cities, or villages.<sup>5</sup> And Texas retained the highest exemption by increasing the exemption from \$2,000 to \$5,000 at the time of the designation of the homestead by its owner.<sup>6</sup> Some of the northwestern and farther western states increased their exemptions or inaugurated exemptions at a high valuation. Thus Arizona and Nevada, which had the highest exemptions, made the value \$5,000.<sup>7</sup> Utah proportioned the exemption to the size of the family. Each head of a family was entitled to an exemption of \$1,000, with an additional \$200 for each member of the family.<sup>8</sup> This was subsequently increased.

*Present exemptions.*—In the Atlantic states the exemptions remain small, in some cases an amount in value which would scarcely cover the humblest home, and hence are scarcely true homestead laws. Thus, the Vermont statute describes the homestead:

The homestead of a housekeeper or head of a family, consisting of a dwelling-house, outbuildings, and the land in connection therewith, not exceeding five hundred dollars in value, and used or kept by said housekeeper or head of a family as a homestead, shall, together with the rents, issues, profits, and prod-

<sup>1</sup> 66 *Albany Journal* 36-37.

<sup>2</sup> 73 *Albany Journal* 35.

<sup>3</sup> Brightly's Purdon's Digest 1894, Vol. I, p. 831, sec. 29.

<sup>4</sup> General Laws 1849-50, pp. 29-30.

<sup>5</sup> Acts of 1865, p. 52.

<sup>6</sup> Const. 1869, Art. XII, sec. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Arizona, Compiled Laws 1864-71, chap. 37; Nevada, Cutting's Compiled Laws 1861-1900, p. 125 (1865).

<sup>8</sup> Laws 1870, p. 59.

ucts thereof, be exempt from attachment and execution except as hereinafter provided.<sup>1</sup>

This state requires appraisement by three disinterested freeholders in cases of execution. This method of procedure was formerly general and is still used in many states. New York and New Jersey, however, have an exemption of \$1,000.

The tendency to increase the extent of the homestead may be seen a little more clearly through the following table of the laws showing the differences between the first and the present laws. This difference, however, may not have kept pace with the increase in the average value of the homes of families. First may be compared the laws of the northern states which had laws before the Civil War; then the increase can be seen in a marked degree in those southern states which had such laws before the war. Then the southern states along the border established exemptions comparing in liberality with the most generous of the preceding laws. Lastly is shown the comparison of the first and last laws of the other states having such laws.

#### I. NORTHERN STATES

Connecticut.....	1847,* \$500; 1860, \$700; 1885, \$1,000.
* Repealed.	
Wisconsin.....	1848, 40 acres; 1901, value limit \$5,000.
Michigan.....	1848, \$1,500.
Maine.....	1849, \$500.
Vermont.....	1849, \$500.
Pennsylvania.....	1849, \$300.
Ohio.....	1849, \$500; 1869, \$1,000.
Iowa.....	1849, \$500.
New York.....	1850, \$1,000.
New Hampshire.....	1851, \$500.
California.....	1851, \$5,000.
Massachusetts.....	1851, \$500; 1855, \$800.
Illinois.....	1851, \$1,000.
Indiana.....	1852, \$300; 1879, \$600.
New Jersey.....	1852, \$1,000.
Kansas.....	1855, \$750; 1859, \$1,000; 1868, 160 acres.
Nebraska.....	1855, \$500; 1859, 160 acres; 1879, \$2,000 limit.
Minnesota.....	1858, 80 acres, \$1,000; 1866, \$1,500.
Washington.....	1860, \$500; 1881, \$1,000; 1895, \$2,000.

<sup>1</sup> General Laws of Vermont relating to Probate Courts, Title 14.

## II. SOUTHERN STATES

Texas.....	1839, \$500; 1845, \$2,000; 1870, \$5,000.
Mississippi.....	1841, \$1,500; 1865, \$4,000; 1882, \$3,000.
Georgia.....	1845, 50 acres; 1868, \$1,600.
Alabama.....	1843, \$400; 1877, \$2,000.
Florida.....	1845, \$200; 1866, \$1,000.
Louisiana.....	1852, \$1,000; 1865, \$2,000.
Tennessee.....	1852, \$500; 1868, \$1,000.
Arkansas.....	1852, 160 acres; 1871, \$5,000.
West Virginia.....	1864, \$500; 1872, \$1,000.
Kentucky.....	1865, \$1,000.
Virginia.....	1867, \$2,000.
North Carolina.....	1868, \$1,500.
South Carolina.....	1868, \$1,000.

## III. LATER STATES

North Dakota.....	1862, 80 acres; 1877, 160 acres or one acre in town; 1891, 160 acres or two in town (\$5,000 limit).
South Dakota.....	1862, 80 acres; 1877, 160 acres or one in town; 1890, \$5,000.
Idaho.....	1864, \$3,000; 1874, \$5,000.
Arizona.....	1864, \$5,000; 1901, \$2,500.
Montana.....	1864, \$3,000; 1869, \$2,500.
Nevada.....	1865, \$5,000.
Colorado.....	1868, \$2,000.
Oregon.....	1868, \$1,000; 1893, \$1,500.
Wyoming.....	1869, \$1,500.
Utah.....	1870, \$1,000 and \$250 for each other member of the family; 1896, \$1,500 and \$500 for wife and \$250 for each child.
New Mexico.....	1875, \$1,000.
Oklahoma.....	1907, \$5,000.

The increase in the exemption is more apparent in the West and South than in the East. That the exemption is the settled policy of the law is shown by the increase of the amount in the most recent laws, those of Washington, Utah, and Oklahoma, and in that the last of the New England states to adopt the exemption has the largest exemption in that section. Those western states which by the increase of population have been compelled to set a limitation on the value of the area exempted in their laws have made that limit equal to the highest exemption of the earlier laws. It



will be seen that there is no uniformity in the application of the principle; and also that the more liberal states exempt a value greater than that possessed by most men, especially in view of the fact that most men have no homestead at all. The development of the laws by protection from waiver, by the general liberality of interpretation, is an instructive study which the present space forbids. Thus, actual physical occupancy of the homestead is not necessary if there is intention to occupy it,<sup>1</sup> or intention to return to it after residence elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> The creditor is entitled to no other notice than the fact of the law. The owner of a homestead may "sell it, pledge it, or give it away notwithstanding the existence of judgment lien, and the creditor has no rights."

In consideration of the foregoing applications of the law, it is unnecessary to state that the homestead is favored by the law and that the principle of liberal interpretation beneficial to the debtor prevails. A few early decisions stated that the law was in derogation of the common law and therefore to be strictly construed.<sup>3</sup> But it is now general to interpret liberally both the homestead and the personalty exemption laws. "Being remedial it [the Illinois law] must be so construed as to meet the benevolent end in view."<sup>4</sup> The poverty of the homestead claimant has caused judicial enlargement of the statute in many cases. "One of the most peculiar things about the law of homestead is its apparent difficulty of application, . . . the trend of the courts being more in the direction of giving effect to the purpose of the law than in attempting to observe any consistent theory or rule."<sup>5</sup>

#### THE POLICY OF EXEMPTIONS AS A PART OF A PROGRAM OF SOCIAL BETTERMENT

These ideas being established in the law and generally admitted to be just and desirable, it might be a practical and fruitful method of social betterment to equalize and extend the benefits of such

<sup>1</sup> *Reske v. Reske*, 51 Mich. 541 (1883).

<sup>2</sup> E.g., *Kenley v. Hudelson*, 99 Ill. 493 (1881).

<sup>3</sup> *Rue v. Alter*, 5 Denio N.Y. 119 (1847).

<sup>4</sup> *Deere v. Chapman*, 25 Ill. 612 (1861); *Bovard v. Ford*, 83 Mo. App. 498 (1900).

<sup>5</sup> *Cent. Law Journal*, Vol. LIII, p. 331.

exemptions as a deliberate policy. This, of course, should be within limits. Merely to increase the amounts of some of the larger exemptions at present in force would defeat the end of equalization which is sought by intelligent social work.

To extend and give greater guaranty to these exemptions of security, even without efforts to secure minima of income, and to develop agencies of accumulation of small property, would in itself be socially protective; first, because in a degree it would protect society from the aggressive large property, and, secondly, because the maintenance of many small properties is necessary to social order. But the policy of exemptions might better be regarded as part of some comprehensive program of securing minima of reasonable existence, protection of youth and age, guaranty of minimum incomes, and the fostering of legal restraints of large property.

It is also a wise principle of social action in the development of those elementary ideas of justice that have been embodied in the law without theoretical discussion, or even in contradiction to the theories of their promulgators, that they shall be developed and extended and administered without public agitation of theory. Such agitation divides legislator minds and throws them back on their various prejudices. Some of these prejudices are, first, the fear of paternal legislation. "It deprives a man of the opportunities nature provides for the development of all his faculties."<sup>1</sup> "To relieve a man from the performance of his obligations is a sure way to lower his character and when this is accomplished by general laws that all debtors may make to defeat creditors the moral tone of the whole community will suffer."<sup>2</sup> "Excessive exemptions operate mischievously tending to paralyze noble exertions, for they encourage indolence, invite fraud, and legalize dishonesty."<sup>3</sup> "They are encouraging extravagance and fraud on the part of the debtor class."<sup>4</sup> "It organizes a semi-respectable class of persons who live in comparative affluence, but who nevertheless are insolvent

<sup>1</sup> 35 *Am. Law Rev.* 413.

<sup>2</sup> Arkansas State Bar Association Report, 1887, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Teichmüller, 35 *Am. Law Rev.* 413.

<sup>4</sup> J. C. Vaughan, 18 *Chicago Law Jour.* 101.

or rich paupers."<sup>1</sup> A lawyer says: "In these jurisdictions the law would be simplified by statutes abolishing actions of *assumpsit* or providing that no debt shall be collected by action."<sup>2</sup> "The construction has become more a matter of sentiment than a true interpretation of law."<sup>3</sup>

A salesman earning three or four thousand dollars a year and more than likely spending it all will defy you to collect one penny from him. Such cases are not rare. The great bulk of the losses from this condition of affairs is borne by the small tradesman, the retail grocer, the retail druggist and dry-goods man. You can go into any retail store and find on the books from five hundred to five thousand dollars of worthless accounts. On careful investigation you will probably find that 50 per cent of these accounts are due from persons who are able to pay their debts, but cannot be compelled to do so because the whole of their income is exempt.<sup>4</sup>

Judge Teichmüller said as to this law:

Practically the unwarranted meddling with the property rights of our citizens has wrought incalculable harm to our young state. The withdrawal of homestead from the domain of commercial activity cripples the resources of the people. . . . Scheming sharpers and professional bankrupts only remain to defend these patent deformities, which now sully the fair name of our state and prejudice the best interests of her people.<sup>5</sup>

These fears, however, seem rather to indicate the necessity of limitation in laws already established than to suggest any destruction of such protection of the poor.

Social and humane feeling on the other hand is reflected by some writers, and is justified in experience.

In the majority of cases their operation is highly meritorious. They often assure to the family the shelter of a home, the means of earning a livelihood, and the earnings of its natural head and protector. They mitigate the harshness of the cruel and grasping creditor and give to the most unfortunate of debtors a place of refuge and a gleam of hope. Because of their meritorious purposes and their remedial character, the courts have generally treated them with the utmost consideration and have been inclined to extend rather than to restrict their operation.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Teichmüller, 35 *Am. Law Rev.* 413.

<sup>2</sup> *Chicago Law News*, Vol. XVI, p. 160 (1884).

<sup>3</sup> R. H. Jay, 44 *Central Law Jour.* 72.

<sup>4</sup> 18 *Chicago Law Jour.* 102.

<sup>5</sup> 35 *Am. Law Rev.* 413.

<sup>6</sup> Freeman on Executions, p. 307 (1876).

In the Illinois Constitutional Convention one Hay said: "This law has upon the whole been beneficent in its operation."<sup>2</sup> In the same convention another member said: "Nineteen years ago, when the law was engrafted in the statute, it was thought of doubtful propriety, but experience has taught us that it is one of the wisest provisions that the State has ever enacted."<sup>3</sup>

It is in fact not in fraud of a creditor who is aware of its operation and its probable use. Although the attorney-general of Connecticut says<sup>4</sup> that the law is seldom used in that state, other state attorneys-general express the opinion that the law cannot well be evaded and is often used for the benefit of the creditor in their respective states. The fraud, where it exists, more often takes the form of evasion of the law by the creditor where opportunity to exact a mortgage is easy, and in the states where a waiver is not restricted. Thus the attorneys-general of South Dakota, of Georgia, and of Mississippi in 1908 indicate the mortgage as a means of evasion sometimes used in their states, and in Georgia the waiver is used. The attorney-general of Indiana, while believing that there is a class of people who spend a great deal of money in riotous living, taking advantage of every credit, believes still that, though the privilege is abused somewhat by the debtors, the error is on the side of charity for the unfortunate, and that the law has not been a source of great disappointment to the people. The effect of exemptions on development, if any, may be rather to prevent careless or unwarranted credits. The attorney-general of Oregon says as to credits:

Its further favorable effect is a more careful system of credit and it restrains merchants from crowding purchases upon the poorer class when it is doubtful whether they will be able to collect. Under the old system, when they could take anything and everything a poor family had, a merchant would urge them to buy as long as he saw any possible chance of getting his pay.<sup>5</sup>

The taking of land out of commerce is not necessarily bad from the social standpoint. The smaller estates are not swallowed up in the larger, and the homesteads are made more permanent and the home more secure, all of which is highly desirable.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings*, p. 896.

<sup>3</sup> In Correspondence, 1908.

<sup>4</sup> Neece in *Proceedings*, p. 899.

It is not to be doubted that a large proportion of our wonderful natural growth and prosperity is directly attributable to the fact that so much of the land is owned in fee simple and that the great mass of farmers cultivate it as owners and not as tenants. They have therefore happily been spared from knowing and feeling the deep and exhaustive meaning, the o'erfraught and painful significance of the words Distress and Rent.<sup>1</sup>

But it is not solely either in humane consideration or in the effect that exemptions of all kinds have on commerce that their maintenance is necessary, but, chiefly perhaps, on grounds of public policy and the safety of society. The protection of the family is perhaps the chief of the assigned reasons for homestead legislation. One Underwood, reporting to the Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1870, said:

These [homestead laws] are based upon the idea that while governments are instituted for the security of life, liberty, and property, families are entitled to the protection of the government from the improvidence of heads of families, that creditors ought not to absorb all the property which is indispensably necessary for the support and maintenance of a family.<sup>2</sup>

The attorney-general of Mississippi expresses the same feeling with which these laws were inaugurated: "I think it is absolutely necessary for the best interest of the citizens of the state, as a protection and preservative of the family, which is necessary for the perpetuation of the American institutions."<sup>3</sup>

It is obviously incompatible with public safety and political permanence that a debtor slavery should be perpetuated. A debtor could be neither politically nor economically independent, if his future earnings were necessarily at the command of his creditors. The maintenance of free government requires free citizens; free citizens can exist only in free homes. The state does not universally provide these homes for the poor; but the land laws and the exemptions together encourage such homesteads. Senator Benton said in support of a general homestead policy:

Tenantry is unfavorable to freedom. It lays the foundation for separate orders in society, annihilates the love of country, and weakens the spirit of independence. The tenant has in fact no country, no hearth, no domestic

<sup>1</sup> *Am. Law Register* 1862, N.S. 1, p. 647.

<sup>2</sup> P. 895.

<sup>3</sup> In Correspondence, 1908.

altar, no household god. The freeholder, on the contrary, is the natural supporter of a free government, and it should be the policy of republics to multiply their freeholders, as it is the policy of monarchies to multiply their tenants.<sup>1</sup>

The influence of the Free Soil party was exerted to the same end. In a convention at Pittsburgh they resolved "that the public lands of the United States belong to the people and should not be sold to individuals, nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people and should be granted in limited quantities free of cost to landless settlers." This sentiment and influence inspired also the homestead exemption legislation. The development of such laws has been parallel with the policy of the distribution of the public lands to families, by which, since 1862, over 200,000,000 acres of land have been given away in order to stimulate development and population. Underwood of Illinois said:

While we protect the rich and prosperous man in all his rights, do not let us forget the poor and unfortunate. We can permit a few laws, although they may be regarded as something like special legislation, for the protection of this class of people. Sir, it is the class from which come the leaders of our land—the men of towering genius and powerful mind—men who leave their impress on their age and race. They spring from the poor—the class around which we seek to throw the arms of the constitution. Forget them not; trample them not under foot; protect them; for from them must spring the best guardian of civil and religious liberty in our land, which we desire perpetuated under the benign institutions we have heretofore enjoyed.<sup>2</sup>

Still more eloquently a Texas decision declares:

The laws should punish crime, but not misfortune; the latter should be protected and we should not permit the unfortunate to be treated as animals and hunted down by the aid of the law as culprits. When this is not done, some of the most benevolent hearts are driven by such omissions and defects in the law into ultraism, socialism, and Fourierism, and an opposition to all municipal regulations. Hence the profound wisdom of our homestead law. It is natural to the unfortunate to be grateful to those from whom they receive aid in their affliction and they will love and venerate the laws when they protect misfortune and do not force them into the class of culprits. The homestead is a point from which they can start released from any fear of their families being turned out without a home, and can commence again, Antaeus-like, with re-

<sup>1</sup> *Thirty Years in the Senate*, pp. 103-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings, Constitutional Convention 1870*, p. 900.

newed energy and strength and capacity for business, from their fall, unscathed by temptation, and from experience more practical and useful members of society. With the homestead protection thrown around him, the husband may well exclaim: "I am a king and my wife is a queen, and our domain is our home that none dare invade."<sup>1</sup>

From the standpoint of government, it is necessary that a larger proportion of its citizens have economic interest in it. Credit must remain what it was originally: faith, not a property right. The creditor shares the risk with the debtor, and cannot be given greater security by society than the debtor, without disastrous social consequences. If private property is socially desirable, its maintenance in a period of rapidly integrating industrial control will require more definite attention than it has yet had. Among the probable forms of this legal attention the homestead exemption requires emphasis. The alternative of governmental distribution is governmental ownership.

These historical facts and reasons are offered as a suggestion for more deliberate attention to the principle of exemption—whether of persons or property—as a part of a program of social action.

<sup>1</sup> *Trawick v. Harris*, 8 Tex. 314 (1852).

## THE PURITAN AND HIS INDIAN WARD<sup>1</sup>

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The relations between the Puritans and the Indians constitute an important phase of early American society. Conquest of the barbarians was part of the taming of the wilderness, with the added variable of a human element, the influence of the Indian upon the Puritan being second only to that of the Puritan upon the Indian. Each introduced many arts, both of war and of peace, into the fashioning of New England civilization. But since ultimate survival constituted the Puritan as final legatee, the Indians' contributions to the Puritans, however minor, have survived, while the Puritans' contributions to the Indians, however great, have perished. Hence Indian influence upon the Puritan deserves more attention.

The material lessons of the Indian concerned both war and peace. In war, he was the adept, initiating an untutored novice into the wiles of the wilderness. Though an obstacle in the conquerors' path, the Indians afforded them zest and stimulus, toughening, if shaking, the nerves of rugged adventurers. Pioneer warfare proved the nursery of heroes, and confirmed the sense of early New England that its mission was to conquer and to tame—fit preface to the page of empire. More concrete were the lessons of peace. In agriculture, trade, medicine and surgery, law, music and the arts, humor and imagination, the Indian made a contribution, slight but not despicable. In his spiritual reaction, also, upon New England philosophy, religion, and missionary fervor, the Indian was a notable factor. The memory of the Indian, therefore, justifies a glance at his gifts to a greater than himself, first in the material realm, and, second, in the spiritual.

<sup>1</sup> The writer is indebted for helpful suggestions to Professor Marcus W. Jernegan, of the University of Chicago, and to Miss Clara A. Smith, of the Edward E. Ayer Collection, at the Newberry Library.



The story of the corn planting at Plymouth is well known.<sup>1</sup> The kindly instructions of Squanto provided for fish to fertilize the seeds, and included the proper data of where and how to secure them. Reciprocity was possible through the superior tools of the colonists, and the Indian profited by lessons from an older agriculture. No one knows how many processes in the field and forest, or how many devices for rendering colonial existence tolerable were a debt to the Indian. But specific data confirm an obligation to these early teachers for the blessings of the cranberry,<sup>2</sup> of the pine-tree candle,<sup>3</sup> and of fire from the friction of sticks.<sup>4</sup> As a crowning benefaction, these untutored noblemen of nature set a fashion for the macaroni of St. James, for the eminently sober Higginson, writing in the first year of the settlement, declared that the custom among gentlemen of wearing one lock of hair in front much longer than the rest was an Indian importation.<sup>5</sup> For all these mercies vouchsafed by the Indian, compensation was to be made through learning their language "as soone as we can, which will be a meanes to do them good."<sup>6</sup>

The daily business of life centered in labor and trade. A continent spread before the white man, for the tapping of which the co-operation of the red man was essential. The temptation followed to procure this through slavery.<sup>7</sup> But here the Indian resisted successfully. The conscience of humanity still approved of slavery, but expediency discouraged its use upon a people still capable of retaliation.<sup>8</sup> This ability to take care of himself was one of the aboriginal New Englander's chief bequests to the future. Natural evolution led from slavery impracticable<sup>9</sup> to slavery dis-

<sup>1</sup> William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation*, Book II, p. 121, Boston, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> John Josselyn, *New England's Rarities Discovered*, p. 66 in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 202.

<sup>3</sup> Higginson, "New England's Plantation," *Force Tracts*, I, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Josselyn's *Account of Two Voyages to New England*, 3d series, 212; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, III, 257.

<sup>5</sup> Higginson, *op. cit.*, I, 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> A. W. Lauber, *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times*.

<sup>8</sup> James A. James, *English Institutions and the American Indian*, Johns Hopkins University Studies, 12th series, X (1894), p. 48; cf. *Plymouth Records*, X, 451-52.

<sup>9</sup> A. W. Lauber, *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times*, p. 288.

tasteful, to slavery abhorrent. But such a thread carries to 1865, far afield indeed.

More immediately lucrative was the fur trade, and here again the Indian contributed to economics. His wampum redeemed the traffic from barter, and facilitated the movement of goods. Wampum came into inter-racial use in 1627, and remained legal tender until 1661.<sup>1</sup> During this period the Indian was a force to be reckoned with. His profits from furs were the fiat behind the shell money. But as the woodland banker vanished from his old-time haunts, so his beads abandoned their unequal contest with the £, s., and d. of the newcomers, and by the eighteenth century were circulating only in scattered western settlements.<sup>2</sup> Such an outcome was early forecasted in William Bradford's prediction that wampum would yet prove a drug on the market. Meanwhile he lamented the power which it placed in Indian hands for the purchase of rum and guns.<sup>3</sup>

Liquor was, indeed, the Indians' undoing. Their savage days had been passed in ignorance of "the refreshing of beer and wine, which God hath vouchsafed Europe."<sup>4</sup> But like so many Calibans, they liked liquor, once they learned its potencies, and in the words of one who had large experience in consuming and dispensing it, "they will pawn their wits to purchase the acquaintance of it."<sup>5</sup> The earliest temperance legislation in America was an effort to check the resulting demoralization. It forbade the sale of "strong liquors" to Indians,<sup>6</sup> and conditioned the sale of all Indian lands upon the sanction of the General Court,<sup>7</sup> an important restriction in the light of Indian indifference to the relative values of acres and ale. Alcohol intensified the native slothfulness, and large-hearted plans for educating Indian youth, including the founding of an Indian college to train young men for the ministry, were abandoned

<sup>1</sup> William B. Weedon, *Indian Money as a Factor in New England Civilization*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Bradford, *op. cit.*, Book II, pp. 282-83.

<sup>4</sup> Roger Williams, quoted in *New England's Rarities Discovered*, p. 189, note 8, *Archaeologia Americana*, IV.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan*, p. 54 (C. F. Adams ed., p. 174).

<sup>6</sup> Daniel Neal, *The History of New England*, I, 278.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

as impracticable.<sup>1</sup> Leaders of both races lamented the havoc being wrought, and Increase Mather tells of one Indian war that the Sachems' terms of peace included an agreement to sell no more liquor to the Indians.<sup>2</sup> Similarly after Queen Anne's war, "One of the first things that the Indians desired of our governors was, that they would give orders that the vessels in the harbor as well as the taverns ashore might be restrained from selling any liquors to their young men."<sup>3</sup>

The superstitions of the time fostered a respect for Indian healing, disproportionate to that for less occult arts. His reputed mastery of herbs, simples, and surgery enabled the Indian to oppose to Puritan egotism a necessary balance of mutual respect. Popular imagination doubtless attributed impossibilities to the Indian, but to minimize his practical botany would be unjust.<sup>4</sup> The Indian had accumulated much empirical knowledge. Lacking the hypotheses of civilized man, he nevertheless possessed the experience of centuries of forest roaming. In this way, for example, he had stumbled upon one of the fundamentals of homeopathy, though reliance upon the principle that like cures like in no sense entitles the Indian to rank as the founder of that school of medicine.<sup>5</sup>

If one distinguishes between primitive medicine and surgery, credit belongs to the latter. Subtleties of diagnosis transcend savage empiricism, and recourse is held to incantation. But for surface wounds, requiring no special proficiency in anatomy, the savage might equal any competitor, simply through experimentation among herbs and balms which actually afforded relief. It was so among the New England Indians. Their chief remedy for internal complaints, save for sumach beer,<sup>6</sup> a specific for colds, lay in some

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> Increase Mather, *A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New England*, p. 40, ed. of 1676.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Penhallow, *History of the Wars of New England with the Eastern Indians*, p. 129 in *New Hamp. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. I.

<sup>4</sup> E. Eggleston, *Transit of Civilization*, p. 73, where John Clayton is recorded as the gatherer of 300 species of plants used by the Indians.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>6</sup> John Josselyn, *New England's Rarities Discovered*, p. 60; see *Archaeologia Americana*, Vol. IV, p. 197.

very few nostrums,<sup>1</sup> and in sweat-baths, Roman in conception, but scarcely Capuan in luxury.

The bath was about 8 ft. X 10 ft. It was heated to a great temperature, preliminary to the coming of the patient, who might be expected to endure the heat and smoke for about an hour, and to follow it up by a plunge into a neighboring stream.<sup>2</sup> If he survived this ordeal of fire and water, the invalid underwent that supreme test of mortal endurance, a séance with the paw-waws,<sup>3</sup> exhausting alike to mind and body.

These follies were redeemed by a treatment of wounds superior to the barber-like cupping of European surgeons. Indian practice was to suck the wound, inject an astringent, and cauterize with lighted punk.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, John Josselyn,<sup>5</sup> the first real botanist to visit New England, testifies to Indian confidence in the healing virtues of hemlock bark,<sup>6</sup> alder bark,<sup>7</sup> "soyles oyl,"<sup>8</sup> earth nuts,<sup>9</sup> water-lilies,<sup>10</sup> clowne's all-heal,<sup>11</sup> hog's grease,<sup>12</sup> garden patience,<sup>13</sup> and tobacco<sup>14</sup>—several of which herbs are constituents of modern *materia medica*, though modern practitioners are in no haste to recognize their indebtedness to the Indian.<sup>15</sup> The obligation of white to red is difficult to determine. The debtor scorns to pay, and the creditor died intestate, only a link in the transmission of race experiences.

Law learned less than medicine from Indian example, though there is a kinship between the savage code of an eye for an eye, and those principles of vengeance which attached the Puritan to his Old

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Neal, *op. cit.*, I, 29 (1747).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>4</sup> E. Eggleston, *op. cit.*, p. 93, n. 28; Clayton, *Transactions of the Royal Society for 1687*, XLI, 149.

<sup>5</sup> Josselyn, *op. cit.*, in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64 (p. 201).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62 (p. 198).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74 (p. 209).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98 (p. 230).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> S. A. Green, M.D., *A Centennial Address before the Massachusetts Medical Society*, 1881, p. 12.

Testament. Primitive justice is personal; that of civilization is social. With the former, compensation is due the victim or his next of kin; among the latter, society holds the grievance. The result was frequently the compromise of a dual punishment, such as the following:<sup>1</sup> "1664. It appearing that Nathaniel York did strike Obediah, the Indian several stripes, he is satisfied from him by half a bushel of corn, and his fine is left to the town's determination."<sup>2</sup> Heart balm for the outraged Obediah has no place in the highly evolved jurisprudence of New England. It is a plain concession to a people who could comprehend no other amends. Efforts were made to impress the Indian with the unswerving justice of the white man, so that wilful murder done upon an Indian boy called forth the death penalty, even though "some of ye rude and ignorante sorte murmured that any English should be put to death for ye Indeans."<sup>3</sup> The hanging of an incorrigible thief is elsewhere recorded, this also "to give ye Indeans contente."<sup>4</sup>

This safeguarding of savage rights contrasts sharply with French procedure in Canada. The Frenchman was the better psychologist. In ordinary communications, he was a brother to the Indian, not a remote superior. But under stress he assumed the haughty rôle of offended majesty, and executed swift vengeance, undelayed by the unintelligible mummeries of long-winded trials.<sup>5</sup> But the Puritan was no Frenchman, and it is idle to regret his inadaptability. He possessed a sensitive conscience in some directions, and the evidence points to sincere efforts at fair dealing. Thus the celebrated letter of Governor Dudley to the Countess of Lincoln, not without sophistry, perhaps, ascribes the condign punishment of the reprobate Morton of Merrymount notoriety to a determination to deal impartially with the Indians.<sup>6</sup> And in the darkest days, when King Philip threatened the very existence of New England, the civil law protected the Christian Indians against

<sup>1</sup> William B. Weeden, *Indian Money as a Factor in New England Civilization*, p. 46 and notes to p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Thompson, *Long Island*, I, 314, quoted by Weeden.

<sup>3</sup> William Bradford, *op. cit.*, II, 435.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 157.

<sup>5</sup> James A. James, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Force Tracts*, II, 11.

the persecutions of their enemies, who sought by martial law to compass their destruction.<sup>1</sup>

One secret of this rigid self-control reveals itself in the theory of compact, which so peculiarly defined the Puritan's relations with his neighbors. "Now a covenant, though made with the Gibeonites, is a very binding thing, and the breach of it sorely punished by the Lord, as may appear in 2 Sam. XXI. 1, 2, 3."<sup>2</sup> The transactions of the General Court with the "Praying Indians" involved this principle of contract, and when it allotted lands and townships to the Indians, their ownership passed from "their own natural right" into the greater dignity of a legal title.<sup>3</sup>

For many of the lighter diffusions of spirit in the interplay of races, the conflict was too deadly, the Puritans were too self-sufficient, and the Indians too undeveloped. Nevertheless occasional gleams appear of deference from white to red. Though insensible to most of the arts, the Puritans appreciated rich voices chanting the Psalms,<sup>4</sup> while an unprejudiced historian might even approve the "many pretty odd barbarous tunes which they make use of vocally at marriages and feasting."<sup>5</sup> The gentle art of the prevaricator claimed its own circle of admirers, and the author of *New England's Rarities Discovered* has transmitted to posterity some gems from this field. To him the Indians have intrusted their secret of that pond "up in the country [where] there are pond frogs as big as a child of a year old."<sup>6</sup> Nor is it well in the rush of modern life to forget that stone, also "up in the country," and, once more, "by a great pond, as big as an egg, that, in a dark night, would give a light to read by."<sup>7</sup> But with a caution worthy of Herodotus, the writer warns that he "takes it to be but a story."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Gookin, *History of the Christian Indians*, II, 459.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 468.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 469.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of Increase Mather, Cotton Mather, and Nehemiah Walker to Sir William Ashhurst in *Correspondence of the New England Company with John Eliot and Others*, etc., March 2, 1705.

<sup>5</sup> John Josselyn's *Account of Two Voyages to New England*, 1675, 3d series, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., III, 302.

<sup>6</sup> John Josselyn, *op. cit.*, in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, 168.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 226, p. 93 in *New England's Rarities*, etc.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

In the more spiritual contacts, the Indian served in the varied capacity of a horrible example, a signal proof of God's mercy, and an inspiration to philanthropy. Regarding himself as the special object of heavenly favor and protection, the Puritan perceived in the destruction of his foes the ever-present hand of God. Even the cynical Thomas Morton smugly lauds "the wondrous wisdom and love of God, [which] is shewne by sending to the place his minister, to sweep away by heapes the Salvages"<sup>1</sup> in preparation for the settlements of 1620. For over a century the Indian afforded the Almighty constant opportunities for the display of his fostering tenderness toward the Englishman. With ultimate victory inevitable, individual issues were in frequent doubt, and their successful outcome was a perpetual stimulus to gratitude, while occasional reverses were a corresponding encouragement to humility.

Sometimes the savages added to these lessons of a manifest destiny their own echo of the white man's ethics. Thus the aforementioned Thomas Morton, whose jolly good-fellowship with the Red Men quite won their hearts, gives a ludicrous description of Indian morality, confronting New England piety. The stout Miles Standish and his veterans of Plymouth have lost all patience with their neighbor of Merrymount's unprincipled vending of liquor and guns to the Indians, to the peril of all good men, and the diversion of much of the fur trade to Morton's profit. Inflamed with a fervor of disapproval and jealousy, the warriors descend upon Merrymount, and burn the enemy's house. There Nemesis overtakes them in the reproaches of the neighbors. In Morton's words, "The harmeles Salvages (his neighbours) came the while, (greived, poore silly lambes, to see what they went about,) and did reprove these Eliphants of witt for their inhumane deede: the Lord above did open their mouthes like Balams Asse, and made them speake in his behalfe sentences of unexpected divinity besides morrallity; and tould them that god would not love them that burned this good mans howse, and plainely sayed that they who were new come would finde the wnt of such a howses in the winter; so much themselves to him conteste."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 15 (C. F. Adams ed., p. 120).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164 (C. F. Adams ed., p. 312).

Unfortunately, however, the Puritan's views of life appear in sermons rather than in pleasantries, and much testimony confirms the solemnity of his attitude toward the Indian. The most stirring event of the white man's first century in New England was the war with King Philip. It overtaxed both the resources and the resolution of our fathers, and the price of final victory was a stagnation, politically typified by the New Charter which England thrust upon the colony. Throughout this period the "Praying" or Christian Indians, whose conversion by the apostle John Eliot and the saintly Mayhew is the finest outpouring of the Puritan spirit in that age, were between the upper and the nether millstone. The barbarities of the pagans, the retaliations of the Puritans, and the miseries of these converts strained the philosophy of the times.

The best contemporary estimate of this New England *Kulturkampf* characteristically imputes the course of the war to the Lord himself, apparently with the following aims in view:

1st To make a rod of the barbarous heathen to chastise and punish the English for their sins. . . . 2dly. To teach war to the young generation of New England who had never been acquainted with it; and especially to teach old and young how little confidence is to be put in an arm of flesh; and to let them see if God give commission to a few (comparatively) of naked men to execute any work of God, how insignificant nothings are numbers of men well armed and provided, and endowed with courage and valor, to oppose and conquer the enemy, until God turn the balance. . . . 3dly. The purging and trying the faith and patience of the Godly English and Christian Indians, certainly was another end God aimed at in this chastisement. . . . 4thly. Doubtless one great end God aimed at was the punishment and destruction of many of the wicked heathen, whose iniquities were now full; the last period whereof was their malignant opposition to the offers of the Gospel, for the Pakanahats and the Narragansetts, those two great nations upon whom the dint of war hath most especially fallen, (for they are almost totally destroyed,) had once and again the Gospel offered to them. But their chief Sachems malignantly rejected and opposed it, and consequently the people followed their examples. . . . 5thly. And lastly, to mention no more, this doubtless was another end the God of Heaven aimed at in this war, that he might magnify his rich and free grace, in saving and delivering his poor New England people at last, and destroying the greater part of the enemy, and subduing others unto them; and this was by his own hand chiefly done. . . .<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Gookin, *History of the Christian Indians in Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, II, 437-40.



Once and again the Indian is likened to a rod upon the English backs,<sup>1</sup> and in those days of Bible-reading parents and unspoiled children, the rod approved itself as a natural figure. A half-century later the comparison had been so far elaborated that the remaining barbarians were depicted as "pricks in our ears, and thorns in our sides, and they have been and are like the boar of the woods to waste us, and the wild beast of the field to devour us."<sup>2</sup>

More significant for the eternal verities was Indian influence upon the Puritan conscience. Was this a stimulus or a narcotic? However useful the Lord may have found the benighted children of the forest as rods and scourges for his saints, and however efficient the Puritan may have proved as an instrument of vengeance upon the sons of Belial, it is questionable whether the spiritual life of the Puritans was enriched or debased by Indian contact. Much depends upon who is meant by the Puritan, for the moral weaknesses of the Indian subjected him to exploitation by the unscrupulous, while his very helplessness and spiritual darkness endeared him to the noblest souls, and set in motion a most disinterested missionary zeal.

The calamities of warfare seduced many from the paths of rectitude, but the summons to repentance was not lacking. ". . . I name no persons, but leave the matter to God and their own consciences desiring they may repent and make restitution."<sup>3</sup> King Philip's war precipitated a deplorable reaction in the exhaustion of moral resources, the relaxing of the old fervor, and the decline from the idealism of the fathers to the materialism and licentiousness of the second and third generation.<sup>4</sup> But the moral complications of Indian intercourse have placed the Puritan at an unfair disadvantage. He was an idealist, confronting a problem interwoven with details which would be viewed by posterity as wicked and even loathsome. It is crude malice to point the finger of scorn at the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 445, and also II, 456.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Penhallow, *History of the Wars of New England with the Christian Indians*, Preface by Rev. Benjamin Colman, January 28, 1725-26.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel Gookin, *op. cit.*, II, 512.

<sup>4</sup> Daniel Neal, *op. cit.*, II, 32.

Puritan's mistakes. Encompassed by prodigious difficulties, he brought to their solution a vigor and courage which made him the fit progenitor of a great people. And nowhere is the grandeur of Puritan character more impressive than in the missions to the Indians. To the devout mind, the opportunity to win souls for the harvest of the Lord compensated the hardships of frontier existence, and the heroic resolution of the French Jesuits finds a counterpart in the labors of the apostle John Eliot, and of the Mayhew family, even unto the fourth generation.

Their undertaking was most difficult. With no aid from symbols, without appeal to pageantry or that magnificence which Rome has utilized to overwhelm the imaginative, these New Englanders demanded obedience to an abstract moral law, and to a Divinity more terrible than loving. They went into their midst ignorant even of the language, and relying upon interpreters whose acquaintance with English was scarcely ecclesiastical, the furniture of the savage mind being sparse indeed in theological concepts. But as the missionaries so frequently ejaculated, "This was a day of small things," and they were sustained through innumerable disappointments by the conviction that theirs was the seed time, and that the afflictions which the Lord was sending them were but the testing and refining of his infant church, preparatory to that glorious harvest which would come in his own appointed time.

The Indians were at first more interested in natural history than in divine revelation, and their queries about the cause of thunder, the ebb and flow of the sea, and the mystery of the wind<sup>1</sup> were puzzling. A fourth question, "How comes it to passe that the Sea water was salt and the Land water fresh,"<sup>2</sup> elicited the highly scientific reply that "'Tis from the wonderfull worke of God, as why are Strawberries sweet and Cranberries soure, there is no reason but the wonderfull worke of God that made them so."<sup>3</sup> But gleams of enlightenment among their dusky wards convinced the missionaries that the "Daybreak of the Gospel" was at hand.

<sup>1</sup> In the Eliot Tracts, *The Day-Breaking of the Gospel with the Indians in New England*, p. 4, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 3d series, Vol. IV.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

In this day of small beginnings the gathering of the first converts was deemed an offering of a peculiar savor unto the Lord. ". . . how precious the first fruits of America will be to Jesus Christ, and what seeds they may be of great harvests in after times; . . ." Yet now and then the grave language of dignified old Indians, standing forth from long-buried pages, leaves one to wonder whether its rare gems of humor were by accident or design. If the former, one must regret that the excellent Towanquatticks missed the joy of his own delicate satire when "he wondered the English should be almost thirty years in the Country, and the Indians fools still, but he hoped the time of knowledge was now come."<sup>2</sup>

Ethnological speculations were rife, and it was common to look upon the Indians as the remains of the Lost Tribes of Israel, who, after long wanderings in Asia, had migrated to the Americas. As such the Red Men possessed a sacred interest for the Puritan, from the belief that their conversion would be the preparation for Christ's coming again.<sup>3</sup> "And these godly persons who fled into America for shelter from Prelatical persecution, doe now appeare to be carried there by a sacred and sweet providence of Christ, to make known his name to these poor soules, who have been *Captives to Satan* these many Ages."<sup>4</sup> So had the violence of man wrought for the Providence of God.<sup>5</sup>

Diligent searching of Scriptures strove to determine if God had ever entered into Covenant with the Indians,<sup>6</sup> for if such could be established, there would be grounds for confidence in their ultimate salvation. Failing in this line of proof, scriptural adepts resorted to various prophecies "*unto the goings down of the sunne*";<sup>7</sup> and derived much comfort from the conclusion that America was the

<sup>2</sup> *The Cleare Sunshine of the Gospel Breaking forth upon the Indians in New England*, p. 66, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 3d series, Vol. IV.

<sup>3</sup> *The Glorious Progresse of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England*, p. 78, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 3d series, Vol. IV.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>7</sup> *A Farther Discovery of the present State of the Indians in New England*, p. 14, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 3d series, Vol. IV, p. 119.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15 (p. 119).

obvious meaning of these allusions. The saints of God were evidently drawn thither for the fulfilling of his prophecies, for "It is plainly to be observed, That one end of God's sending so many Saints to New England, was the Conversion of these Indians."<sup>1</sup>

The missionaries were rewarded by glimpses into an unfolding life of the spirit which made their converts very precious to them. Peculiarly touching were their dealings with children. Thus the following lines of Eliot focus the pathos of life with a tenderness almost harrowing. He describes the deathbed of an Indian baby.

The mother (as other mothers use to do) had made the child a little Basket, a little Spoon, and a little Tray. These things the Child was wont to be greatly delighted withal (as all children will). Therefore in the extremity of the torments, they set these things before it, a little to divert the mind and cheer the spirit: but now, the child takes the Basket, and puts it away, and said, I will leave my Basket behind me, for I am going to God, I will leave my spoon and tray behind me (putting them away) for I am going to God: and with these kind of expressions, the same night finished its course and died.<sup>2</sup>

The work appealed not to saints alone, but to the matter-of-fact pew-holders of Boston churches as well, and goodly sums were collected for missions on the western borders. In 1718, these offerings from Boston churches totaled £483, and there was at interest a permanent missionary fund of over £800.<sup>3</sup> The infant church so lovingly nourished by the noblest character whom New England produced was sprinkled with the blood of martyrs.<sup>4</sup> Its beginnings were sound, and its growth should have been vigorous. But Fate had sealed the destiny of the Red Man and his works, both good and evil. The New World was reserved not for the Indian and his uplift, but as the testing-ground for a new political and social order.

Toward upbuilding this, the Indian played a negative part. Though some of his contributions have been incorporated into American culture, and though his memory has inspired a great

<sup>1</sup> *Tears of Repentance, a Late and further manifestation of the progress of the Gospel, etc., amongst the Indians of New England*, p. 216, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 3d series, Vol. IV.

<sup>2</sup> *Confessions of Indians in the Eliot Tracts*, p. 260, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 3d series, Vol. IV, 260.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel Neal, *op. cit.*, I, 283.

<sup>4</sup> Daniel Gookin, *op. cit.*, II, 523.

literature, first in the gruesome narratives of his foemen, later in the romantic afterglow of the sunset on his camp-fires, yet his chief distinction is to have been the human element in a wilderness of difficulties. It was in his conquest over primitive man and nature that the Puritan girded his loins for that later combat with the problems of our democracy, in which he has ever stood for progress. As for the vanquished, the vast concerns of the universe pause not to lament his fate. The future ever lies with the victor, and as we look backward through the years to the childhood of New England, we know that it was for the best that she unfold her destinies as a homogeneous people.

## REVIEWS

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*Mental and Physical Measurements of Working Children.* By HELEN THOMPSON WOOLLEY and CHARLOTTE RUST FISCHER. Studies from the Vocation Bureau, Cincinnati, Ohio. Psychological Review Monographs, December, 1914, Vol. xviii, No. 1, pp. 1-247.

This substantial monograph summarizes the results of the laboratory of the Vocation Bureau of the public schools of Cincinnati. On the whole, it may be fairly said to be the most comprehensive and thorough-going attempt that has yet been made to apply the methods of experimental psychology to the important problem of vocational guidance. The work outlined in this volume is the standardization of the mental and physical tests which have been selected by Mrs. Woolley to make the necessary diagnosis for advice with regard to the choice of a vocation. Thus far but two ages have been investigated, namely, those of fourteen and fifteen years. The children are classified according to sex, grade in school, and school, whether parochial or public. The norms established are therefore fourfold, on the basis of the classification just given. This first adequate report of the laboratory work of the bureau outlines in detail the various tests used and the technic for making the mental and physical examinations. The measurements taken are of height, weight, visual acuity, auditory acuity, vital capacity, strength of hand, steadiness of hand, rapidity of movement, and the tests given are the card-sorting test, cancellation test, memory test, substitution test, the tests in completion of sentences, association by opposites, and the puzzle-box test. If any criticism were to be made of this very sound and thorough work it is that the tests have been chosen with reference to their technical perfection rather than with a view to their diagnostic importance. Intelligent advice to children, with regard to vocation, can be given only on the basis of an exact and comprehensive knowledge of the mental traits of each individual child. The ultimate aim of all such work is the construction of a psychograph in which individual differences shall be accurately expressed. Such a graph must necessarily be exhaustive as well as exact. In the opinion of the reviewer, it is just in this respect that the Woolley tests require amplification. It is of course true that

the work under consideration has only begun, and that additions which will supply the defects of the present scheme can readily be made. Certain it is that the technical work has been done with great thoroughness and skill. It is too early to attempt to evaluate the direct practical worth of these tests. Mrs. Woolley does, however, give a summary of the correlation of the various mental and physical tests with school year, sex, type of school, and age. In general the correlation of the physical tests is less than that of the mental tests. The memory tests show the highest degree of correlation with school grade. Association by opposites comes next, with the sentence test, substitution test, cancellation test, and puzzle-box test, in order. The only marked difference between the sexes appears in the puzzle-box tests. In this the boys are undoubtedly superior to the girls. The author is inclined to believe that the test is an unfair one for the girls, on the ground that boys are encouraged to acquaint themselves with tools and machinery from an early age. In all of the tests except memory the public-school children stood higher than those of corresponding age from the parochial schools.

H. C. STEVENS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Practical Conduct of Play.* By HENRY S. CURTIS. New York: Macmillan, 1915. 12mo, illustrated, pp. xx+330. \$1.50.

To get a general knowledge of the play and playground movement up to the year 1913, and such information as would be helpful to understand the subject, as well as to start a playground movement in a community, the reading of Mr. Curtis' book would be useful. It offers much to the beginner, but very little to the superintendent. It is only fair to say that such great advances have been made in the social movement for recreation since 1913 that this book gives one only a partial and unfair view of the present recreation movement, of which play and playgrounds represent only a part. The book deals primarily with play, and not with the larger inclusive field of social or community recreation. The emphasis of the book is laid on the construction, equipment, and administration of playgrounds, and is intended by the author as a textbook for those who want to be playground workers, and for others who have to do with the organization of play. Play directors, however, need personality and training, and we are sorry that not as much space and thought are given to these subjects as are given to mechanical equipment. One gets a general insight into subjects of swimming-pools, playground

programs, team games, and festivals. The field houses or "small parks" of Chicago, the world's greatest contribution to the recreation movement, however, are only very briefly described, and the author does not seem to know that these parks have developed into recreation and community centers with comprehensive recreation programs and activities. A short bibliography of books on play and related subjects is included. It is to be regretted that one does not close this book inspired by the great value and social benefits of play, but with the remembrance of a last word on trivial matters of discipline on the playground.

SIDNEY A. TELLER

STANFORD PARK  
CHICAGO, ILL.

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*City Planning with Special Reference to the Planning of Streets and Lots.* By CHARLES MULFORD ROBINSON. New York: Putnam, 1916. Pp. xiv+344. \$2.50.

This is a reissue, revised, with much additional material, of the work originally published under the title of *The Width and Arrangement of Streets*. Its purpose is to help in a practical way regarding a phase of town planning "which concerns not merely every owner of real estate but every citizen" (p. 8). Three main topics are treated: (1) Standardization of Street Platting; (2) Functional Street Platting; (3) City-Planning Legislation.

The reviewer thinks that the new title of the work is not well chosen. Many items which should be treated in a work on city planning are omitted. The title of the earlier edition, had it been retained, would have been more nearly descriptive of the matter treated.

The social point of view is kept well in mind, as the following excerpts will indicate: "Good street platting is a product of philosophy, of sociology, and of economics, as much as it is of engineering" (p. 89); "Town planning finds its only motive and justification in the betterment of social conditions—conditions of living and working—and the final test of its merits must be the degree to which it does this for the masses of city-dwellers" (p. 208).

The work of this well-known expert in city planning is sane, well balanced, practical, and yet has enough idealism in it for a book in this field.

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



*Classified Selected List of References on City Planning.* By THEODORA KIMBALL. Boston: National Conference on City Planning, 1915. Paper, pp. 48. \$0.50.

The list consists of about one thousand references on city planning, selected with a particular view to their technical value to those professionally engaged in problems of city planning. The references are arranged according to the city-planning collections of the Harvard School of Landscape Architecture. In this way Miss Kimball, who is the librarian of the school, makes a presentation of the literature of city planning in its fundamental relations. The titles refer to material which is useful and available, representative; well illustrated, or suggestive of further material or particular points of view.

It is another valuable contribution on this increasingly important topic.

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The New Public Health.* By HIBBERT WINSLOW HILL. New York: Macmillan, 1916. Pp. 206.

This book presents in clear and forceful language the point of view regarding health and disease which has been developing "in the last twenty years." This point of view represents essentially a shift from the environment to the individual as a causal factor in the production of disease. The so-called unhygienic environment, dampness, filth, bad air, lack of sunshine, smoke, garbage, etc., are only indirectly connected with the production of disease, if indeed they are connected at all. The real danger lies in the diseased individual, his excreta, his mouth spray, contacts of all sorts with his body or with any animate or inanimate carrier of the bacteria from the sick to the sound. The environment is to be considered as a transmitting medium; otherwise it is not a factor of primary importance. It is infection that must be guarded against, and the source of the infection is always a diseased individual somewhere.

Why does all this concern the public? The cost of infectious diseases for each generation is at least ten billion dollars. Who suffer the most from these diseases? The women, the mothers, the sisters, the teachers—all of these have an incalculable burden laid on their shoulders by these infectious diseases, and it is the women who, if properly educated to cope with the problem, could do most toward accomplishing relief. The problem is an educational one, and, when we reflect how few girls

advance beyond an elementary education, we can see how hard it is to get at them or to give them anything that they will carry over into womanhood.

The author lays great stress on the need of the "proper education of every citizen in personal hygiene," a condition "scarcely even foreshadowed by existing efforts. . . . For the education of every citizen in personal hygiene the basic necessities—knowledge, authority, and organization—are all lacking." We have these, but only imperfectly, for the supervision of infectious diseases.

As for a constructive program, the old era of general sanitation has given way to the present era of specific sanitation, and the next step is toward an era of supervision of sources, public education in hygiene, etc. The contrast between the old and the new practice in dealing with an epidemic is strikingly portrayed. Then follow chapters on individual defense, community defense, administration, etc.

The book is very readable, the chapters are well organized, and most of them conclude with summaries. All in all, it is a non-technical book which every citizen should read.

IRVING KING

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA  
IOWA CITY, IA.

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*Principles and Methods of Municipal Administration.* By WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO. New York: Macmillan, 1916. Pp. ix+491. \$2.25.

This book "has to do with functions rather than with framework; its aim is to show how various city departments are organized, what work they have to do, and what problems they usually encounter in getting things done." The ten chapters are on The Quest for Efficiency, City Planning, Streets, Water Supply, Waste Disposal and Sewerage, Public Lighting, Police Administration, Fire Prevention and Fire Protection, School Administration, and Municipal Finance. A good index is added.

The first and last chapters are the most valuable and original contributions. The chapter on "The Quest for Efficiency" starts on the psychology of municipal failures and improvements. The reader wishes that Professor Munro would write more extensively on this theme; there is a feeling that he could do it in a penetrating and masterful manner. He discusses briefly the need of intelligent citizens; the futility of chan-

ging charters and forms as a makeshift for improvement of citizens; the place of the expert; instruction of the voter; research, etc. In every chapter the financial aspect emerges as most prominent. The question raised very often is as to how the money to pay for the improvements which cities are making is to be raised. The last chapter is on "Municipal Finance." To those persons who are asking, "Where is the city to get the money with which to pay for its many improvements?" this whole book, and especially this last chapter, will be decidedly welcome. It is a question which all interested in the city must face, and the answer is the main contribution of this work. The emphasis of the book is administrative and financial, not social.

It is scholarly, comprehensive, well-balanced, conventional, and shows extended familiarity with bibliography in the different fields. Two valuable features are the historical setting given each topic discussed, and the few well-selected references.

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Being Well-Born.* By MICHAEL F. GUYER. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1916. Pp. 374.

The large number of books on the general subject of heredity recently published is indicative not only of the increase of our knowledge but also of the appreciation of the importance thereof in its relation to social welfare. The author of this volume is the professor of zoölogy at the University of Wisconsin and speaks, therefore, with authority on biological questions. He has written a very comprehensive, yet brief and condensed, account of what is now known and thought on the subject. His style is clear, and the text is supplemented by many well-chosen diagrams. I suspect that the earlier chapters will be a bit difficult at first for one who has no acquaintance with biological terms, but there is a good glossary, and no one need hesitate to read the book through fear that it will be too technical. A brief bibliography is added. It is to be regretted that the author did not in some way give the exact source of *all* his quotations and illustrations.

The general plan of the book is simple. After considering the field of heredity and describing the processes of reproduction and Mendelian phenomena in plants and animals as well as in man, the author considers the influence of body modifications and prenatal influences. Then he traces the evolution of mental processes which lead to responsibility for

conduct. Next he discusses "mental and nervous defects" and "crime and delinquency." The last chapter deals with "race betterment through heredity." Inasmuch as the bulk of the volume rests on well-known authorities there is no occasion to review it in detail, particularly as Dr. Guyer has pointed out the questions still unsettled and indicated conflicting views. Mention should be made, however, of a few points.

Dr. Guyer well emphasizes the difficulty of getting facts about human characters, particularly of facts indicating superiority. Most of the traits which are recognized as Mendelian among men are defects. Because of the constant interlocking of what we call heredity and environment, accurate analysis is difficult and popular opinion often confuses cause and effect. The popular verdict is that the race stock is changed either for the better or the worse by external conditions. Is the verdict accepted by biologists? Dr. Guyer discusses the matter under two heads.

1. Can external influences change the germ-cells? The answer is "Yes." Many interesting changes can be produced in the lower forms of life by exposing them to unusual degrees of heat or cold. By injections of sugar, zinc, and other substances MacDougal has changed the evening primrose. Tower has produced marked changes in potato-beetles by subjecting them to unusual temperatures. There is, however, little change of direct modification of the germ-cells of mammals unless certain substances like alcohol or the toxins of disease are present in the system. It is admitted that bad results may follow if these are present, but it is likely that the public exaggerates their importance.

2. Can external influences operating through the body cause germ-cell changes? The answer is "No." There is no direct evidence to this effect, and the fact of Mendelian inheritance is itself an argument against the belief. The author does not believe that the training of an individual changes in any way the offspring, and illustrates his position by the development of the race horse. He adds that if it could be shown that colts sired late in the life of the parents, after they had been raced, proved to be faster than colts sired earlier it would look as if training had some such effect. In a volume by Caspar L. Redfield entitled *Dynamic Evolution*, published a couple of years ago, just this claim is made and the records of many horses are offered as evidence. Probably Dr. Guyer has not seen this book or he would have taken a more positive position either for or against the argument.

The author is troubled by the growing burden of insanity, feeble-mindedness, crime. He fears that we are admitting many defective

immigrants to add to the burden. He believes that the inferior stocks are increasing faster than the desirable. He seeks a way out. He does not think that we should neglect the afflicted in the effort to reinstate competition and natural selection, but he urges us to add to our program by devising some way of preventing the reproduction of the unfit. He is skeptical of the present value of sterilization, but is seemingly not hostile to the suggestion personally and would advocate it in some cases. He believes that we shall develop eugenic ideals and that the physical basis of marriage will some day be appreciated. He sees the trouble resulting from lack of higher standards of conduct and believes that the parents should be franker with the children in matters of sex. He does not favor sex instruction in the schools by the average teacher and would prefer some plan of instructing parents. He makes no suggestions of a plan.

Dr. Guyer is doubtful of the wisdom of the intermarriage of the various human races, though he is very guarded in his comments. "The inferiority of the mongrel is universally recognized. No sane farmer, for example, would seek to improve his Jerseys or his Herefords by crossing one with the other." In answer to this it must be said, as Dr. Guyer admits, that we have little evidence that the various so-called races of men have been specialized for separate functions as have domestic animals. Moreover, mongrels are not always to be classed as inferior or degenerate. The bulldog has many admirers; the American breeds of chickens are all mongrels. The mule is a valuable animal. The cross between the zebra and the horse may prove to be valuable. The cross between the native chinquapin and the Japanese chestnut seems to offer the only possibility of overcoming the chestnut blight. The final word cannot yet be said on this question.

I am impressed with the fairness of the author and believe that he has given us a book of marked merits and few defects. It is so packed with information that it will prove very valuable for class and club use.

CARL KELSEY

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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*The American Country Girl.* By MARTHA FOOTE CROW. New York: Frederick E. Stokes Co., 1915. Pp. viii+367.

This is a book worth reading. All students of social life in the rural and village communities will be interested in Mrs. Crow's popular presentation of the subject-matter used. It is not a scientific study of rural

social life. Some of the more important chapter headings are: "Is the Country Girl Happy on the Farm?" "The Inheritance," "The Country Girl's Training," "The Ills of Isolation," "The Solace of Reading," "The Service of Music to the Countryside," "The Play in the Home," "Pageantry as a Community Resource," "The Young Women's Christian Association," "The Camp Fire," "The Country Girl's Score Card."

The author advocates education for social and vocational efficiency rather than the old formal discipline type of education for girls. She says that the great need is courses of study adapted to the immediate needs of women in their work as home-makers. "Such courses are usually found in agricultural colleges. The old-line colleges preserve the ideals of decades ago. They are hopelessly masculinized and professionalized." She makes a strong plea for modern conveniences in the farm home. "The great god, power," she says, "led the woman out of her house and into the factory. It was necessary in order that she should have a chance to learn the rules of the game. Now, her lesson learned, the same great god, power, is quietly but firmly taking her again by the hand and leading her back to her home." The author's central thought running through every chapter is the urgent need of a revival of sociability in rural and village communities. "When a community is really dead," she says, "we may know the fact by the absence of sociability." The whole country problem hinges chiefly upon this social matter; and as the woman is the essential upholder of the community the world over in social affairs, it behooves the young woman in rural life to prepare for these responsibilities if she will ward off from the farm and village communities a deadly and intolerable inaction." The suggestions in chapters on "The Service of Music in the Countryside," "The Play in the Home," and "Pageantry as a Community Resource" will be very helpful to all those who are working at the problem of community building in the country.

EDWIN L. HOLTON

STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE  
MANHATTAN, KAN.

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*Backward Children.* By ARTHUR HOLMES. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1915. Pp. 247.

This little book is intended particularly for the layman, and is accordingly written in simple style and without the use of many technical terms. It begins with a brief discussion of standards for measuring

children and then considers various types of backward children. Two general classes are distinguished, the permanently retarded and the temporarily retarded. The former are victims of some deep-seated cause, while the latter are suffering from removable defects. More than one-half of the book is given to a recital of concrete cases of backwardness and the results of treatment, illustrating the effects of adenoids, disease, malnutrition, improper home life, bad companions, injurious neighborhoods, etc., and the methods employed to restore normal conditions.

This inductive study is followed by a chapter on clinical diagnosis, in which such points as oral examination, family history, physical examination, and mental tests are described and outlined. The author here distinguishes nine grades of feeble-mindedness.

The part of the teachers in diagnosing the children is presented, several concrete cases being used to illustrate more clearly. A final chapter deals with the essential qualifications of teachers of backward children and with the equipment necessary for the proper handling of children in the special class or school.

For the parent and the teacher this book vividly portrays the essential facts relating to backwardness and its treatment; for the specialist in feeble-mindedness it attempts nothing new, and, accordingly, accomplishes but little. Nevertheless, it is worth while to popularize information on this subject.

GEORGE B. MANGOLD

ST. LOUIS SCHOOL OF SOCIAL ECONOMY

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*Child-Welfare Work in Pennsylvania.* A Co-operative Study of Child-Caring Agencies and Institutions. Edited by WILLIAM H. SLINGERLAND, PH.D.

*A Child-Welfare Symposium.* Twenty-five Special Papers Contributed by Leading Pennsylvanians. Edited by WILLIAM H. SLINGERLAND, PH.D. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1915. Pp. xviii+352; 138. \$2.00.

This book is the outcome of one of the series of social investigations undertaken by the Russell Sage Foundation. The study consists largely of descriptive material detailing the child-welfare work carried on in Pennsylvania by eighty almshouses, fifty-three child-caring agencies, that is, children's aid and humane societies, and two hundred and ten institutions for children. Among the points covered are capacity and

type of institution or agency, amount of investment and cost of work, number, kind, and classes of children handled, and causes of dependency or delinquency.

The introductory chapter makes a valuable comparison of the child-caring institutions of New York, California, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. It bristles with constructive criticisms and concludes with a helpful program of legislation.

The body of the book deals with over a dozen types of agencies grouped into three general classes, Child-Caring Agencies, Private Institutions for Dependents, and Miscellaneous Institutions for Children, the last group including agencies for the caring of dependents, delinquents, the crippled, and defectives. The mass of tables and statistical matter is somewhat enlivened and humanized by numerous apt illustrations picturing buildings, equipments, schools, and children. To the Pennsylvania social worker this volume is a valuable compendium or reference book—almost a directory. Undoubtedly it was partly to meet this need that certain local agencies gave financial and personal assistance to carry on the investigation. To the outsider not particularly interested in Pennsylvania, this bewildering mass of facts is somewhat confusing, and he is tempted to inquire, What is it all for? This is due principally to the purpose of the book which is largely to picture conditions, and not especially to determine causes and remedies. The discussion of each group of agencies concludes with a summary, and considerable space is given to suggestions, but still the reader is not satisfied. He wants to know about the comparative effectiveness of institutions for dependents, their essential limitations, standards of admission, and of physical and medical care; cost of construction, maintenance and care of inmates; standards of discipline, control and education; standards of placing out, opportunities for placing out, and the standardization of this work; the relative efficiency of child-caring agencies, the best methods, etc.

It may be that the statistics did not lend themselves to such an analysis and interpretation as would make satisfactory answers to all of these questions possible. Nevertheless, the book has an abundance of material and will certainly serve as a basis for the beginning of a consistent child-welfare program. It demonstrates, furthermore, the need of additional studies of child-welfare work. In fact, the editor of the book frankly recognizes this need, and in the Supplement has arranged for various social workers to indicate and discuss some of the more important ones.

GEORGE B. MANGOLD

ST. LOUIS SCHOOL OF SOCIAL ECONOMY



*Economic Aspects of the War.* By EDWIN J. CLAPP. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1915. Pp. xiv+329.

This timely volume is of absorbing interest to all who are concerned with the development of international trade in times of peace and its maintenance in times of international stress. The able discussion of the rights of neutrals in time of war includes all countries, but because of the effect that the actions of belligerents has had upon American commerce especial attention is directed to international trade affecting this country.

In times like these it is difficult often to make just interpretation of fact and one ought, perhaps, to reserve final judgment for both sides of the question. It is startling, to say the least, to learn that Great Britain might profit in a commercial way from the interference with neutral commerce to Germany in making cotton conditional contraband of war either shipped directly to Germany or through some neutral country and by this action curtail the supply of raw material to neutral countries. England, on the other hand, securing the intercepted raw material at less than the market value manufactures it and sells it in some neutral country or even in Germany itself at monopoly prices.

The author states clearly and concisely his purpose in writing the book in his preface. He says, "It seemed to me that we Americans were paying too much attention to the affairs of the belligerents and too little to our own. This story of international lawlessness in the first year of the Great War is the outgrowth of a public lecture given in New York City, March, 1915. After all we are by no means untouched by the war. It imperils not only our present material interests but also neutral rights upon which the material interests of peaceful nations in the future depend. The neutral world is waiting for us to realize and assert its rights and ours. Hence this statement of what those rights are and this record of what seems to have occurred to threaten them."

In the opening chapter the author, in discussing the rights of neutrals, points out that what we called international law and thought of as fixed is after all only a body of precedents, some of which represent certain immunities granted by belligerents to the commerce of neutrals in time of war. It is obvious from the practice in the present struggle that this so-called law may be changed at any time and in any manner to suit the best interests of the nations concerned. Even the compelling force of morality breaks down and the disapproval of neutral nations has not been strong enough to demand respect for the established order of things. It is the opinion of the writer that greater good might have been accom-

plished if the effort that has been expended to prevent war had been put forth in restricting the damage to those engaged in battle.

The orders in council of August and October are treated in separate chapters and their effect upon neutral shipping discussed. By these orders the British government so modified the conditions of the Declaration of London as seriously to impair the rights of neutral shippers. The effect of these orders is more specifically dealt with in the chapters on the Wilhelmina case and those considering foodstuffs, copper, and cotton.

England comes in for a large amount of specific criticism; not that the author thinks England the worse offender, except that she has had better opportunity in her control of the sea to interfere with our commerce.

One of the later chapters deals with the practicability of starving Germany out. Doubt is expressed as to the possibility of ending the war by "economic pressure."

In the Appendix is found all the most important notes and orders affecting the question of international trade. The book is well written and is interesting to the business man, the student, the statesman, and the general reader.

A. W. TAYLOR

STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

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*The Japanese Problem in the United States.* By H. A. MILLIS.  
New York: Macmillan, 1915. Pp. xxi+334. \$1.50.

The United States cannot afford to offend the sensibilities of the people across the Pacific, especially at a time when such offense is needless and when disputed points can be settled in better ways.

This proposition receives strong support from Professor Millis. His book is based in part upon investigations made in the Pacific Coast states in 1909 for the Immigration Commission and in part upon further investigations in the Coast states in 1914.

The Japanese problem is divided into two phases: one relating to the admission of the Japanese; the other, to the treatment accorded those who are here. In regard to the first phase, the author is convinced that a narrow restriction of Japanese is necessary, because (1) standards would be lowered on the Pacific Coast, and (2) because a large Japanese immigration would lead to friction, discrimination, and would make

assimilation impossible. The author believes that the present arrangement whereby Japan agrees to restrict immigration should be replaced by a general immigration law that would be fairer to Japan and upon a more stable basis. Exclusion laws and restriction agreements should be rescinded, and immigrants of all countries should be admitted upon the basis (as suggested by Dr. Gulick) of 5 per cent of those from the given country who had received their "second papers" and of the native-born of one or both parents born in the given country as recorded in the census of 1910 (p. 293). Such provisions would place the Japanese on a par with other civilized nations, would eliminate all invidious distinctions, and at the same time restrict Japanese immigration to the small number of 1,200 per year.

In regard to the second question, as to how the Japanese who are in this country shall be treated, Professor Millis agrees with Mr. Kawakami (in *Asia at the Door*) that it is not advisable to permit any alien to reside permanently in this country and at the same time hold him aloof by denying citizenship to him. The naturalization law should be changed so as to admit to citizenship the Japanese who are here on the basis of the same qualifications which the members of other races must meet.

Again, since Japan has taken a place among civilized nations, the United States cannot afford to permit individual states (such as California) to offend Japan by making invidious discriminations against the Japanese in the ownership of land. The author emphasizes the awkwardness of our governmental organization which makes the federal government helpless when an individual state acts in matters of foreign significance contrary to national policies.

Since the author hinges his solution of Japanese immigration upon the "numbers" test, he should discuss the practicability of administering such a law. Since he admits its possible impracticability, his proposed solution of Japanese immigration is left in the air.

It seems to the present reviewer that no concise analysis of the Japanese problem is complete without a well-organized discussion of diplomatic relations between Japan and the United States, and without a more thoroughgoing psychological discussion of race prejudice than is given. The value of the book is also lessened by a "choppy" style of organization and by the omission of an index and a bibliography. These omissions are explained in part by the fact that the treatise was written originally as a report to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and that afterward it was published in book form without revision by the author.

Professor Millis has written, however, what is undoubtedly the best all-around treatise of the Japanese problem now available. Its spirit of fairness commits it to the attention of all types of readers. Not only in certain sections of California where anti-Japanese prejudice is strong, but throughout the United States, the book cannot be read too extensively, for the Japanese problem is not simply a California problem, but in its consequences it is of national concern.

E. S. BOGARDUS

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

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*Political Parties.* A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy. By ROBERT MICHELS. Translated from the Italian edition by EDEN & CEDAR PAUL. New York: Hearst's International Library Co., 1915. Pp. ix+416. \$3.50.

Title and preface of this volume are both misleading. It is not a study of the nature of political parties. It is an analysis of the organization and control of socialist and revolutionary labor parties, more particularly of the socialist parties of Continental Europe.

It is Professor Michels' thesis that an "iron law" leads to control by oligarchy in all political parties. His argument is developed somewhat as follows. Leadership is essential even in the most democratic of organizations because (1) direct self-government of large groups is impossible; (2) the psychology of the mass makes leadership inevitable; (3) the incompetence of the mass makes leadership indispensable. Immediately after we have leadership oligarchy begins; democracy splits into the leaders and the led. Leaders are always autocratic because of their long tenure accompanied by detachment from the masses, their control of the party's financial resources, their influence through the press, and their prestige as holders of public office. Their authoritarian spirit is augmented by the psychological reaction upon them of the exercise of power. The tendency toward oligarchy is further fortified by the *embourgeoisement* of working-class parties. Attempts to restrain this tendency have failed. We must conclude that "the majority of human beings, in a condition of eternal tutelage, are predestined by tragic necessity to submit to the dominion of a small minority, and must be content to constitute the pedestal of an oligarchy" (p. 390).

The book's most serious defect consists in the subordination of everything to the proving of the author's thesis. The impression clings that

materials have been selected and arranged for this definite purpose. It is very doubtful whether this field can be generalized in such daring fashion, at least until more monographic work has been done. The volume fairly bristles with asseverations. Since so much depends upon the meaning of democracy it is unfortunate that the author could not have presented his conception in clearer terms. He appears throughout to be laboring to prove the impossibility of an abstraction. References to the American party system are few, generally misleading, and should have been omitted. (See pp. 97, 179-80, 310-13.) The translation is written in a labored style. The book is overburdened with footnotes; and the index is quite inadequate, containing references to names of persons only.

Notwithstanding serious defects, the volume contains much that is useful. Scattered through it are illuminating bits of evidence with reference to such topics as the part taken by Jews in the progress of socialist and revolutionary parties (see pp. 258-63), the growth of national particularism in socialist parties at the expense of internationalism (see pp. 191-96), and the conduct of German socialists during the present war (e.g., see pp. 44, 53-55, 137, 157, 224, 226, 393-99). Its truly significant contribution to the literature of the subject, however, lies in its searching criticism of the organization and control of so-called democratic parties. How far we are from anything like democratic participation and control is made painfully clear.

EDWIN D. DICKINSON

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*Outline of International Law.* By ARNOLD BENNETT HALL.  
Chicago: LaSalle Extension University, 1915. Pp. v+255.

This book is a short but comprehensive statement of the main underlying principles of international law. It is non-technical, and consequently may be enjoyed by any reader.

Nearly everybody is interested in some phase or other of the present European conflict, and particularly in the rules which govern belligerents, the rights of neutrals on belligerent vessels, and the invasion of neutral territory. This book is so written and so well indexed that the general reader can glean a large fund of valuable information in a minimum of time on these topics as well as on many other interesting phases of international relations.

Concerning some of the methods of warfare the writer says, "To employ poison or poisoned arms, to kill or wound by treachery, to employ

arms, projectiles, and substances which are calculated to cause unnecessary pain, are all prohibited." And concerning the duties of neutrals he says, "There is a clear responsibility and duty on the part of the neutral to see that his territory is not made use of to the injury of the belligerent, which duty must be exercised with due care and diligence." Absolute and conditional contraband are defined as follows: "The first consists in articles which by their nature are primarily and ordinarily destined for use in war, such as arms, ammunition, military and naval equipment. Conditional contraband consists of those articles which, by their character, are not ordinarily for use in war, but which, under certain circumstances, may become needful for the prosecution of war. Horses, provisions, and coal are instances of this class."

Some of the chapter headings give a first-rate conception of the contents. They are as follows: "Independence and Equality of States"; "Relations between States in Peace"; "War"; "Neutrality." The Hague Conference, together with the Declaration of London, have been added in the appendixes. Appendix 9 is of great interest. It is a table of signatures, ratifications, adherences, and reservations to The Hague Conference of 1907. There is also a table of dates in the present war, which shows when diplomatic relations were severed, when war was declared, etc.

The book is full of interesting information put in such simple form as to be clear and understandable. It fills a real present need, gives much light on the legal side of current war events, and at the same time it is dignified and scholarly.

WARD W. PIERSON

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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*Government and Politics of the German Empire.* By FRITZ-KONRAD KRÜGER. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Co., 1915. Pp. 340.

This book is the first of a series of "Handbooks of Modern Government" planned to meet the demands of American college classes and to extend our too provincial interest to problems of government the world over. Dr. Krüger has had predecessors among us in the German field, men of the caliber of Howard, Burgess, and Lowell. Without doubt he has succeeded better than they in meeting the specific classroom demand. Besides his book is brought up to date and associates with purely governmental matter a considerable amount of current political history.

Best of all, his book without ever ceasing to be a strictly critical study, leaves the impression at every turn of being written from within by a person who has practically experienced the German system. Dr. Krüger's outlook is middle-class—*gut bürgerlich*. He therefore in the main reflects the temper of modern industrial Germany, but, true to the principles of a sound scholarship, is not consciously or deliberately unjust to the agrarian and working-men groups. The delicate and yet powerful articulation of the German government, its remarkable flexibility and responsiveness to new conditions, are brought out in an exposition which has the merits of simplicity and order but is often a little humdrum and academic. It is a source of special gratification that many errors and delusions about the German government, entertained among us almost with the fervor of articles of faith for no better reason than that they seem to flatter our own institutions, are in the course of the argument consigned to the dust-bin. *Fiat lux*—not the support of our bias, but our broadened understanding must be the end of college education. An excellent critical bibliography completes a book for which a wide college vogue is most devoutly to be wished.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Longshoremen.* By CHARLES B. BARNES. New York: Survey Associates, Inc., 1915.

This is an account that deals principally with the 30,000 or more men who load and unload cargoes in the port of New York. This motley group of Irish, Scandinavian, German, Italian, Polack, and negro workers is shown to be much neglected and misunderstood by the public. The best of them are honest, generous, and skilled in their work; the worst of them, corresponding to the public's opinion of them generally, are loafers, drinkers, and brawlers. "The most conspicuous characteristic as well as the most far-reaching evil" of their work is its irregularity. Frequent periods of unemployment alternate with periods of work lasting thirty or forty hours at a stretch. The average wages are thought to be less than \$10.00 or \$12.00 a week. The very high rate of mortality is owing to the fact that the United States is "practically the only nation with a large foreign commerce which has absolutely no regulations for the protection of men engaged in longshore work." The organized efforts of these workmen, largely because of inefficient leadership and the uncertainty of their work, have accomplished but little.

There are appendixes pointing out the better condition of longshoremen in Boston, London, Liverpool, and Hamburg. In England the enlistment of public interest is the great achievement of the unions, while the decasualization of labor is the great attainment of the employers. In Hamburg are exhibited the ideals of efficiency and organization. The style of the book is clear, the material is well arranged, and the important points are given due prominence. A glossary and copious illustrations aid the author in interesting the reader in the detailed industrial life of this neglected but important group of work people.

E. K. EYERLY

UNIVERSITY OF S. DAKOTA

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*Report of the International Congress of Women.* Amsterdam: International Women's Committee for Permanent Peace, 1915. Illus., pp. xlviii+323. \$0.60, postpaid.

This modest volume, paper-covered and swelled to much more than its natural size because part of its contents appears in English, French, and German, is one of the most significant volumes which the Great War has brought forth. Within its pages is the authentic record of an adventure which was characterized even by persons of national repute as cowardly, ridiculous, and silly, but which, when "the whirligig of time brings in his revenges," will undoubtedly be judged as a valiant, serious, and wise undertaking. Unaffrighted and patient, kindled with zeal not only to utter a protest against the world's madness but to seize upon any opportunity to declare their belief in peace based on justice, these women, fifteen hundred in number and representing twelve different countries, met at The Hague from April 28 to May 1, 1915. Expressions of sympathy came from ten other countries. The record of messages of encouragement from important organizations and prominent women in every part of the world gives a fairer idea of the strength of purpose and high-minded spirit which permeated the congress than did the jocular and contemptuous comments of the daily press. Women from warring nations and from neutral nations sat for four days, and with dignity and solemn realization of the importance of their task formulated their message to the world and the lines along which they would work. It is hardly possible to read those declarations of principle without the belief that only good can come from the action taken to insure an international congress of women, to be held at the same place and time as the official conference which shall frame the terms of the peace settlement after the



war, for the purpose of making practical proposals to that conference. The volume can give courage to those who believe that the human race must eventually come to a realization that humanity is a nobler conception than nationalism.

MARION TALBOT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Capital To-Day: A Study of Recent Economic Development.* By HERMAN CAHN. New York and London: Putnam, 1915. Pp. viii+313.

The above book is a restatement of the theories of Karl Marx. The author's reason for writing it is probably indicated by the following: "The momentous developments during this period (i.e., since the Civil War) are the centralization of control of capital and the modification of the money system. . . . but the theoretic treatment of this important subject (i.e., 'money system') is neglected or avoided by those whose particular function it is to study such subjects theoretically, namely, the paid specialists in political economy at the universities" (Preface, p. v). At this point it might be pertinent to ask if the author is wholly ignorant of the work of Professors Laughlin, Fisher, Kinley, Kemmerer, and a host of other "paid specialists in political economy," who have written so extensively on every phase of the money system. Possibly Mr. Cahn is dissatisfied with the efforts of these men, since he may class them with the "political economists who do not know the source of profit" (pp. 304-305), and therefore as hardly competent to speak on the subject.

In chap. i, entitled "Economics a Science," the following statements occur: "Now, every student of Marx's *Capital* knows that there is not a sentence in the whole stupendous work not based, in concrete statement, on sense-perceptions, nor a single abstract statement which is not a generalization of those same sense-perceptions. This is all that any discipline can be required to prove in demanding a charter as a true science. But Economics, as expounded by Marx, is able to do better than that, in contrast to some of the so-called natural sciences. . . . every sense-perceived economic phenomenon treated or mentioned in *Capital* is capable of demonstration by actual experiment" (p. 23). The quotation speaks for itself. At least it furnishes a clew to the author's attitude of mind toward economic questions in general.

Chap. ii, on the "Marxian Theory of Value Briefly Stated," confirms the above quotation and probably explains the statement made on p. vi

of the Preface: "Obviously it was necessary to start with an exposition of the foundation of all knowledge." Incidentally it might be added that many readers will experience some difficulty in understanding this chapter unless they have already read Marx's *Capital*.

Chaps. iii-vii contain the author's theories on the subject of money. In spite of his very evident contempt for economists in general, there is much in these chapters with which practically all economists would agree. However, all that is worth while has been said many times before. The remainder of the book, chaps. viii-xiii, is a restatement of Marx's views on capital.

In conclusion it may be said that anyone who has read Marx's *Capital* will miss very little by not reading this book. Those who have not read Marx's *Capital* will profit more by reading it than by reading *Capital To-Day*.

W. M. HUDSON

CLARK COLLEGE  
WORCESTER, MASS.

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*Anthracite, an Instance of Natural Resource Monopoly.* By SCOTT NEARING. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1915. Pp. 251. \$1.00.

Professor Nearing presents the essential facts about prices, cost of production, wages, and profits in the anthracite monopoly.

The supply of anthracite is localized in one small area of one state. It is owned, mined, and distributed by a small combination of railroads and coal companies. Millions of consumers are entirely dependent upon the supply so owned and so distributed. The consumer pays a monopoly price based on the principle of "all that the traffic will bear," rather than a price based on a cost of production which has regard for fair conditions of production and moderate profits. Prior to 1898, when competitive conditions prevailed in the anthracite industry, prices fluctuated; since the combination of 1898 was effected, prices have steadily advanced. On generous estimates, mining costs, including all mine labor and upkeep, constitute less than one-third of the price of seven-dollars-per-ton coal. The remaining two-thirds goes to the operator, the railroad, and the retailer. Hence the increase in price is hardly due to increased costs of mining. The anthracite monopoly granted a 10 per cent advance in wages after the strike of 1912. The increased labor cost resulting therefrom was 9½ cents per ton, yet the monopoly raised the price of domestic

coal sizes 31 cents per ton, and saddled the consumer with a greater burden. Since 1898 the profits of railroads in the anthracite monopoly have steadily increased to the enormous dividend figures of 1913, the last normal year.

This enlightening book should be of great value to all consumers of coal—and that means nearly everybody.

F. STUART CHAPIN

SMITH COLLEGE

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*Current Economic Problems: A Series of Readings in the Control of Industrial Development.* Edited by WALTER HALE HAMILTON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1915. Pp. xxxix+789. \$2.00.

This book of readings is designed for a course in general economics, or for a course in current economic problems complementary to a course in the principles of economics. It appeared first, privately printed, in 1914, but after considerable revision is published in the present form. The author has in preparation a companion volume of outlines, exercises, and problems.

Fourteen general topics are treated, namely: antecedents of modern industrialism, the industrial revolution, social control in modern industrialism, the pecuniary basis of economic organization, crises, international trade, railway regulation, capitalistic monopoly, population, economic insecurity, trade unionism, legal institutions, taxation, and comprehensive schemes of social reform.

In the selection and treatment of these topics there is a distinct departure from the conventional method. It is noticeable, for instance, that there is no specific study of such topics as value and interest. But this book of readings will, nevertheless, assist the student to understand value and interest. A large number of short readings is deemed preferable to a few long selections because the short readings can cover the field better, introduce the problems in their larger settings, give a clearer perspective of the subject as a whole, and contain less extraneous matter and fewer subtle points. These selections, moreover, are of the most various types, ranging from court decisions to I.W.W. songbooks, and from the Book of Genesis to the revelations of current journals. The result is that all the prominent attitudes are presented, and that the student has to make a choice of conflicting and incommensurable values. The purpose of this is to induce the student to think intelligently in

terms of a complex industrial situation rather than to memorize statements about ready-made solutions. Such a method is of great value in overcoming personal and class bias, in avoiding dogmatism, and in reaching the conclusion that the solutions of social problems must be ever-developing rather than cut-and-dried formulas. The problems, finally, are presented in their historical setting and as phases of a common whole rather than as isolated entities.

The work of the editor in stating the problems, giving the point of view and the interpretations, and weaving the selections together, is unusually good. It is, on that account, regrettable that his introductory statements are printed in smaller type than the readings, carrying the implication of minor importance.

This is not only the best book of readings in the fields it is designed to cover, but is also a book that will be of interest in the study of any of the special problems considered by it, and will be found valuable in courses on the principles of social science.

E. H. SUTHERLAND

WILLIAM JEWELL COLLEGE

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*Land Credits: A Plea for the American Farmer.* By DICK T. MORGAN. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1915. Pp. xvi+299.

The author of this volume is a congressman from Oklahoma. It is a good sign when legislators believe it worth while to make a thorough investigation of an important subject of legislation, so that they may use their influence intelligently. In the face of several bills introduced in Congress, none of which appeared satisfactory, Mr. Morgan resolved to devote his nine months' vacation to the work of investigating the field of rural credit. This book is the result of that investigation. The treatment given the subject is sufficient evidence that the author did make a reliable investigation, and he has produced a valuable discussion of an important and prominent subject.

The aim of the volume is practical rather than scientific. In view of pressing pendent legislation, the question arises: What kind of a system of rural credit should we establish? To aid in answering this question intelligently, Mr. Morgan depicts the situation of the farmer as a class, and finds that he seeks to do business on the basis of a relatively inferior credit system. Since credit has become the foundation and chief agent of the industrial and commercial world, it cannot be expected that

the agricultural industry can succeed until it has an efficient credit system, nor that it will be satisfied until that is realized. The farmer is discriminated against until a flexible, accessible, adequate, and justly rated interest-bearing system of credits has been furnished him (Introduction, and chaps. i and ii).

All through the work the beneficial experiences of the European and other countries in the field of rural credit are cited, but chap. iii is especially devoted to considering the principles of those systems. This is used as a basis for evaluating the measures which are before Congress. The remaining chapters, iv-xii, are almost wholly devoted to an examination of three of the important rural-credit bills before Congress. The Commission Bill, the Sub-Committee Bill, and the Senate Committee Bill are the ones which receive attention. In chap. iv the best analysis and comparison of these measures that I have seen is made. While these measures provide many good features of a land-credit system, the author believes that they fail to provide an adequate volume of rural credit, thus falling short of reducing interest on the major part of loans to farmers; to provide an economical rate for administration expenses, the rate provided being 1 per cent; to fix a definite rate of interest on land credits; in exempting private, profit-sharing banks from national, state, and local taxation; in placing the farmers in competition with each other in marketing their securities, thus increasing the rate of interest on the mortgages on which those securities are based; in permitting the establishment of a multitude of institutions with small capital, thus reflecting on and depreciating the value of farm securities; to provide sufficiently long-time credit, sufficient reserves, control by farmers of their credit system, and a really national land-credit system. In the estimation of the reviewer, who has the provisions of the various national rural-credit systems in mind, the author has essentially proved his contentions.

There is very little in the volume that is objectionable. I believe that, although it can be done, the author has not demonstrated the truth of one of his chief contentions, namely, that farmers pay a higher rate of interest than other classes of borrowers. He also overlooks consideration of possible evil effects in the tendency an easy credit system might have toward piling up mortgages needlessly. The objection has been urged by farm papers and is worth meeting. The volume is provided with a very comprehensive analytical index which adds to its value as a quick reference work on land credits.

JOHN M. GILLETTE

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

*Law and Order in Industry.* By JULIUS HENRY COHEN. New York: Macmillan, 1916. Pp. xviii+292. \$1.50.

This is a fair-minded and authoritative history of the famous protocol in the New York garment industry—one of the first and most significant attempts to bring order into a field in which anarchy was writ large. The author, a member of the New York bar, was a joint framer of the protocol and attorney for the employers' association throughout the life of that agreement. The protocol has been so well advertised (and apparently, like the honor plan in prisons, overpraised as a panacea) that only a word as to its history and meaning is necessary. It was a treaty of peace signed late in 1910 to end a very bitter strike which involved nearly sixty thousand workers in the garment industry. After five years of ups and downs, the treaty was abrogated. This book is a summary of the reasons for that breakdown and of the lessons learned during that period. The protocol has been called a lawyer's scheme—somewhat like John Locke's famous Virginia constitution. Mr. Cohen conceives the whole experiment as an attempt to carry over into industry two legal principles: (1) the natural method of parliament and law courts, "orderly debate, study, controversy . . . but decision by a process of reasoning, not of coercion by one power against another"—in other words, substitution of the "time-wasting art of discussion," persuasion, and compromise for force and war; (2) that "industry itself ought to assume the responsibility for its own sanitary conditions, as the Bar assumes responsibility for the ethical conduct of its members." The second principle seems to have succeeded; the first succeeded only in part, for the agreement broke down. However, it seems impossible to believe that its lessons in method will be utterly lost. For many manufacturers learned to accept the principle of collective bargaining, and many workers learned the necessity of compromise (e.g., substitution of the preferential union shop for the closed shop). The adjudication of some 16,000 grievances in five years could not fail to yield certain concrete inductions. That the protocol is not valueless may also be inferred from its spread to other cities.

Why, then, did so valuable an experiment fail? Several reasons conspired to this: failure to educate the rank and file of both workers and employers to its real meaning; the refusal of employers to allow the slightest interference with their right to discharge (the issue of "firing") and failure of labor leaders to restrain annoying shop strikes—that is, lack of discipline on both sides; the multitude of petty grievances; litigation made too easy; the difficulty of standardizing the hundreds of

small shops; the weight and complexity of protocol machinery; finally, the feeling of some employers that they were being made sociological guinea-pigs and their shops social laboratories.

The space limits of this review preclude even naming the knotty economic problems which the author's analysis implies must be solved before peace can be established. That they not only are soluble but must be solved, he clearly believes, for he ends with this trumpet call: "We cannot go back to savagery in industry, whatever it costs to go forward." As of particular interest to sociologists, the chapter analyzing the women's garment industry may be recommended as collateral reading on fashion, imitation, prestige, etc. The discussion of "social" shops and large factories illustrates the contrast between ethnic and interest groups. It is to be regretted that this, on the whole, well-written book is marred by so gross a literary lapse as the charge that union leaders "created a Frankenstein"!

A. J. TODD

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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*Social Adaptation: A Study in the Development of the Doctrine of Adaptation as a Theory of Social Progress.* By LUCIUS MOODY BRISTOL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915. Pp. xii+356. \$2.00.

This semi-historical study is an attempt to review the literature of sociology from the standpoint of the single category of adaptation. But so broad is the category itself, in its fourfold aspect and passive material and active and passive spiritual or social adaptation, as here used, that it becomes in effect a study of the forces—physical, biological, and mental—underlying social evolution. The author takes for his general point of departure the biologists, anthropogeographers, and sociologists of the early nineteenth century, and develops the significant trends in the adaptive-developmental theory of society to the present time. As indicated, he does not confine his attention to sociologists alone, but draws pertinent data from such writers as Lamarck, Darwin, Weismann, DeVries, Mendel, Nietzsche, Pearson, Ripley, Buckle, Carlyle, and others. His 261 pages of exposition of the theories of others may, without attaching too much significance to the mere fact of space, be distributed according to the countries or institutions represented as follows: United States 93, France 63, Great Britain 59, Germany and Austria 42, Harvard University 31.5, and Belgium and Holland each

approximately two pages. More space is given to Carver (19 pages) than to any other sociologist. Comte comes next with 17 pages. Of Comte the author says, "So well did he do his task that social philosophy since his day has done little more than to fill in his outline and correct and supplement his method" (p. 14). To Ward he assigns 15 pages, to Baldwin 14 pages, and to other American writers less space. To Cooley, Ellwood, and Small he devotes only a few lines or a stray reference in each case, although their theories have much in common with his own views. On the other hand, he gives 5 pages to Ripley, 4 to Carlyle, 3 to Bagehot, and 2 to Henry Drummond. In general it may be said that the book shows evidence of much greater dependence upon the representative writers analyzed than upon the current periodical literature.

The author's category of adaptation, upon the basis of which the book is constructed, was taken from Carver, though it was earlier used by Novicow, as the author points out (p. 268). The arrangement of the writers treated under the various aspects of this category is as follows: the writers of the biological and anthropogeographical schools are classified as physical and physio-social or passive physical adaptationists; a great group of writers of the types of Schäffle, Sumner, Ratzenhofer, Tarde, and Giddings are described as passive spiritual or social adaptationists. A smaller group, consisting of Ward, Patten, and Carver, come under the category of active material adaptationists; while as active spiritual adaptationists he discusses specifically Novicow, Carlyle, James, Ross, Baldwin, and Comte.

Bristol's own theory of adaptation may be summarized as follows: Since "personality alone has power over the cosmic process" (p. 320), he constructs a theory of "social-personalism" as the criterion in active social adjustment. By this he appears to mean that individual worth rather than the social welfare is the supreme test (p. 325). Within this criterion, he says, "active adaptation is the end, and pleasure and pain signboards to indicate the right way" (p. 324, note). Having thus rejected the objective criterion of social welfare as the test for adaptation, he is left with only the subjective pleasure-pain criterion or test of values, which is essentially individualistic when pushed to the last analysis. Thus he fails to arrive at the objective application of science to the problem of social control as an impartial and objective measure of values in active social adaptation.<sup>1</sup> Yet, while by implication he rejects the objective test of science in favor of the subjective test of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. L. Bernard, *Transition to an Objective Standard of Social Control* (The University of Chicago Press), especially chaps. iii and vii.



feeling as the guide to adjustment, he states the goal of society in distinctly social terms, as "the well-being of the greatest number of rational individuals, including not only the present but future generations" (p. 331). Thus his subjectivism is in method values rather than in end values. It has been generally true that workers in the social sciences have been better able to shake off subjectivism and individualism in the formulation of a social goal than in a statement of the tests of conduct to be used in attaining it.

This leaning toward the subjective and individualistic as against the objectively social values in the adaptive process does not appear to be merely accidental with the author, but rather a part of the general background of his thinking. He places a great deal of emphasis upon personality (pp. 284, 320), which for him has largely a religious aspect (pp. 286, 321 ff.). In fact, his "social-personalism" is very close to the Christian theism of Bowne (pp. 321, 328, 331). To him the highest function of the group, as of the individual, is "exemplification," or the setting of an example to be followed by others: "the Kingdom of God will come by the spread, through reflective imitation, of the achievement of groups setting the best example of social organization and collective welfare" (p. 329). He appears to avoid strict adherence to a causal or rigidly quantitative measurement of social phenomena (p. 190). He inclines strongly to a theory of the freedom of the will in social adaptation (pp. 211 ff.). "The ultimate explanation of this whole matter is metaphysical" (p. 213). "Science can give us at best but relations of co-existence and sequence between phenomena. Our ultimate explanation is hyper-scientific—a matter of belief" (p. 214). Yet, in apparent contradiction to some of this, he inclines strongly toward an emphasis upon the influence of environment as a passive adaptive force (pp. 317, 331). He also criticizes the strong emphasis of the neo-Darwinians upon natural selection as a method of adaptation selection in society (pp. 314-17). The volume was awarded the David A. Wells Prize for the year 1914-15.

L. L. BERNARD

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

## RECENT LITERATURE

### NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

**A New Policy toward Drunks and Vagrants.**—The usual plan of arresting a man for drunkenness or vagrancy and committing him for a period to jail can be based only on one of three possible reasons: (1) to punish the offender; (2) to protect society; (3) to reform the individual. The third alone is worthy of serious consideration. Individual responsibility is destroyed rather than built up in an institution, and individual responsibility is the main objective in the treatment. The usual method of handling prisoners in city jails tends to destroy their self-respect and sense of responsibility. There should be officials in every city jail to pass upon the justice of arrests, without the formality of a trial. In the police court the authority of the judge should be limited to the question of the legal cause of action: he should have no authority to fix a definite sentence or determine treatment. The prisoner who has been found guilty should be turned over to authorities competent to prescribe the proper method of treatment. The prisoners will fall into classes requiring different treatment. The defectives who are unimprovable should be cared for where they will not be a menace to society. The dipsomaniac requires medical treatment, as his trouble is a nervous disorder. This treatment is best given in institutions located in the country. Country life combined with a wholesome mode of living is the best means of arousing the latent forces and ambitions. The unemployed and discouraged, namely, the vagrants, need to have the individual sense of responsibility re-established. This can be done only by giving a purpose to existence. Farm work and educational training are the needs of this class. All such farm colonies should be under state supervision, and the inmates should receive a wage, as this gives a sense of independence and self-respect.—Max Watson, *National Municipal Review*, October, 1915.

E. B. R.

**Working Women and Drink.**—Why do so many women of normal intelligence and moral development and up-bringing come to grief through drink? Like the men, some women are led astray by love of company, by the desire to stand well with their fellows, or by sheer inability to resist suggestion. But with women there are also other reasons. The habit appears later in life than with men. After years of self-abnegating and unremitting toil for their households, not a few women break down as they near the climacteric. Worn out and exhausted, they seek to overcome this growing lassitude and to gain courage to face their daily lives by methods hitherto resisted. Even when there is no abnormal strain, many elderly women, after their children have grown up and left home, tend to give way to drink. They are nearly always in poor health, they never had any interests apart from their families, and they suffer from loneliness and depression. We find women who drink because they learned the habit as factory girls. Other inebriates are the mentally defective, the victims of ill-health, and the worn-out drudges. But most female inebriates are such because their husbands drink. If a husband earning 30 shillings a week spends a sixth of that at the public-house, he spends what represents his wife's food and clothing. It is she and not he who suffers. Then the suggestion of alcohol is constant in her environment. The less support the husband accords the home the more squalid and uncomfortable it becomes, and therefore the less attractive in comparison with the public-house. The husband may keep what he pleases out of his income, and throw on the wife the chief burden of keeping the family a unit. A sense of duty toward the family fulfilled would be the best foundation for sense of duty toward the state. The wife would gain in health, character, and happiness, and be able to take her place as the moral center of her home.—A. Martin, *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1916. E. E. M.

**Suffrage and Prohibition.**—Whether or not there is any intimate relation between the suffragist and the prohibitionist movements is a question that provokes diverse replies. The pronouncements of certain liquor interests and of certain suffrage leaders assume that suffrage and liquor are enemies of each other; and such a man as Mr. W. H. Taft imputes similar emotionalism to suffrage and prohibition. Yet officially the national suffrage movement maintains silence upon the issue, a number of its leaders openly bid for the wet vote, and an anti-suffrage study of some importance claims that woman suffrage has had little effect in securing prohibition. This bald negation is not verified by a survey of the local and national election votes from suffrage states. With the exception of grape-growing California, the possession of suffrage by a state has meant a preparation of the soil for prohibition sentiment. Hence the facts behind this external attitude of "benevolent neutrality" should lead us to predict that the recent suffrage gains in the East augur for that section of the country an increasing support of the prohibition issue.—L. Ames Brown, *North American Review*, January, 1916. M. T. P.

**Social Aspects of Drink.**—The use of alcohol and awareness to its dangers are heritages from ancient times. Contemporary campaigning against liquor is advancing from the vituperative to the pseudo-scientific stage. Those preferring scientific conclusions as to the effect of liquor find no concurrence of professional opinion. Physiologically, some scientists say, it is a poisonous nutriment, some call it a destroyer of higher mental capacities, some, a beneficial stimulant to certain persons who use it in moderation. Prohibition does not seem to be the panacea for evils attributed so often to alcoholism. The degeneracy of alcoholics is dependent upon the amount consumed, the physiological condition of the drinker, and other factors. Alcoholism is but one of the causes of insanity. The part played by alcoholism in inducing other diseased conditions has not been ascertained. Surely the economic and criminal effects imputed to liquor are not certain enough to validate the current crude generalizations of prohibition agitators. Moreover, the American saloon with its evil concomitants is due to discernible causes which should be made clear, in the interests of constructive temperance reform. The saloon entered politics in self-defense against the political attempt to exterminate it. Abuse of the local-option principle has encouraged illegal and legal loitering of liquor interests where annual elections were liable to reverse existing laws; it has allowed the extra-rural vote to force urban prohibition and hence evasion of law; it has promoted such prohibition measures as the forbidding of beverages in some states. License-control sentiment, just as unwisely, has made quantitative uniform levies, has failed to encourage temperateness, and has forced liquor into the hands of moneyed men. The first plank in constructive reform is adjusting taxes to the quality of liquor, so as to put a premium on temperate drinks. Secondly, state judiciaries seem most fit to issue licenses, and the retailer should be released from slavery to the politically embroiled producer. Thirdly, local option should mean the rule of the community, not of the majority. Fourthly, the experiment of communities conducting the liquor business for the good of the community, rather than for profit, has enormous possibilities of reform in it.—John Koren, *Atlantic Monthly*, January and February, 1916. M. T. P.

**Prohibition of Alcoholic Drinks in Russia.**—According to some Russian newspapers, prohibition of alcoholic drinks has been unusually successful; according to others, it has failed altogether. Considering the whiskey question first, the facts as ascertained by myself are about as follows. Even acknowledging certain bad conditions, the majority of reports are favorable to the law; especially in the country the results have been wonderful. In spite of the higher cost of living the farmers are in fair circumstances, but the glowing reports of savings banks must be doubted. Village life has changed. Formerly any village tyrant could, with the help of whiskey, do anything he pleased, but now the sober villagers want to know something of the problems that come up. They read a great deal more than formerly, and there is not the dull apathy that was present during the war with Japan. In the cities the law has been less successful on account of greater opportunities for secret distilleries and the greater number of customers. Among the intelligent classes there is much discussion of displacing the saloon by public amusement houses, concerts, etc. The press

has never reported how the deficit in taxes is made up. Perhaps a few millions more or less do not matter in a great war. The prohibition of wine and beer has been fought hard by French and Russian wine merchants, grape growers, and saloon-keepers. A return to the old conditions is not probable during the war. It is doubtful whether the tendency in the cities will be victorious in the end, but meanwhile the alcohol opponents are trying to get public opinion in their favor.—R. Hercod, "Das Alkoholverbot in Russland," *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, December, 1915. C. C. J.

**Vodka Prohibition and Russian Peasant Life.**—The statistical bureau of the Government of Kostroma issued a questionnaire to six hundred correspondents in different districts, dealing in part with the results of prohibition since November, 1914. The observations and reports of the different correspondents lasted from four to five months. Questions were submitted to them such as these: "What are the results of the stoppage of the sale of vodka on the economic life of the country? Has any improvement been noted in the case of those peasants whose homes were previously ruined by their drunkenness? What is the influence of prohibition on the moral life of the community?"

The results of prohibition, according to most of the answers, are: "decrease of crime, in some instances by 90 per cent; stoppage of hooliganism, increase of labor capacity, and decrease of poverty." Further questions were devoted to finding out whether the correspondents think it possible to have permanent prohibition. In answering, some express the fear that with permanent prohibition the people will use vicious substitutes and suffer from it. Others fear the financial deficit and the consequent imposition of new taxes. Many fall back ultimately on prohibition, since "it is necessary for everything—for economic wealth, for health, physical and moral improvement, and for the stoppage of crime. Without it the people will be lost." The majority of the reports show that the country no longer approves of its dark, drink-sodden past.—J. Y. Simpson, *Contemporary Review*, December, 1915. D. T. E.

**Woman's Duty to Serve and the Struggle against the Lady of Leisure.**—It is very difficult to make any opposition to compulsory service for women, for one can really never know what kind of compulsory service will be introduced. If one interpret the duty in war times as the right of the state to train and use the woman in the place of man, one deals with a practical political problem. It is an error to think that such service marks a new epoch in the advance of the woman from object to subject, to a status of equality with man. Psychologically, the most interesting recommendation made by the director of this woman's service movement is that every girl, no matter what her station in life, should serve as servant-girl for a period of two years. Such employment would have the same moral effect as military service has on the man. The training to independence is perhaps more important than training to obedience. Others have suggested that it would be desirable to have young girls of all classes shift for themselves for a period of time, in order that they might learn to know what poverty, thrift, and independence mean.—E. M. Schweitzer, "Die Frauendienstpflicht und der Kampf gegen die Dame," *Die Neue Rundschau*, December, 1915. H. A. J.

**Women and the Reconstruction of Industry.**—The war has caused such changes in our commercial and industrial life that the process of adaptation has necessitated the employment of female labor. The government appeared as a purchaser, and its ministry of munitions took over ordnance factories and engineering works, which were put under state control. They were faced with a shortage of skilled men and a lack of technical knowledge among women. The London County Council has partly provided for training by opening a number of centers where women may obtain a knowledge of munition work. Further, it requires the skilled worker to devote a part of his time to the supervising and training of new hands. The result has been to enable many women to become skilled and so to increase the output. In non-industrial occupations, the displacement of men by women has been even greater. In the post-office women have become sorters, telegraph and telephone operators, collectors, and carriers. Practically the whole clerical force of the new department of munitions is women, under the supervision and instruction of male officials of long standing.

The same is true of banks and insurance offices. In the distributing trades women are everywhere found. On the railways, as a rule, the ticket collectors are women, and at the main stations girls are acting as platform attendants. Women are taking up ordinary farm labor as well as dairying and cheese-making. Formerly their service in the engineering trades was confined to manual operations and the manipulating of automatic tools, while today they are in charge of some of the most delicate engineering operations, necessitating great skill and high intelligence. The question of wages is adjusting itself locally. The government attempts to apply in practice the theory of equal wage for equal work. It is plain that the war has changed the whole economic position of labor.—C. Kinloch-Cooke, *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1915.

E. E. M.

**Women of England.**—The war is changing English life and devouring the quiet hidden places where the future is nourished. It goes unrecorded, partly because it touches the part of the world which is the care of women, and partly because when one thinks of women in war time the exceptional people come forward as usual to crowd out the rest of mankind. One does not refer to the women who have acquired boots, spurs, and khaki in which they have done deeds of valor, to the women nurses, women doctors, and surgeons who have stopped one of the leaks through which gushed out the life of Europe, but rather to the middle-class housewives who are not likely to write their own history. These women who have lived in love with stability have seen a great change in the past year. Busy with the men and babies, these women have in their homes seen a special revelation from this war. Assault is made upon the lives of their children through disorganized social machinery. To be idle while this titanic struggle is on is impossible, and so they have learned that participation in the collective life by service is necessary for happiness. It may seem to neutrals, when they read of the triumphant greed of the coal owners and army contractors, and the politician's gambblings for leadership, that this war has done nothing to Europe except make it a swill-dish for the capitalist class. But middle-class people have endured many experiences and have found them to be revelations that we could not have received in times of peace.—Rebecca West, *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1916.

G. E. M.

**The Verification of the German Social Policy.**—At the beginning of the war grave anxiety prevailed, among the friends of social legislation, regarding the liabilities of the social insurance and its accumulated capital. Will the sickness, the accident, the invalid, and the pension funds be able to meet the phenomenally increased liabilities, and will the institutions as such withstand the storm and stress of the world-war? The restrictive measures adopted at the beginning as a safeguard proved, however, unnecessary, since the increased burden did not assume the expected and much-dreaded proportions. According to the report of the *Reichsamt* of the interior, more than 3,500 branches, at the end of the year 1914, were able to grant not only a decrease of the usual dues but also an increase of the premiums paid, while more than 2,000 treasuries reduced the insurance rate, and out of 2,102 *Betriebskrankenkassen* 1,230 maintained their former rates of dues and support. Although the invalid-insurance funds had to bear the greatest burden, yet participants in the war have been exempted from paying their dues during the time of actual service without forfeiting their claims, and orphans and widows received their usual annuities. Besides all that, the insurance companies had to May used thirteen million marks for war benefits and invested fifty-six millions of marks as loans for the same purpose. Thus the greater portion of the capital served a double purpose; it was used as security for social insurance and at the same time promoted the development of social culture. It created social institutions which in turn became potent factors in mitigating the evils of the war.—Heinrich Dove, "Die Bewährung der deutschen Sozialpolitik im Weltkrieg," *Nord und Süd*, December, 1915.

Z. T. E.

**The Polish-Jewish Problem.**—The Polish Jews form a closed and completely developed national organism, and have all the marks and criteria of a nation. There are about 2,000,000 of these Jews in Poland who speak the Jewish-German language. The question now is whether they should be kept as a nationality or assimilated by the

Poles. Since they do exist, they also have an ethical right to future existence, and it is not a question as to whose culture is superior. From a political standpoint it is to the benefit of Germany to keep up the Polish Jews. The Poles, it must be remembered, are Slavs, and will not make undoubted friends of Central Europe. The Jews would make the strongest friends of Germany, since they have been ruthlessly oppressed by the Russians, and because their language is related to the German. This would not mean a Germanizing of the Polish Jews. It would not cause friction between them and the Poles. Furthermore, the 16,000 Russian Jews who have come annually to Poland since 1897 have not Russianized the country, since they came from a region which is Jewish by almost 98 per cent. Therefore, the recognition and securing of the Polish Jews as a nation, without any kind of Germanizing, is the only possible and beneficial solution of the problem. It gives the Jews the right of existence and recognizes the Poles as the predominant race. For Germany it secures warm and dependable friends.—Nachum Goldmann, "Zum polnisch-jüdischen Problem," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, December, 1915. C. C. J.

Rural Life from August, 1914, to October, 1915.—The writer has taken especial pains to familiarize himself with that sensitive, but difficult to measure, barometer of social conditions, rural life. When the war broke out without warning, and the country was as suddenly depleted of its efficient men just as the harvest was well begun, women and children and old men turned to the difficult task before them, and in a spirit of mutual helpfulness and service to their country preserved the agricultural resources of the nation. In the invaded regions, for very obvious reasons, the harvest could not be completed, while the homeless refugees, disheartened by disaster and strangers to the industrial technique of the sections to which they fled, were fitted only slowly into the rural enterprises of their countrymen. As time advanced, problems of agricultural labor also clouded somewhat the remarkable concord of the rural people as they continued the vital function of preparing for another year's crop. Laborers have sometimes made exorbitant demands for higher wages, notwithstanding the incapacity which attended their youthful or aged efforts. Regulation by law has in some cases been resorted to. Spanish laborers have been imported. Prisoners of war have not been very successfully used. Government allowances to unfortunates have sometimes seemed to deter them from making greater possible efforts. But, on the whole, the group conduct of the rural population has been most excellent, and, in particular, remarkable efforts at co-operation and maintaining older rural institutions have been put forth by numerous devoted and undaunted women.—J. H. Ricard, "La Vie pavanne (d'août 1914 à octobre 1915)," *Revue politique et parlementaire*, December, 1915. C. C. C.

A Censorship of the Censor.—The improper exercise of its functions has made the censorship a menace to the successful prosecution of the war. It is universally agreed that a censorship of war news is necessary, but the institution is now running amuck in non-military matters; it has abused its privilege and its trust. The press bureau has, as one function, the suppression of all news calculated to depress the public. But the censorship has acted disastrously in every way; it has suppressed opinion, suppressed honest neutral comment when adverse to ourselves, and served up amazing nonsense by "military experts" under the guise of sober truth. A censorship of the censorship—an agreement among newspaper men—would confer a boon on the nation, if it agreed to suppress the reports of those who see nothing in a British or Russian reverse but a subtle plan of the higher military powers or an embarrassment to the victor. An organization of journalists to suppress false news released for publication would defeat the plans of those who, through changing the complexion of the news, produce a state of unwarranted optimism and ignorance.—Alexander Campbell, *English Review*, January, 1916. E. B. R.

On Understanding the Mind of Germany.—Men cannot act enduringly and deliberately to the hurt of others for their own advantage simply because they realize that it is to their advantage. In the serious enterprises they must always have the support of moral justification. In times of war men seek to justify the horrors of the situation by idealizing the cause for which the war is fought. The more unjustifiable

the war the more certain the emotions are to develop ideas and beliefs calculated to disguise the lack of justification. Each nation expresses its moral convictions in terms which its history has made familiar and congenial. How appealing and convincing these are to other nations depends upon the degree to which they are familiar and understandable. The moral defense of Great Britain is readily understood by the average American, because it is in the terms which the American would employ most naturally in his own justification. The same is almost equally true of France. But it is quite different in the case of Germany. Her moral justification is in unfamiliar terms, and Americans who sympathize with her explain and justify her cause in terms which the Germans themselves do not employ. The English understanding of the German mental and moral temper is very far from the conception which the Germans have of themselves. The English, for example, interpret German *Kultur* to mean literally that might makes right. To the German the *Kultur* for the preservation of which the war is waged is a necessity of all humanity: the ideal is not force, but the organization of all forces that the ideal of organization (*Kultur*) may triumph over the ideal of chaotic individualism. Not to employ force to defend this possession is to the German mind treachery to the cause of humanity. It is possible to understand the philosophy of a people only in the light of their history and national development. Submission to duty, salvation through striving of will, the moral mission of aesthetic culture, and historicism are the ideas which form the continuing mind of Germany. Our minds have been fed upon political and social ideas foreign to German thought. The German idea of the state is an extension of the ideas of mediaevalism into the modern world. This is the implication when the Germans themselves say that the German people lack political sense and capacity for self-government. They accomplish great things under leadership. This is saying that "the Germans, with all their achievements, have missed the one great experience in which the national minds of Great Britain, France, and America have been educated and ripened." This is "probably the root of the difficulty of mutual understanding as between the German mind and that of other peoples."—John Dewey, *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1916.

E. B. R.

**Psycho-Analysis a New Educational Method.**—According to the Freudian psychology, hysteria is the result of an earlier-experienced sexual catastrophe. The forcible suppression in consciousness of this disagreeable experience results in its becoming operative in sub-consciousness and appearing in most peculiar mental or physical aberrations. By means of psycho-analysis it is possible to tap this sub-conscious field, find the real cause of the aberration, bring it into the consciousness of the patient, and thus effect a cure. Yet in many cases of hysteria it has been impossible to find any trace of a sexual catastrophe in the patient's earlier experience. Much of this theory is based on imagination. In making interpretations of dreams, anything in the world may be interpreted as being a sexual symbol. This method is unscientific to the highest degree, for it is based on the exploration of sub-consciousness, about which we know absolutely nothing. Therefore the use of it as an educational method, practiced on children for the cure of tics, bad habits, and similar aberrations, by teachers and psychologists who know nothing about the medical field, is not only a scientific error but also a pedagogical sin.—J. Lindworsky, "Die Psychoanalyse eine neue Erziehungsmethode?" *Stimmen der Zeit*, December, 1916.

H. A. J.

**What is Pathological Psychology?**—Pathological mental conditions are not different in kind from normal ones. Therefore we can regard the variations of which pathological physical states consist as experiments performed by nature. In the study of pathological psychology are to be found several rather distinct tendencies. One school aims to describe symptoms in different maladies, and then to show the physiological significance of these disturbances. Further, it attempts to co-ordinate the symptoms—for example, shows the relation between delirium and mental pain or sorrow. Incidentally, this sort of investigation contributes to the understanding of the normal quality of the mental states of which the pathological cases are exaggerations. Another group of students have given special attention to the readaptations which result from derangements in the mind or senses. Thus, blindness causes much

greater use of auditory and tactile senses, and stress may be laid upon the quality and quantity of these readjustments. Many facts which in the normal functioning of these senses are obscured can be observed in the unusual conditions. Insanity, like blindness, furnishes notable readjustments, whose study in this connection is profitable. The study of the same general functional activities, such as attention, or feeling, or emotion, in different maladies, is another tendency. In this pursuit normal functionings are revealed by the comparative study. Again, particular stress may be laid on the inner or subjective as distinguished from the behavioristic side of the mental life. The Freudian school has attempted to trace casual links between subconscious processes and the higher conscious life. It has achieved brilliant results in showing how some higher mental states and acts are related to sex impulses, abnormal bodily conditions, or dream life, although it has been mistaken in generalizing on the theory that all higher states of mind can be explained in a similar manner. Hence all tendencies have contributed to normal psychology.—G. Dumas, "Qu'est-ce que la psychologie pathologique?" *Journal de psychologie normal et pathologique*, April, 1915. C. C. C.

**The California Casual and His Revolt.**—The Wheatland episode brought the state of California to some degree of realization of its peculiar labor problem. The state is a natural economic unity insulated from the rest of the world. The agricultural part of the state is spotted with areas devoted to highly specialized and seasonal crops. This natural agricultural specialization is the basic cause of the California migratory worker. The railway construction in the state brought in large numbers of an element with new personal habits and labor psychology. The average duration of the job of the casual laborer varies from a maximum of thirty days in the lumber camps to seven days in the harvest fields. Winter is a time of complete idleness. Of the 150,000 migratory workers employed in summer, fully 100,000 are unemployed throughout the winter. The trade unions give very little attention to the migratory laborer.—Carleton H. Parker, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November, 1915.

E. B. R.

**Labor History in the Making.**—The 1915 convention of the American Federation of Labor marked a further recognition of the fact that power has gravitated from political to industrial agencies. It registered many important judgments. It adopted a plan for a world labor congress to be held synchronously with the proposed world peace congress. Its chief concerns will be due attention to "human welfare" and "democratic ideals." The debate over training in the public schools for self-defense precipitated an earnest discussion. President Gompers' steps to insure consideration for labor principles in pan-American affairs was indorsed. The convention also reaffirmed the right of trade unions to expand, to amalgamate, to internationalize their constituencies. It rejected the attempt to apply initiative, referendum, and recall to its own officers. Resolutions were passed on the question of migratory and unemployed laborers, on the eight-hour law, on the preservation of voluntary rights in the matter of arbitration, and on federal means of investigating and enlarging efforts in behalf of vocational education. The convention climaxed its list of legislative achievements with the adoption of a program of constructive legislation on the basis of which bills are to be formulated and promoted from time to time. Samuel Gompers, *American Federationist*, January, 1916.

M. T. P.

**Organization of Work.**—The world has never seen a more powerful organization of working forces than that which was perfected in the year 1914-15, when the world mobilized all its strength and resources for war. At the close of the war the great problem will be to organize work so as to accommodate the masses released from military service, the thousands of cripples, and a large percentage of the women who have been initiated into new fields of work during the war. Is it not conceivable that an organization of the masses for work can be perfected after the war, as has been done for the war—as for the military service, so also for work in the development of commerce and industry? Such an organization of work must be based on a comprehensive system of employment bureaus, established by law as branches of the state labor bureau.—Helene Simon, "Organisation der Arbeit," *Die Zukunft*, December, 1915.

H. A. J.



**Modern Unemployment and Its Control.**—The best remedy against unemployment is the creation of real work. It is a great mistake to give support to the poor and not to ask for some service in return. Germany spends, all told, a billion marks a year for such unproductive giving. In this regard the *Verein für soziale innere Kolonisation Deutschlands* has found a way in giving employment to men in street-, road-, and railroad-building, in draining moors, cleaning forests, etc. Provision for such employment of the temporarily unemployed all over the empire would be of great benefit. There are over two and one-half million hectares of moorland in Germany which could be reclaimed and used in the production of food, to make the country more independent in this respect. The expenses of this work are nearly covered by the rise in land values alone. Shelter could be provided for the laborers in various ways at convenient distances from the waste land. Payments would be made in part to the laborer and in part to his family. Almost any kind of laborer would be fit for such work. Even women could be employed, where absolutely necessary, in the lighter work of planting or digging up of the lighter sandy soils. Forest work, such as cutting down trees and cleaning away stumps, could be done in winter. Such stumps furnish fuel for many industries, charcoal, now imported in large quantities, and oil of turpentine. The groups of laborers should not contain over 200 or 300 each, and the expense of them should be borne by the communities where they work. Therefore, the productive expenditure of the vast sums now spent in charity would not only be a great material benefit to the nation, but, what is more important, it would help to build up character and self-respect in the laborer, which charity now tends to undermine. After the war there might be a strong movement of settlers to these reclaimed areas.—Hans Ostwald, "Die moderne Arbeitslosigkeit und ihre Bekämpfung," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, December, 1915. C. C. J.

**The Reduction of the Adult Male Population in Europe.**—In natural populations there is no fixed ratio between the sexes; sometimes the males somewhat outnumber the females, sometimes the females are more numerous than the males. The present ruthless war will reduce the number of adult men in European society to a proportion smaller perhaps than ever before existed. It is probable that many more have been slain than are officially reported, 4,000,000 being a conservative estimate. What will be the economic and social consequences of this slaughter of men? There will be fewer demands for houses, widows will live together communally, hence house rents will be lower. Farm laborers will be scarcer than they were before the war, and as the work will have to be carried on by women, children, and cripples, agriculture will change to forms which require less labor and strength, e.g., gardening, herding. Women will find their way into commerce and industry in greater numbers. Manual laborers will be in a position to claim higher wages, and, realizing their power, they are likely to create movements similar to those in Europe after the Black Death. The teaching classes and certain professions have been most decimated by the war, and therefore Europe will lack the benefits resulting from a large intellectual class of men. The scarcity of men will lead women to marry old men and boys. Many women will not hesitate to marry into any social class where a husband can be found. Scandalous and polygamous unions will arouse little comment, so familiar will they be. But higher positions will be open to women, and here their better qualities will come forth. Economy will be a necessity and thrift will be restored to the virtues. New political classifications will arise; women will probably obtain more voting power. In time, if peace prevails, an approximate balance of the sexes will be naturally attained.—Arthur Girault, "La Diminution de la population adulte male en Europe," *Revue d'économie politique*, September-December, 1915. C. C. C.

**Neglected Children and Juveniles.**—After fifteen months of war the conditions of our children and juveniles become alarming. Newspaper reports about ambushes, youthful robbers and swindlers, and the number of peddling and begging children are increasing. An extensive and intensive care and supervision has become imperative. Neglected youth may retain its physical but not its social vitality. Street life, which breeds laziness, and the craving for sensationalism are the great dangers of our children. They undermine the very qualities essential for good citizenship—creative power and energy. To counteract these disorganizing forces and the increase of juvenile delin-

quency, begging and peddling should be suppressed and a pension granted to such parents and families as need it. Kindergartens, nurseries, playgrounds should be established, and continuation and vacation schools maintained and made obligatory for all who are not adequately taken care of during their free hours. The school boards should assist the parents and increase the family influence through special meetings for parents. Church, school, police, and volunteer workers should co-operate in the care of the children and the investigation of the conditions under which they live whenever found without proper care. Some of these principles have already been put into practice by order of the Board of Education for Lower Austria.—Petra Belem, "Zur Verwharlung der Kinder," *Oesterreichische Rundschau*, October, 1915. Z. T. E.

**War Socialism and Peace Socialism.**—The socialists believe that the present war will result in the destruction of capitalism and the creation of a new order in industrial life, the destruction of the nationality principle in politics, and the building up of a feeling of international brotherhood among workmen. Such prophecies, however, have not and will not come true. Finance and state industries only have collapsed, but the industries of the people have stood the test. For these industries the war will be an epoch-making period. The measures taken for their regulation as to supply, demand, and price are interpreted as indicating a socialistic trend which may be carried out still further after the war. What plainly opposes this view is the inner satisfaction felt at the limiting of industrial freedom of all kinds and all that bears the name of socialism. Furthermore, the war has in no way served to foster a spirit of internationalism, but rather to intensify the feeling of nationalism, which will exist for a long time after peace is restored.—Andreas Voight, "Kriegssozialismus und Friedenssozialismus," *Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, January, 1916. H. A. J.

**The War and Socialism.**—Does the war bring socialism nearer? Do the war industries support a movement operating to furnish the necessities of life in the interest of the classes instead of the speculators? The needs of the army must be filled on the open market, which means that a scale of prices must be established in order to drive private speculation from the field. When we consider, for example, the work of the military raw-product division, with its far-reaching statistical data, of the raw-product corporations founded by the government for supporting the army and industries; and when we think of the government taking possession of all leather, metals, and rubber, of the government aid in establishing new factories, of the entire reorganization of the transportation and credit systems through state action, we see signs of an enormous revolution in industrial life. A far greater part of industry, however, works not for the market, but to fill orders for the state. Such order-filling work naturally does not represent necessity-filling industry. If, however, the consumer possesses the power and the desire to prescribe for the producer the working conditions, the choice of raw products, and the determining of the price in a rather large measure a great advance toward this type of industry is made. That it does not exist in a much larger degree today lies not in technical or organization factors but chiefly in social and political restrictions.—Gustav Eckstein, "Der Krieg und der Sozialismus," *Die Neue Zeit*, November, 1916. H. A. J.

**Untimely Remarks concerning the Future of Europe.**—The present war proves that preparation against war is a failure and that other methods must be employed to insure against it. This is only possible through a federation of the majority of the European states. I showed sixteen years ago at the time of the creation of the Hague Tribunal that such a tribunal would be futile. There is no power to enforce these treaties, and self-interest still is the highest law. There is no way of limiting competitive armament, and this war may be repeated with all its horrors. The unification of feudal Japan in the face of threatened European invasion is a splendid example of what such a federation would mean to Europe. The mass-killing of virile men leaves the propagation of the race to the men of poor quality. This means a quantitative and a qualitative decrease in population. The resulting economic pressure after this war will further reduce the birth-rate. The relative power of European states is always shifting, and new powers rise to take the place of others. Some Asiatic power

like China, if once aroused and developed, and especially the United States of North America, will in a certain length of time reduce all European powers to second rank by virtue of her population and economic power. The United States of Europe would have a representative from each country in the federation with voting power proportional to the population. The army and navy would be in common and in time of war would be under the sole control of the general government. Only in such a way can future wars be avoided.—W. Schallmayer, "Unzeitgemässe Gedanken über Europas Zukunft," *Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschafts-Biologie*, January, 1916.

C. C. J.

**Psychological and Historical Interpretations for Culture.**—Most psychological discussions of anthropological problems are carried on by psychologists, not anthropologists. This is largely true of psychology of religion, of psychology of art, of psychology of sex, and of psychology of society. The point of view of anthropology would call for a treatment of all comparable material—some imposing psychology of religion goes only to the roots of our own western religion. Anthropology aims to treat only the acquired activity complexes of human groups; psychology studies the initial psychological equipment and the subsequent psychological constitution of separate individuals. Anthropology is not concerned with even the comparative behavior of individuals. However, the instinctive factors in the differentiation of cultures is an important problem to both anthropologist and psychologist. Thorndike's *Original Nature of Man* seems to bear out a number of our fundamental anthropological positions. Yet it is not wise for either of us to intrude into the other's field. Psychology can now be of the very greatest service to anthropology by discovering the relations between man's innate and cultural equipments; but the specific historical data of the anthropologist is the material from which the elements and growth of culture must be treated.—Clark Wissler, *Science*, February 11, 1916.

M. T. P.

**The Most Fundamental Problem in Modern Sociology.**—Comte's thorough training in the natural sciences resulted in the transferring of his technique into his sociological investigations. His efforts were centered in analyzing such concrete sciences as history, archaeology, political economy, and ethnography, dealing with society and its activities, and by induction securing abstract laws upon which he built up a new abstract science which he called sociology. The greatest differences of opinion in the field of sociology have been between the economic and the psychic viewpoints, Marx representing the former and Comte the latter. Comte endeavors to prove that the fundamental social institutions are founded upon the individual instincts and ability to reason. Considering religion as the key to sociology, Comte has worked out his theory of religion, dealing with the inception, the development, the importance, and the individual and social basis of religion. The motive power in the development of religion is the theoretical thinking, passing through the three stages: (1) the theological or fictitious, (2) the metaphysical or abstract, and (3) the positive or scientific. All industrial developments depend upon the psychic development. Even the social division of labor, and the resulting development of classes, are based upon the laws of psychic development. Since the status of society as a whole depends in the first place upon the psychic, and in the second place upon the economic, factors, the psychic causes which up to the present time have brought about certain social anomalies ought to be ferreted out and efforts directed toward their reform, without neglect of the necessary economic reform.—C. Billberg, "Det mest aktuella problemet inom den moderna sociologien," *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift*, September, 1915.

H. A. J.

**The Most Fundamental Problem in Modern Sociology.**—In his criticism of Marx's theory of the proletariat and of his materialistic interpretation of history, Steffen endeavors to show that these are unscientific and therefore untenable, because they are based upon metaphysical knowledge and deductive reasoning, a manifestation of Marx's inadequate knowledge in natural science. His capital and production theories are born from this a priori constructed proletariat theory. Therefore the entire theoretical structure of socialism, the economic as well as the sociological,

now lies almost totally in ruins. Steffen adds that the economic interpretation of society must be based upon a psychological, a fully realistic, evolutionistic sociology. The most vital problem of modern sociology is scientifically to enlarge the social-democratic interpretation of society. The first step in attaining this objective result is complete freedom from prejudices and predispositions. Of the numerous tenets of the socialistic doctrine, Steffen accepts the two following: (1) somewhat more of the concentration, accumulation, and socialization theories than the opponents of these theories would accept; (2) the state and communal organization of industry, with corresponding change of the personal property right to the means of production. An analysis of Steffen's writings indicates that his political trend of mind casts a shadow over his scientific conclusions.—C. Billberg, "Det mest aktuella problemet inom den moderna sociologien," *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift*, June, 1915. H. A. J.

**A Profession in the Making.**—The social spirit in America has so expressed itself in diversified yet closely allied activities as to give rise to a new vocation. This calling makes an appeal to the missionary spirit in young men and women. The so-called charitable activities of the country are in general animated by a desire not merely to help individuals but to improve the conditions of life. The common purposes and activities of the social workers tend to unite them into one zealous group, and to develop a consciousness of common interests. There are some 4,000 men and women now engaging in social work, many at small salaries and many without education or special training. Trained experts in social work are in demand, and as such experts increase in number some now employed will be displaced. This is desirable both for the public and for the sake of those who need relief. Professional schooling will help to eliminate the undesirables, prevent others of their kind from taking up the work, and discover persons competent to enter the field of social-welfare work.—Edward T. Devine, *The Survey*, January, 1916. E. B. R.

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

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KARL W. HIERSEMANN, LEIPZIG

THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA, TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO, FUKUOKA, SENDAI

THE MISSION BOOK COMPANY, SHANGHAI



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Business correspondence should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

Communications for the editors and manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME XXII

SEPTEMBER 1916

NUMBER 2

## THE ORGANIZATION OF WILL

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University of Wisconsin

The combining of the efforts of a number of persons for the accomplishment of a particular purpose results in the *organization of effort*.<sup>1</sup> Such an organization may receive its direction either from the will of an individual or from the will of a group. The process by which a group will is arrived at may be termed the *organization of will*.

In the *organization of effort*, the movement is from the one toward the many, i.e., from the controlling purpose to the coordinated efforts of the various persons who contribute to its accomplishment. In the *organization of will*, the movement is from the many toward the one, i.e., from the wills of individual members to the single purpose which comes to direct and unify the activities of the group.

Organizations may be represented graphically by the cone, the base of the cone representing the individuals organized, the apex their unifying purpose. The organizing of will may be thought of as a movement from base toward apex; the organizing of effort as a movement from apex toward base.

These two types of organization may exist separately or combined. In an army, a railroad, a government department, and a

<sup>1</sup> See paper on this topic in the July number of this *Journal*.

municipal service, we see only *organization of effort*. In a church framing its creed, a party drawing up its declaration of principles, a Futurist group hammering out its manifesto, a gild standardizing mercantile usage, and a labor union passing upon a trade agreement, we see only *organization of will*. On the other hand, workingmen engaging in a strike which has been ordered by the union, farmers delivering their milk to a creamery established by their co-operative effort, the fellows of a learned society prosecuting co-operative research upon lines laid down by the society illustrate how, with respect to the same matter, both will and effort may be organized within a single group. This double process marks what is at once the most difficult and the most evolved type of organization.

An extremely informal organization of will is presented in the assembly of the Russian *Mir* or village community as described by Wallace.<sup>1</sup>

The meetings are held in the open air . . . and they almost always take place on Sundays or holidays, when the peasants have plenty of leisure. . . . The discussions are occasionally very animated, but there is rarely any attempt at speech making. If any young member should show an inclination to indulge in oratory, he is sure to be unceremoniously interrupted by some of the older members, who have never any sympathy with fine talking. The assemblage has the appearance of a crowd of people who have accidentally come together and are discussing in little groups subjects of local interest. Gradually some one group, containing two or three peasants who have more moral influence than their fellows, attracts the others, and the discussion becomes general. Two or more peasants may speak at a time, and interrupt each other freely—using plain, unvarnished language, not at all parliamentary—and the discussion may become a confused, unintelligible din; but at the moment when the spectator imagines that the consultation is about to be transformed into a free fight, the tumult spontaneously subsides, or perhaps a general roar of laughter announces that some one has been successfully hit by a strong *argumentum ad hominem*, or biting personal remark. In any case there is no danger of the disputants coming to blows.

The village elder is the principal personage in the crowd, but to call to order those who interrupt the discussion is no part of his functions. He comes forward prominently—

when it is necessary to take the sense of the meeting. On such occasions he may stand back a little from the crowd and say, "Well, orthodox, have you

<sup>1</sup> Wallace, *Russia*, pp. 116, 117.

decided so?" and the crowd will probably shout, *Ladno! Ladno!* that is to say, "Agreed! Agreed!" Communal measures are generally carried in this way by acclamation; but it sometimes happens that there is such diversity of opinion that it is difficult to tell which of the two parties has a majority. In this case the Elder requests the one party to stand to the right and the other to the left. The two groups are then counted, and the minority submits, for no one ever dreams of opposing openly the will of the *Mir*.

The chief improvement that has been made in this procedure is the regulation of discussion to the end that it may be kept to the point and not be smothered in confusion and disorder.

How far general assembly makes for a free organizing of wills depends upon a number of factors:

a) To what extent is the assembly protected from disturbance, interruption, or intimidation?

b) Is it in the power of anyone to dissolve the assembly against its will?

c) Can it consider any matter? Or may it consider only such matters as are mentioned in the summons or are brought before it by the summoners?

d) Is the assembly convened for the purpose of ascertaining the wills of the members as to a matter, or in order to make known and win support for a policy which has already been decided upon by the head men?

e) Who may speak? Only officials, chiefs, or distinguished persons; anyone invited by the presiding officer; anyone called out by the assembly; or anyone "recognized" by the presiding officer?

f) Is the prevalent will expressed by cheers, shouts, or clash of weapons—which method expresses intensity of conviction as well as numbers—or by registering the wills of individuals?

g) In case voting is *viva voce* instead of by ballot, is the order of voting haphazard or according to age, rank, or other mark of distinction? This is important because in the latter case the early voters may have an influence upon those who vote later.

#### VARIETIES OF WILL ORGANIZATION

As the matters to be settled become numerous or technical, the method of always taking "the sense of the meeting" becomes too burdensome, so that a board will be chosen to make minor

decisions for the group, major matters still being reserved for the general assembly. These men may be granted power for only so long as the majority of the members are satisfied with them, or for a stated term. If experienced management and continuity of policy be essential to the prosperity of group affairs, and if the superior fitness of certain members for handling these affairs be evident to all, the group may clothe them with authority for a long term or for life and cease to reserve certain fundamental matters for popular decision.

In case an association becomes large and the membership scattered, the periodical convening of all in general assembly has to be given up. The local assemblies sometimes take turns in looking after the common concerns of the entire society, as was the practice during the early years of certain British trade unions. Then delegates are sent by these local assemblies to sit in a deliberative body which acts for the entire group, save perhaps in certain reserved matters. When the delegate becomes member of a permanent body during a fixed term and speaks for his constituents on all matters that may come up, he becomes a representative and the group comes under representative government.

With the officials who execute or serve the will of the group, this representative assembly may have various relations. It may appoint them, or they may be the choice of the group membership. It may mark out their sphere, or they may have a sphere independent of it. It may make laws which they are to enforce, adopt policies which they are to carry out, or it may leave them for the most part a free hand, contenting itself with granting money according to its degree of satisfaction with their conduct. In the case of a hereditary executive, claiming rule as a matter of inheritance or of divine right, the representative body may serve as little more than a forum for free speech where the "state of the country" may be discussed, grievances ventilated, and criticisms brought to the attention of the government.

In short, the will of an organized group may be derived directly and in the simplest way from the wills of the members, or it may be so independent of them as to be able to defy them or to mold them at pleasure. The members may decide everything, they may

decide only certain fundamental matters, they may decide only who shall decide, or they may be powerless respecting quondam agents who have come to be their masters.

Now, what is it that determines how the will of a group shall be organized?

HOW THE COMPOSITION OF THE GROUP DETERMINES ITS  
WILL ORGANIZATION

It depends for one thing on *how the group is composed*. Is membership in the group a matter of free will? So far as association is voluntary, there is a curb to the overriding of the wishes of the rank and file by the head men. Arbitrary, high-handed action may provoke so many withdrawals as to weaken or break up the group. It is because one cannot quit civil society at will that in political government persist abuses of power which would never long be tolerated in a voluntary association. Modern facilities for travel, however, have made population so mobile that by migration people react in a very noticeable way to local differences in the excellence of government. This imposes, no doubt, a certain check upon the irresponsible use of political power.

In case quitting the group entails a serious sacrifice, members will be slow to resent the unauthorized exercise of power. Therefore, the more solid and obvious the advantages an organization offers, or the worse the lot of the man who stands outside it, the more patiently will the members submit themselves to a will not their own. The doctrine, "No salvation outside the Church," reconciles the devout to the control of a hierarchy. The vows of a religious order hold the brothers in line with the policy adopted by the head men. In China, where "the craftsman who is not a gild member is as one exposed to the wintry blast without a cloak," the deference of the member to gild authority is very great.

Much depends on whether or not a society is in its formative period. A young society, holding out to the public rosy prospects rather than realized benefits, will be ostentatiously democratic, for it must be able to assure the inquirer that the members control everything, that there is no "inside ring," and that every penny



officials spend is accounted for. One of the forces which favored the extension of political democracy in the United States during the period of settlement was the sharp competition among western states to attract settlers.

On the other hand, a society that has a good record of service and has accumulated property, prestige, reputation, or other valuable assets, will attract members even if it denies them an immediate voice in its management. This is one reason why old and successful associations are free to develop a government as centralized as their affairs may require, whereas young associations must be democratic whether or not their affairs prosper under democracy. It also helps to explain why an old association is liable to become the prey of a narrow governing clique.

When the members of a group differ little in experience or intelligence, none of them are plainly marked out to govern and hence the head men will be limited in power and held to account for their official acts. In reform associations, social clubs, professional bodies, and learned societies one never finds blind submission to the dictates of the executive council or board. But in religious orders, religious sects, and communistic groups, the great inequality among members in respect to wisdom, fervor, and vision often lodges mastery in the natural leaders. If, however, outstanding individuals have ample opportunity to act upon and lead the opinion of the rest, they need no large grant of authority, seeing that they bring their superiority to bear through *influence* rather than through *power*. This is why a community under direct membership control may still be guided by its best men. Sam Adams, working within that purest of democracies, the town meeting of Boston, came nevertheless to be known as "the master of the puppets," and "the king of the caucus."

Manifest integrity inspires trust and a willingness to confide power. It is possible that the decline of interest in local civic assemblies, which has become so marked among Americans in the course of a century, and the disposition to leave everything to the local board reflect a growing confidence in the honesty of the fellow-citizen. Conversely, one reason for the "almost pure democracy" of the Chinese craft gild appears to be "the deep-rooted



distrust of delegated authority or agency which is constant in every Asiatic mind."<sup>1</sup>

The shift from direct democracy to a representative system may come about as a consequence of mere growth in membership. When an assembly includes more than four or five hundred, oratory and crowd feeling are apt to run away with good judgment. Advocates of sane and conservative policies are often hissed down, rational deliberation is easily upset. The history of the *ekklesia*, or general assembly of Athens, shows what happens in a gathering so large as to induce in both speakers and hearers the theatrica spirit. At this point it is necessary to form a small representative body to take over all questions which cannot be answered by a simple "Yes" or "No." The town meeting gives way to government by mayor and common council. Boston, which did not go over to representative government until 1822 when it had 40,000 inhabitants, went about as far with the popular assembly as it is possible to go.

Again, if the members of the group dwell dispersed over a large territory, its control will be monopolized by the members who live near the place of meeting, together with such as have the leisure and means to attend from a distance. A continual shifting of the place of meeting may solve the former difficulty, but not the latter. In political society such an advantage by the well-to-do is most serious and calls for the early introduction of the representative system.

#### HOW THE PURPOSE OF THE GROUP DETERMINES ITS WILL ORGANIZATION

Other determiners of the mode of organization of will depend upon the *purpose* of the group. In an association formed for a temporary purpose, the will of the majority naturally prevails; while in an enduring group there are others to be considered than the present members. The rule of the older and wiser is urged on behalf of members past and to come. A society for registering and focussing opinion will be directly controlled by its members; whereas a group formed for action is likely to feel the need of

<sup>1</sup> Morse, *The Gilds of China*, p. 12.

conferring broad powers upon its executive. In case this action is to bear directly upon the members themselves, they will be more careful to define and to hedge the powers of their agents than if this action is to be exerted only upon outsiders. In missionary, propagandist, philanthropic, and educational societies, one finds less jealousy of delegated power than in town meetings, co-operative societies, trade unions, and communistic groups.

In case the interests to be cared for are minor matters in the eyes of the members, they allow the more zealous to go ahead and do whatever they think best. The willingness to leave everything to the leaders, which is so marked when one risks merely an annual contribution, does not appear when the ordinary member has much at stake. In a society which may by its action compromise the safety, liberty, property, or prestige of the individual member, the rank and file are likely to be tenacious of their right to be consulted and to hold officials to strict responsibility.

Usually the head exists to serve the body, but sometimes the body is called into being to serve the head. When an active group of municipal reformers feels the need of a sounding board, it builds up a "Committee of One Hundred" of well-known citizens and professes to be the mere servant and mouthpiece of this committee. In churches which claim for their heads an authority derived through an unbroken line of succession from the Apostles, the bishops do not regard themselves as organs of the body of believers, but rather regard these believers as in duty bound to furnish support and backing for the bishops.

When an organization considers itself sole custodian of a precious body of doctrines, mysteries, or rites, its control will be highly centralized. Only the well-tested and fully initiated are held worthy to be intrusted with the transmission of the sacred lore. In religious orders, in the Masonic order and other hoary secret confraternities, in venerable guilds and ecclesiastical bodies, the care to hand on an uncorrupted tradition centers authority in some Supreme Chapter or Grand Lodge, composed entirely of head men, or else confides it to a select circle of the older and more experienced. The early appearance of presbyters or elders, bishops and metropolitans in the Christian church seems to have been due to

the felt need of keeping the faith pure from the heresies spread by unauthorized teachers and prophets. Thus Clement urges: "Let us esteem those who have the rule over us, let us honor our presbyters," while Ignatius declares he heard the voice of the Spirit proclaiming the words: "Do nothing without the bishop." But for the independence of the clergy, the simplicity of the gospel would ere long have vanished in diversity and confusion. Ignatius, no doubt, had in mind this danger when he wrote to Polycarp: "Have a care to preserve unity than which nothing is better."

The administering of corporate property is not favorable to the keeping of power by the general assembly of the members. A group that becomes wealthy is likely to lose its pristine democracy. A town meeting, to be sure, may make wise decisions as to roads, ferries, and common lands, for these are simple forms of property well understood by all. But diversified property interests requiring intelligent care if they are to remain productive press home upon a membership the wisdom of entrusting their management to a select few. From his study of village communities, Sir Henry Maine concludes that "the autocratically governed manorial group is better suited than the village group for bringing under cultivation a country in which waste lands are extensive. So also does it seem to me likely to have been at all times more tolerant of agricultural novelties."

Generally there is a division of responsibility within a group, certain questions being handed up to committee or council while other questions are reserved for the decision of the members. Whether a particular power shall be delegated or reserved depends chiefly upon the *nature of the matter* that is to be decided.

#### HOW THE NATURE OF THE MATTER TO BE DEALT WITH DETERMINES WILL ORGANIZATION

If a matter lies within the ken of all and the proper disposal of it does not call for technical knowledge, it may well be settled in general assembly. The folk-mote of the ancient village community was quite at home in considering the time of mowing the common meadow, the rights of pasturage on the waste, the re-allotment of plow land, and the upkeep of roads and irrigation

canals. In the town meeting of our ancestors, the opening of highways, the building of bridges, the treatment of strayed stock, the maintenance of the school, and the care of the poor were well within the grasp of common minds lit up by sober discussion.

But when a group is obliged to deal with matters outside the experience or knowledge of its ordinary members, power is likely to be delegated. The running of a co-operative store, elevator, or creamery lodges decision in a manager subject to a board of directors. The proper adjustment of dues and benefits is so technical a problem that, once the insurance feature has become prominent in a fraternal order or a friendly society, power tends to concentrate. The miners' courts of the Sierra gold diggings dispensed a rough-and-ready justice so long as disputes related to sluice-boxes and claims; but as soon as property relations became complicated by leases, contracts, and debts, the camp chose an *alcalde* to try cases.

When external relations thrust internal affairs into the background, the members of a group are conscious of being on thin ice. Knowing little of the outside forces with which the group must come to terms, they come to lean heavily upon the few who appear to understand them. Hence the delicate process of *adjustment*—to church, to law, or to civil authorities, to other like groups, to a central body, to antagonists, or to competitors—causes a more liberal grant of power to the head men of a group. When attention shifts again to internal affairs, the membership is likely to shorten the tether of these men. When home affairs are overshadowed by foreign affairs, the situation strengthens parliament against public, ministry against parliament, throne against people. The security of a sea-girt or mountain-girt people favors the growth of popular government, but the pendulum swings the other way if wide-flung empire permanently exalts remote matters above near matters. Imperialism is of necessity anti-democratic in its tendencies.

Does the question to be dealt with relate to policy or to the means of carrying out a policy? The latter is likely to involve technical considerations and naturally will be passed up to the better informed. The full congregation will decide on the question of church union, but hardly on the exact terms of such union.

The members of a co-operative society are fitter to debate the formation of branches than to formulate the rights and duties of the daughter society respecting the mother society. To the citizens may well be referred the questions: *Shall we build a capitol? Shall we bond ourselves for highway improvement? Shall we establish "mothers' compensation"? Shall we protect game?* but not questions as to the plan of the state house, the type of road to be built, the conditions of granting aid to the mothers of dependent children or the length of the closed season for game. No matter how intelligent and alert its members, a large group with numerous interests must leave most of its concerns to committee or board.

Again, a membership may institute certain agencies or institutions, leaving their precise mode of operation to be otherwise determined. Whether a scientific society shall found a research laboratory, a town organize a fire brigade, a trade union start an out-of-work fund, or a church establish a mission board may be decided by the members; but the many subordinate decisions which hinge upon their affirmative action in such cases must be made upon the basis of a fuller knowledge of details than they can hope to acquire.

A further distinction to be made is that between the adoption of a rule and its application to particular cases. Usually the former calls for a more general participation of wills than the latter. The chapter of the Knights of the Order of Hospitalers prescribed the rules of discipline which the superior enforced. The town meeting passed ordinances which were to be carried into effect by its chosen officials. The assembled gold miners agreed upon the laws of the camp and their standing committee or *alcalde* caused them to be obeyed. The organized physicians adopt a professional code of ethics, leaving the punishment of its violators to individual practitioners or to the local medical society.

But even if the time comes when, feeling the need of expert judgment, the members of a group confide to a select body the making of laws, creed, ritual, declaration of principles, or code of discipline, they will keep their hands on matters in the deciding of which their agents may have an interest contrary to that of the general membership. It is, therefore, in *financial affairs* that the

resistance to the centralization of power is most stubborn. Let the head men hold the steering wheel if only their constituents grasp the brake! In a jealous control of the alienation of corporate property, the incurring of debt, the audit of accounts, the tenure and compensation of officials, the appropriation of funds, the distribution of burdens, or the entering into trade agreement, alliance, or merger, the spirit of self-government may show itself long after all other corporate decisions have been passed up to the select or the expert. We have but to recall constitutional restrictions on the size of the public debt, the requirement of a referendum on a bond issue, and the rule that the vote on appropriation bills shall be larger than on other bills and shall be recorded.

#### WHY FIGHTING GROUPS CENTRALIZE DECISION

Frequent emergencies, calling for quick decisions, favor the concentrating of power in a small nucleus. When *promptitude* is clearly essential to success, the molding of many wills into one is felt to be too time-consuming. While the meeting deliberates or the election goes on, the golden moment for action may have passed, never to return. Under such circumstances, the handicap democracy imposes is plain to all. Hence, the more recurrent the need of prompt decision, the more willing are the members of a group to confide large powers to a few.

The need of *secrecy* has the same effect. Not only is public debate likely to let out group secrets, but it is impossible for many to take part in making a decision if that decision is to be concealed from foes or competitors.

Now, in all forms of strife—commercial rivalry, industrial struggle, political contest, negotiation, diplomacy, and warfare—both promptness and secrecy are necessary. Hence, fighting groups finally lodge large power in the hands of the trusted few. Stockholders limit themselves to the opportunity at stated intervals of turning out one board of directors and putting in another. Unionists may insist on the ballot for the calling or ending of a strike, but, while the fight is on, they allow decisions of the gravest import to be made by their officials. The rank and file of political parties may pick the nominees, but the conduct of the campaign is left in

the hands of an irresponsible committee. A democratic government at war is evidently handicapped as to promptness and secrecy of decision. The consequence is that during a serious national war public discussion is damped, the press is curbed, the legislature becomes less responsible to the electors, and the executive becomes less responsible to the legislature.

#### CHARACTER AS AFFECTED BY MODE OF ORGANIZING GROUP WILL

Taking part in the making of group will strengthens character and exclusion therefrom weakens it. In Canada, under the old French régime, no local self-government was tolerated. Roads and bridges were under a royal official. Only in church matters had the people a voice, but no parish meeting to consider the cost of a new church could be held without the special permission of the intendant. Municipal officers there were none. The ordinances of the intendant and the council were law. All aspirations for a larger liberty were thwarted by governor, intendant, and bishop acting on instructions from the king of France. Reduced at last to a state of passive obedience, the people accepted the orders and edicts of the king without a murmur.

What was the type of character produced? When during the Revolution the American conquest brought the French creoles of the Illinois country under institutions of self-government, they were, in the words of Mr. Roosevelt, "hopelessly unable to grapple with the new life. They had been accustomed to the paternal rule of priest and military commandant and they were quite unable to govern themselves, or to hold their own with the pushing, eager, and often unscrupulous new-comers." The early withdrawal of the Americans left the French free to do as they pleased. "Accustomed for generations to a master, they could do nothing with their new-found liberty beyond making it a curse to themselves and their neighbors." The judges they had elected "had no idea of their proper functions as a governing body to administer justice. At first they did nothing whatever beyond meet and adjourn." Finally they went to granting one another immense tracts of adjacent wild land. Plunged into chaos, the creoles sent petition after petition to Congress. "There is one striking difference

between these petitions and the similar requests and complaints made from time to time by the different groups of American settlers west of the Alleghanies. Both alike set forth the evils which the petitioners suffered, and the necessity of governmental remedy. But whereas the Americans invariably asked that they be allowed to govern themselves, being delighted to undertake the betterment of their condition on their own account, the French, on the contrary, habituated through generations to paternal rule, were more inclined to request that somebody fitted for the task should be sent to govern them."<sup>2</sup> Yet these creoles were descendants of people who had once managed their common affairs in local assemblies. The most beautiful products of the Middle Ages, the churches, town halls, and cathedrals of France and Flanders, were financed by the people living all their lives near them, every man having a voice in the matter.

#### THE OUTLOOK

Various modern developments are affecting the current mode of organizing will. Thanks to the rising plane of popular intelligence, the members of open groups continually gain in capacity to judge common affairs. The printing press and improved electoral methods facilitate among dispersed persons the forming and focussing of will. On the other hand, questions once plain have become technical, and simple matters have become complicated. Large-scale effort being called for, small societies are often obliged to merge into wider organizations, the result being that decision is farther removed from the members. In many lines mere experience is no longer enough and the trained man steps into the shoes of the amateur. To the expert, restrained by his professional conscience, strict control is nagging and hampering. Nowadays, too, at the elbow of the power holder stands imperious public opinion, so that there is less need to tie him down in advance by the mandate of his constituents.

The net outcome of these changes is not the same in different fields. In some kinds of association the trend is democratic, in others it is unmistakably toward small boards and expert permanent officials. What is to be the general trend is by no means clear.

<sup>2</sup> Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, II, 184.



## SENTIMENTALITY AND SOCIAL REFORM<sup>1</sup>

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The tragedies of leadership in social reform result in the main from failure to work out a practicable basis of partnership between ideas and sentiments. Men recognize theoretically that ideas always appear swaddled in feelings. But many of us go about the day's business apparently on the assumption that ideas are as clear-cut and unemotional as hammers or rifles. Hence our projects fail to capture men's hearts and imaginations. We have to recognize that after all reason in men is only the very tip of their iceberg of mental life. We live by our sentiments, even by our illusions. They furnish the real motive power which makes things go. They are at the bottom of our choices. And while educated choices are the prerequisite to any sort of social change worthy the name of progress, the process of education must include some canalizing of the sentiments. The reformer who does not include this in his program of good works is foredoomed to failure.

But it is notorious that in many of our fellow-citizens both sentiment and reason have been short-circuited into bathos and sentimentality. And the words "social reformer" have become almost an epithet of derision, because some would-be leaders with insufficient sand and iron in their systems have capitalized this tendency toward sickly softness, and, as a result, have scored personal successes with indecent haste, have scratched paths which could not be followed and which must be resurveyed and laid out at great cost and inconvenience. I asked a friend recently about the speech of a housing reformer she had been urged to hear. "It was too sticky-mouthed," was the curt comment. But it is that very stickiness and sweet-sweetness, or the "tear in the voice,"

<sup>1</sup> An address at the seventeenth Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction, 1915.

that scoops in votes and money from certain sections of the population. Some people are organically drunk, or so nearly so, that the slightest whiff of sentimentality starts them reeling; and a big dose may induce delirium.

Since social reform must steer between the two dangers of cold, sterilized, depersonalized ideas and warm, saccharine, oily, oozy, intoxicating, overpersonalized sentimentalism, we must be sure that we recognize sentimentalism when we see it, and do not hit the wrong heads in the name of reason and clear thinking.

In the first place, enthusiasm is not sentimentality. George Meredith, the savage baiter of sentimentalists, remarked that "Nonsense of enthusiasts is very different from nonsense of ninies." I doubt if any American would consider ex-President Taft as either soft-minded or tender toward the "sob-squad." But he said last year, in a notable address, "Give me misdirected fervor, wild theories, if only the sincere spirit of service is alive, because the hard experience of practical results will temper this into useful activity later." That is, the enthusiast is honest, but the sentimentalist will fudge the truth and stage a lie if it will snare the silly fowl he is after. Here we must beware of confusing the issue by accepting the distinction sometimes made<sup>1</sup> between social reform as "passionate" and economic theory as "intellectual." Such reformers as Plato, More, or Comte were not passionate. The real distinction, if there be one, should be made between theories of social reform and economic theory; or between social reformers and economic reformers. To illustrate: protectionists, bimetallists, ship-subsidists, and *laissez-faire*ists have been just as passionate in their way as are the most eloquent pleaders for "social justice" or eugenics, or single tax, or widows' pensions, or minimum-wage legislation. Professors of Greek defending some theory of interpretation have been known to fan up a pillar of fire equal to the most ardent enthusiasm of the most passionate social reformer. Human life is dynamic, and its calory value may be expressed equally in the field of theory or practice. If acrimony be counted a species of passionate negative enthusiasm, I challenge any fair-

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., W. H. Hamilton, "Economic Theory and Social Reform," *Jour. Pol. Econ.*, June, 1915.

minded person to produce from the field of social reform any person or project betraying more ardor of passion or prejudice than is displayed by the critics or opponents of reform. Enthusiasm for social reform is no more reprehensible than enthusiasm over breeding a new strain of cattle or formulating a new theory of value. Constructive social reform ought to look upon itself and be looked upon merely as the administrative aspect of a developing body of economic and political laws. It must recognize the limitations imposed by those laws, and without hysteria. But at the same time it is quite appropriate for the reformer to see in these "laws" only relative fixity, and to accept them only as working conventions, as shore-marks of levels in the scientific and practical experiences of the past. This attitude of mind may be irreverent or heretical or contemptuous, with or without heat; but it is hardly to be called sentimental.

Neither will clear thinking confuse sentimentalism with ideals, dreams, or Utopias. No thoroughgoing Utopist was ever sentimental; the more radical and complete his Utopia the less he is open to the charge. To take only one test, no sentimentalist would for a second think of breaking up the family; on the contrary, he weeps at the idea of a hard-hearted juvenile-court judge separating a child from its drunken and wastrel parents. But every Utopist, from Plato and Campanella and More down to Sir Francis Galton and the eugenicists, has advocated some more stringent form of social control over the family. The "practical man" frequently makes the mistake of classing the "dreamer" with the soft-hearts. But while dreams may be wrapped in emotion they are often as devoid of sentiment as a formal syllogism. Sentimentality never leaves a solid precipitate; but remember that every institution, every invention, every sober gray law was once a dream in the heart of some human being. The social reformer must dream and dream magnificently; the very poignancy of his dream stings him into the attempt to cast it into the mold of realized fact. Because he dreams while other men merely slop about in feeling or stumble into hasty action, he may come nearer scoring a bull's-eye on the target of truth. That is why Aristotle seems to have counted the poet more reliable than the historian as an

interpreter of serried facts. The idealist, too, belongs rather with the dreamer and the Utopist than with the sentimentalists. It is a matter of surprise and regret that such a really great social scientist as Professor W. G. Sumner should have heaped contempt upon ideals as a motive factor in social development. For ideals are really the finished sketches by which social reconstruction is to be guided. Ideals, Sumner says, are illusions. But so is a tool, so is a house, so is science, so is history, if you take the trouble to analyze them far enough. Every man who counts for anything in the world is an idealist. He is a sentimentalist only if he fails to take his ideals seriously and uses the slap-stick or exposes his beating heart in order to wring a spasm of factitious feeling from his audience. The genuine social reformer demands social reconstruction, not because existing arrangements are out of joint with his particular ideal scheme, but because he believes he can show that it is possible to replace them by others more in harmony with existing human character and human resources. Indeed, it takes a sturdy heart to be a real idealist. It was no mean-spirited or defeated man who could write *credo quia absurdum* as the key to the program of revolutionary idealism laid down by the pioneers of the Christian church: Tertullian was no tender-minded "soft pedagogist."

Moreover, imagination is not sentimentalism. Sentimentality never raised a single human being one inch above his old level. But, we are told, "moral evolution has consisted almost wholly in the increasing liberation of the imagination." The social reformer must not hesitate to use his imagination. Indeed, if he is to succeed at all, it must be in large part because he can slip into the skins of his fellows and put himself in their places. He must master the new "psychology of attitudes," which in plain English means the ability to use the imagination as a guide in interpreting prejudices and preconceptions. As Mr. H. G. Wells points out, if we are going to arrest our present pretty clear drift toward revolution or revolutionary disorder, it must not be through training a governing class to get the better of an argument or the best of a bargain; it must be through laying hold of the imaginations of "this drifting, sullen, and suspicious multitude, which is the working

body of the country." It takes imagination to lay hold of imagination. Sentimentality will not do it.

We may pass by with only incidental reference the obvious fact that much of conservatism is merely sentimental attachment to what is old and familiar: the dotard is always sentimental. The young radical may be wrong-headed and self-centered, but he is less likely, by contrast, to be soft. He may be dogmatic, uncompromising; he may fit exactly Peacock's satire and say to himself,

After careful meditation  
And pronounced deliberation  
On the various petty projects that have been shown,  
Not a scheme in agitation  
For the world's amelioration  
Has a grain of common sense in it, except my own.

But the more dogmatic, the harder he is. Radicalism and heresy run the risk of degenerating into sentimentalism only when they, too, have been passed in the race and are about to be relegated to the shelves of conservative and accepted truth.

The "practical man," whether he be a social reformer or whether he decry meddling with the social order, is frequently if not always a bit of a sentimentalist, just as the dotard conservative and the self-made man and the amiable easy-going parent are sentimentalists; and for much the same reason. They all are inclined to drivel over their own pet virtues, to fondle them, to make them the ready excuse for certain ineptitudes in thinking or certain gross breaches of good taste.

It is precisely these practical conservative men and women who are so suspicious of preventive measures in the field of charitable relief. They sentimentalize over the maintenance of existing class lines and fear any move to eliminate the patron or to promote real independence and self-help. A sweet, pretty, friendly visitor, of the type that goes calling on the poor in a limousine, was discussing socialism recently with a student. "Good heavens!" she cried, "I don't want any of this horrible socialism. If we get socialism I won't have any poor to visit." Nero is still in our midst, stimulating his digestion by parading the poor before him. I hoped, evidently in vain, that we had buried the attempt

to store up merit by practicing on the poor. It is just these parasites who have brought discredit upon the phrase "social service." I confess a growing tendency in myself to delete it from my vocabulary, simply because it is so often a mixture of pious cant, meanness, cloudy vision, and sentimentalism.

So far our analysis seems clear enough. But now comes a troop of questions not so easily answered. Is it sentimental to be interested in one's fellow-men? Is it possible really to love them, or at least to have some social regard for them, their rights, their interests? Or have all the lovers of mankind been merely soft pretenders? Is "enlightened self-interest" the only safe guide out of the sloughs of sentimentalism? A recent lecture by a prominent business man closed with this stirring appeal and god-speed to his student hearers: "I hope you all make a barrel of money!" Shall we lie tamely down, accept the tip, and pass it along to ardent youth that the only things worthy the interest of sane, healthy, virile, scientific, sensible men are stocks and bonds, laws of exchange, principles of finance, and the whole round of mere money-grubbing? Or permit to go unchallenged that time-honored fallacy, the economic man? Shall we brand as silly and sentimental the principle that we are all part and parcel of each other, a principle as sound in sociology as it is in ethics? Or shall we lay as the basis for all social polity, all social legislation, all social reform, the absolute rock of fact, namely, that we are each and all of us social to the very core, and that we are only real men and women as we are vitally interested in others and disposed to co-operate with as well as exploit them? Sociology is not sentimentality. It is not merely the science of making poor folks richer and happier at other people's expense. It is a science in the making which is attempting to tell us that we are hopelessly bound up one with the other, and that none of us are safe or sane so long as any stupid, wretched, ignorant, or profoundly miserable folks are tolerated in our midst. Interest in fellow-men turns out to be science, not sentimentality.

Here we might stop and summarize. Sentimentalists, it appears, are essentially parasites, spiritual Malaprops. They are cheats, who try to get something for nothing. They are, as George

Meredith declared, "they who seek to enjoy without incurring the Immense Debtorship for a thing done"; and their practices "a happy pastime and an important science to the timid, the idle, and the heartless; but a damning one to them who have anything to forfeit." They are the folks who decry organized effort to prevent poverty and try to obtain a bargain-counter dose of warmth and coziness from a nickel slipped to a street beggar or from a bunch of dirty cast-off clothes conferred upon the worthy poor on Bundle Day. They are the people who drive us to madness by their "impaired waterworks." I am reminded of the *matinée* idol who, exasperated to the quick by ill-timed tears, blurted over the footlights, "Now ladies, please: I want you to cry, I'm paid to make you cry, but for God's sake cry in the right place!" "To everything there is a season," said the Preacher; "a time to weep and a time to laugh." But he assigns no place to sentimental insipidity, for every sane man knows that sympathy must always walk with science. It must never get away from understanding, and must always be sure that it is playing in time and tune. That is why we give short shrift to both the person who is always "feeling his feelings," and to the "Gawdsaker." The "Gawdsaker," according to Wells, is the curse of all progress, the hectic consumption that kills a thousand good beginnings and promising experiments in social welfare. He is "the person who gets excited by any deliberate discussion and gets up wringing his hands and screaming, 'For Gawd's sake, let's *do* something *now!*' "

There is no lack of concrete social problems confronting the reformer by which to test our analysis of sentimentality. In some quarters it is still considered sentimental or worse to speak of the abolition of poverty. But Professor Hollander and other economists are proving statistically that the modern civilized world is producing enough and more than enough of food, clothing, and shelter to provide decently for every human being; hence that poverty, as we are familiar with it, is unnecessary. Poets like Heine, anarchists like Kropotkin, and socialists like Hertzka told us this long ago, but we smiled indulgently and called them dreamers drunk with feeling. But now that the problem can be put to us in mathematical form and pictured in statistical graphs

we begin to foresee the solution of poverty as not only practicable but as good form.

The same holds true of the problem of unemployment. Men were called sentimental who declared that a reserve pool of underpaid and irregularly employed laborers is not only bad ethics but bad business. The prevailing business code held, and it still holds in certain financial circles, that underemployment is in the nature of things, is one of the laws of economics; and that therefore it is as useless to try to solve the problem of unemployment as to solve the problem of gravitation. But last year the president of the Steel Trust woke up to the fact that perhaps this business axiom was wrong, and became chairman of the New York Comm'ttee for the study of unemployment. A few days ago the president of the American Blower Company sent me a copy of the Detroit plan for relieving and perhaps eliminating unemployment. These men—and their number is increasing—are not sentimentalists. Several years ago the greatest authority on unemployment in England declared that:

Practicability is never anything but a relative term—dependent upon the urgency with which an object is desired and upon the inconveniences which men are prepared to undergo in its pursuit. It is practicable for most people to run a mile to save a life. It is not practicable for anyone to run a mile unless he is prepared to get warm. So it is not practicable for a nation to get a mastery of unemployment without being prepared to submit to some change of industrial methods and customs.

That this was sound sense and not sentiment is amply demonstrated by the fact that the social urgency bred by the present crisis of war has so reorganized British industry that unemployment is less than at any other time in the last thirty years.

Much criticism of the existing industrial order is branded by standpatters as ebullition of parlor socialists and extravagant youths fed upon too much sociology. But President Taft, in his message of February 2, 1912, recommending a commission on industrial relations, took occasion to say:

Numerous special investigations, official and unofficial, have revealed conditions in more than one industry which have immediately been recognized on all sides as entirely out of harmony with accepted American standards. It is probable that to a great extent the remedies for these conditions, so far as the remedies involve legislation, lie in the field of state action.



What clearer sailing orders could any social reformer ask, and who would charge their author with ebullition?

The whole tendency toward state control over wide areas of social activity spells sentimental degeneration to the old-fashioned *laissez-faireist*. One of the first notable court pronouncements for state control occurred in the famous case of *Munn vs. Illinois*. The United States Supreme Court held that "when one devotes his property to a use in which the public has an interest, he, in effect, grants to the public an interest in that use and must submit to be controlled by the public, for the common good, to the extent of the interest he has created." The court later, in a great decision compelling railroads to equip their cars with safety devices, rejected the plea of the railroads that the law would work hardship upon them. It accepted Lord Eldon's maxim that it is better to look hardship in the face than to break down the rules of law, and went on to point out that a preventable accident injures somebody.

Such an injury must be an irreparable misfortune to someone. If it must be borne entirely by him who suffers it, that is a hardship to him. If its burden is transferred, so far as it is capable of transfer, to the employer, it is a hardship to him. It is quite conceivable that Congress, contemplating the inevitable hardship of such injuries, and hoping to diminish the economic loss to the community resulting from them, should deem it wise to impose their burdens upon those who could measurably control their causes, instead of upon those who are, in the main, helpless in that regard.

The court may have reasoned fallaciously, but very few critics have charged it with erring on the side of sentimentality in cases involving the police power or social reform in general. If American courts are sentimental at all, it is in the other direction, that is, toward soft-hearted regard for precedent, for the old, for the well-established.

Again, the demand of labor and labor's apologists for what they call a fair share in the products of their toil may sometimes exude sentimentality. But what of the deliberate attempts to provoke sentimental responses made by labor's opponents? What about the myth of "widows and orphans"? Or the drool about free trade and empty dinner pails? On the first day of the great Lawrence strike the president of the American Woolen Company said in the course of a public statement:

While manufacturers under normal conditions would be glad to see their employees earn more money, the Massachusetts mills are paying all that they can afford to pay in the present situation. The mills are still suffering from a long period of extreme depression due to the tariff agitation at Washington.

Yet we are assured by a reputable authority that one of the very factories in question had paid for itself, equipment and all, in the two years since its completion. Is criticism of such mendacity sentimental? Is it sentimental to criticize the Colorado situation? The report of the Colorado Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1909-10 stated baldly that the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company sought to nullify and violate laws calculated to protect the interest of the miner and used its "powerful influence to defeat the enactment of any law that had for its purpose the safeguarding of the lives and health of its employees."

We all recognize that no little perverse sentimentalism has gone into the plea for restrictions upon the labor of women and children, and we condemn it without stint. But what of the sentimental interest of employers in maintaining woman's right to work as many hours as she wants to, or in permitting children to become captains of industry at any age they please? People, strange as it may seem, are still able to stir up a claptrap sort of sentimental indignation over the poor widow whose child is prohibited from following his calling as newsboy or gum-seller or messenger-boy on city streets late at night. Other people are still gullible enough to swallow the sentimental appeal of the less efficient employer for aid in averting the destruction to industry and to nation if child labor is withdrawn or if the twelve-hour shift for men and night work for women are prohibited. Such feeble folk need some such bracing and manly tonic as a notable Connecticut employer gave not long ago on the subject of child labor. He said, "we are not here primarily to do business; . . . any business which employs children so young that their physical and moral growth is dwarfed and stunted is, to the extent to which it so employs them, an evil in the community, and not a benefit." But a lot of patient, hard thinking must be endured by a considerable section of the public before it becomes quite immune to such patent disregard for social

welfare under the guise of sincere pleading for the "worthy poor." Not all police or school authorities are yet immune. Some are. I remember hearing the superintendent of a California cannery fly into a passion one day and declare that he could whittle out of a shingle better men than the local school board because they were so sentimental as to insist that the schools should open on the day set by law.

Is it sentimental to show up and to fight the state of business mind illustrated by the following editorial in the silk manufacturers' official journal?

An ideal location would be one in which labor is abundant, intelligent, skilled, and cheap; where there were no labor unions and strikes; where the laws of the state made no restrictions as to the hours of work or age of workers; where people were accustomed to mill life; and where there were no other textile mills in the vicinity to share in the labor and bid up its price. . . . In towns where there is a fair population and no manufacturing industries of moment a good supply of female help can usually be had at low prices; but should other industries come to the town, the demand for help may soon exceed the supply and the employer find, owing to the bidding up of the labor, that its cost is greatly increased, and its character arrogant and independent, and with no growth to the town equal to the increasing employment offered, he finds himself in a very uncomfortable position. . . .

This is just that combination of shrewdness and driveling self-pity that disgusts us in a loquaciously drunk man or woman. A friend of mine was once indiscreet enough to volunteer to pilot a drunken woman homeward. The woman leaned heavily on her, and they zigzagged down a crowded sidewalk, to the incessant refrain, "My heart is broke. Now would you believe it? My heart is broke. Now would you believe it?"

Only Shakespeare and a jury of angels could unscramble the mixture of sentimentalism, piety, and probity which every social worker or reformer sooner or later encounters. Perhaps nowhere is he more likely to run afoul of it than in the field of housing and sanitation. Here is a sample: The president of the Sloss-Sheffield Steel and Iron Company, of Birmingham, Alabama, wrote an indignant protest against the report of Birmingham's industrial conditions published in the *Survey* early in 1912.

Why [he cried], who is there in his right senses will deny that hogs are the natural and logical scavengers of a mining camp? Sanitary conditions in a mining camp! Pooh! I'd rather have twelve hogs than fifty men cleaning up my camps!

This is the grotesque side of such drunken slaver. But sometimes the intoxication is much more subtle. The report of the New York Consumers' League for 1910 described an interview with a prominent Philadelphia merchant at a settlement house in which he was deeply interested. He said:

I have 1,200 girls working for me. These girls come to me healthy, happy, full of spirit. They work a year and grow thin and sickly and then go home, and come back again after a while, and work a little longer and go away too weak to work, and I find they have died of tuberculosis. But nothing can be done about it. It is the dust in the air.

"But," said his interlocutor, "surely something can be done. You could remove the dust in the room by opening the windows."

No [he went on], we cannot open the windows, because it creates a draft which moves the fine dust from the machines and impairs the purity of the white cloth. It would bring less in the market and my stockholders would not stand for it.

Crocodile tears; disgusting crocodile tears.

In such cases the real sentimentalists are those ready apologists for spiritual wickedness in high places, those who whitewash the business gorilla and indict his critics. Let me cite a flagrant example. In September, 1911, the dam owned by the Bayless Pulp and Paper Company broke and wiped out the town of Austin, Pennsylvania. The engineering journals bitterly condemned the owners and constructors of the dam, and charged that the disaster was without excuse, because the owners knew only too well that it was a flimsy and menacing structure. But a neighbor of the owners said after the coroner's inquest over the 76 victims:

Throughout the whole community these men stand well. They are exceedingly fine characters—capable, honorable, and public-spirited. . . . They are liberal in their help to some of the most worthy causes in the city, and their wives also are similarly interested. . . . I have talked with many people since the terrible disaster at Austin, and I have not yet heard one harsh or bitter word against either of these men. . . . I saw them both for a few minutes on the day following the disaster. They were utterly prostrated. Neither of them is physically robust or rugged . . . [etc., *ad nauseam*].

This is simply a survival of the ancient cult of criminals; the elder, vigorous superstition has merely faded out into mawkish, reverential sentimentality.

A somewhat similar form of sentimentalism has cropped out recently in the belief that industrial democracy can be brought to pass by sending young millionaires down into Colorado mines to dig in overalls for twenty minutes, or to dance with miners' wives and children, or to play Big Brother with the Miners' Federation. There is little to choose between the sentimentalism of unbreeched reform legislation and the sentimental vacuity of benevolent feudalism.

We all agree that many grievous blunders have been made in the field of social pathology through poor-law administration. And I think none of us would deny that sentimentalism has gone hand in hand with a certain hardness and dogmatism in the interminable debates over public-poor-law policy. But we must never forget that there is a sentimentality that bewails the shiftlessness and thriftlessness of the poor while condoning identical qualities in the pauperized well-to-do. It is just that very sentimentalism which breeds disastrous forms of social counter-selection against which social reformers train their guns. Their aim may be askew: Mr. Carnegie's scheme for abolishing large inheritances, for instance, may be a poor sort of projectile; but the target is plainly visible to anybody who will take the trouble to look straight.

Sentimentality plays havoc in the domain of child welfare. It has killed a thousand times more babies than perished in Herod's massacre. Nearly anybody with a slight equipment of passing good looks and a bit of nerve can organize and foist upon the soft, credulous public a charity for babies or children. "Save the kiddies" will wring tears and dollars from thousands who would pass unheeded a call to "Prevent infant mortality." Time was when any little company of good ladies could open an orphanage or home for foundlings. And nobody seemed to think of connecting sentimentality with the tremendous death-rate in those jerry-built institutions, or with the narrowed, hampered, and broken lives in store for the pitiful survivors. So long as one was "doing good," he or she could not be held responsible for such grievous results.

Hence when state boards of charity proposed to visit, inspect, and check up these children's charities they were charged with hard-heartedness and coldness and meanness and lack of elementary human sympathy. The same story might be told of the foundation of "tours" for the reception of illegitimate infants. They permitted baptism and the saving of souls, but they promoted infant mortality, desertion, and illegitimacy in the name of good works.

It is quite possible to refuse complete assent to the overwrought pleas of the eugenisists and workers for prevention of feeble-mindedness, to recognize the sentimental twang in much of the chatter about race suicide and the fittest racial stocks, and still to support reform legislation aimed at taking out of their families those feeble-minded persons who seem to menace the welfare of a community. There has been altogether too much sentimental red fire over the threatened break-up of the family when a social worker or a court attempted to remove a feeble-minded household drudge from lazy or designing parents. And it is sentimentality of a peculiarly rancid sort that crows over a clever job done when it has succeeded in marrying off a feeble-minded village butt. In this connection may I protest in the name of decency against those sentimental judges who think they have solved the problem of happy marriage and community peace when they coerce a young rake into marrying an impressionable girl who succumbs to his seduction, or when they tell two people in whom the light of love has burned out to "go right home now and make up?" Let no man join what God hath put asunder.

In housing reform much slimsy work has had to be undone and done over because people have felt and wept and legislated first, and investigated afterward. Shame and disgust over the presence of nasty housing conditions in one's city can only become efficient shame and cathartic disgust when they are illuminated by the fullest study in the coolest frame of mind of the widest possible array of facts from one's own and from other cities. The tear in the propagandist's voice must be balanced by tolerance and determination to know the truth on the part of the constructive reformer. Whether housing laws come or not is a matter of secondary import. A tenement law based upon tears is either repealed or pigeonholed.

In this analysis of sentimentalism I approach with a good deal of trepidation the subject of mothers' pensions. Without attempting to pass upon the merits or demerits of such pension legislation, or without deciding whether or not mothers' pensions are merely left-handed outdoor relief, it must be noted that much of this legislation in its rapid spread from state to state has been in the nature of sentimental infection. In by no means every case have its protagonists considered carefully their local problem—they have heard of such laws in other states; they have "caught the spirit"; they have simply responded to suggestion and imitated, or seen a chance to win popularity. It is an example of mob mind; you will recall that mob mind is a social phenomenon in which thought bears an inverse ratio to feeling. It is unnecessary and perhaps altogether unwise to ask for the repeal of any of these laws. But it surely is the path of sound social policy to ask that any further demands for the extension of similar legislation should be met with counter-demands to show proper grounds of fact and not mere vaporizings over the perhaps mythical virtues of home life as it is not infrequently practiced.

The sentimental doer of good plagues the constructive reformer in many spots, but of the whole devil's brood of sentimental inventions none is more exasperating than the "Tag Day." In some American cities every day seems to be Tag Day. We are held up in the streets to buy a miserable little paper flower for the orphans, or a wilted real flower for the cripples. And in Pittsburgh a while ago women on the streets and signs on the street cars bade us buy a tag and save a soul at the rescue mission. Such sentimentality not only defrauds legitimate welfare-work, it also hinders the development of sound institutional finance and recruits the army of street beggars.

Only second to Tag Days in their potential irritation to the healthy-minded are subsidies from the public treasury granted by sentimental legislators to private charitable enterprises coddled by their sentimental constituents. I am not here concerned with the charge that such subsidies are a "slush fund" for financing corrupt politics. I am rather tilting at that attitude of mind which the legislator assumes when he answers a critic of some notoriously

inefficient applicant for subsidies with a benevolent smile and an emotional quaver: "Ah, but they're such nice people; they mean so well; they aren't your cold, hard, scientific folks who ask a lot of questions and do nothing; they mean well, and they do a lot of good. Ain't that what we're here for, to do good?"

The most dangerous aspect of these movements for Tag Days, Bundle Days, Mothers' Pensions, and the like is that they represent "organized emotion." Mob mind in the old days was fairly easy to control, because it could be localized, shamed, or frightened out of itself: a cannon, a troop of mounted police, or a persuasive orator could disperse it. But modern means of communication—news-papers, magazines, reports, telephone, telegraph—all permit mob mind to gather headway almost imperceptibly over wide areas. Whole cities, states, and even the nation may be caught in its swirl. The newspapers, always on the alert for the "human interest" story, will exploit anything not absolutely tabooed or libelous which will move to tears. The cardinal virtue in newspaperdom seems to be not exact truth but "punch"; and punch must be considered as the technique of obtaining attention under false pretenses, the "ability to achieve the end without the means"; not the art of getting results, but the legerdemain trick of getting an appearance of results. The sentimentalist, needless to say, fails to see through the trick. Moreover, certain questionable associations, like the notorious Mothers' Pension League, conduct a nation-wide propaganda for profit. Such subtle stimulants to emotionalism can only be neutralized gradually by requiring that the journalist's professional training shall include the study of economics, finance, social legislation, and the administration of charities and correction; and by nerving social workers to stand resolutely against any compromise with buncombe.

It should be perfectly apparent by this time that the Promised Land of wholesome social life cannot be seen clearly by eyes dimmed with easy tears; nor can the calls to constructive social work be heard above the thumping of a fluttery heart. Social reform of any and every kind must be thought out and carried through in the scientific spirit. No one should insist that it confine itself to statis-



tics and a cold, hard voice. It must, if it be truly scientific, utilize to the fullest every worthy quality of human nature—sentiment, humor, imagination. The great religious teachers, the master dramatists, the makers of modern science, knew the secret of communicating their visions. Huxley could kindle enthusiasm for evolution just as effectively as Shakespeare evoked faith in a moral universe through *Macbeth* or *Lear*. Social reformers should likewise take their cue. In a word, social reform must more and more get away from any suspicion of driveling appeal to the froth in human nature, and must learn the art of purging its ideas with facts and of projecting those ideas upon the plane of imagination. The leaders who can learn this art will steer a safe and fruitful course between the timid and squint-eyed standpatter on the one shore, and, on the other, the silly dabster who thinks this old world of ours can be changed by a turn of the hand or a quickened heart-beat.

It is perhaps beside the mark to inquire which science or group of sciences may hold the master-key to this delicate art. But at least enough has been said to hint that while sociology may well be "first aid" to sick communities, it is not to be considered as the good-looking doctor who allows female hypochondriacs to weep on his shoulder and sentimentalize over their imaginary woes. Those of us who have assumed a certain leadership in applied sociology must set our faces resolutely against tremulous haste or muddled sentiment in the process of instigating social change. And while maintaining hospitable, elastic, open minds, we must discipline ourselves to the practice of that decent reticence and self-control which ought to mark a real profession, and which come only from rigorously thinking through a mass of evidence proportionate to the gravity of each problem as it rises in the day's work.

Am I leaving the impression that the social reformer must be a monster of blood and iron, or that social amelioration must be a policy of *Schrecklichkeit* as bitter and unrelenting as natural selection? I have, it is true, been emphasizing, for the sake of arriving at a proper balance, the negative side of this problem; but not by any means to the exclusion of its positive aspects. Because we

are human beings dealing with other human beings we must have, as I said at the beginning, warmth, imagination, enthusiasm, heroic self-sacrifice, and plenty of them; but all these amiable qualities must be conserved, knit together, focused, and reinforced by the will to think clearly and the will to know profoundly. When faith and love, vision and disciplined intelligence, can be welded into one, we shall have such a corps of expert leadership that the very gates of hell itself shall not prevail against.

## FACTORS WHICH HAVE TO DO WITH THE DECLINE OF THE COUNTRY CHURCH

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ANTON T. BOISEN  
North Anson, Maine

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The influence of the country church in the five sections of the United States included in this study is most restricted where church management is most efficient and educational advancement is greatest; but in all these sections the better-educated classes, the men active in public affairs and engaged in organized social activity of any sort, are generally active in the church. The principal losses are among those whose educational equipment is limited and whose social instincts are poorly developed. The chief cause of the decline of the church's influence is to be found in the breaking down of the old appeal to the fears of men, based on the commonly accepted belief in a future hell and in the church as dispenser of a magical means of salvation, and in the failure of the new appeal to compel the attention and to command the allegiance of men whose viewpoint is essentially individualistic. This, in brief, is the theme of this paper.

The investigations upon which these conclusions are based have been made by the writer, during the last five years, in Missouri, in Tennessee, in Kansas, in New York, and in Maine. Part of the time he was working as field investigator for the Department of Church and Country Life of the Presbyterian Church, and part of the time he was working independently.

The method used was a combination of that of the general social survey worked out by Dr. Warren H. Wilson with an intensive study much like the "Gill Method," though worked out independently, in the summer of 1911, before the appearance of Gill and Pinchot's *Country Church*. As in the Gill method, *church attendance* was made the chief measure of interest in the church, and the data on church attendance, as well as on school training, financial standing, social activities, and other pertinent questions,

were obtained by submitting the names of the residents of the community to a few well-informed men and accepting their classification. In all about 12,000 persons are embraced in this study. These are distributed as follows:

*Gibson County, Tennessee.*—An agricultural section in western Tennessee. The value of land averages \$60.00 per acre. Cotton, tomatoes, strawberries, and live stock are the chief sources of income. The population is chiefly of English and Scotch-Irish descent, but there is a negro population of 28 per cent. The basis is 455 heads of white families in 21 different school districts. The conditions found here are probably typical of western Tennessee.

*Sullivan County, Missouri.*—An agricultural section in northern Missouri. The value of land is \$50.00 an acre. Live stock, wheat, and corn are the chief sources of income. The population is mostly of English and Scotch-Irish descent, through southern channels. The basis here is 451 heads of families in 20 different school districts.

*Salt River Presbytery, Missouri.*—Six communities were studied here: Mt. Olivet, 116 families; Brush Creek, 81 families; Grassy Creek, 75 families; Buffalo, 55 families; Unity, 45 families; and Smyrna, 96 families. All are agricultural communities in northeastern Missouri. The value of land averages \$65.00 an acre. Live stock, wheat, and corn are the chief sources of income. The population is chiefly of English and Scotch-Irish ancestry, with southern influence predominating. The conditions found here and in Sullivan County are typical of northeastern Missouri.

*Northeastern Kansas.*—Six communities were studied: Wabaunsee, 101 families; Maple Hill, 150 families; Dover, 140 families; Louisville, 175 families; Barrett, 75 families; Norway, 150 families. All are agricultural communities. The value of land averages \$75.00 an acre. Live stock, wheat, alfalfa, and corn are the chief sources of income. The population is of English, Scotch-Irish, German, and Scandinavian descent, with northern influence predominating. These six communities were selected because of the existence in them of a definite religious movement for social betterment. In the main they are typical of northeastern Kansas.

*Westchester County, New York.*—Two communities were surveyed: North Salem, 117 families; Bedford, 131 families. Both are agricultural and residential communities. The value of land is from \$50.00 to \$500.00 per acre. The chief sources of income are summer residents and dairying. The population is of English, Irish, and Italian descent. North Salem has 35 farmers, 62 laborers, 13 mechanics, 8 middlemen, and 14 summer residents. Bedford includes 20 summer residents, 8 farmers, 15 mechanics, 35 laborers, 22 single women, and a miscellaneous list of 20. The servants of the wealthy families are not included. These two communities are suburban country communities and are probably not typical of a large section.

*Western Maine.*—Four communities were surveyed: Newport, 339 voters; North Anson, 217 families; New Vineyard, 96 families; Stratton, Eustis, and Flagstaff (the Dead River communities), 146 families. The value of farm land is \$10.00 to \$30.00 per acre. The population of all these communities is of old New England stock with scarcely any foreign element. Sources of income are, for Dead River: lumbering, guiding, manufacturing, and farming; for Newport: manufacturing and farming; for New Vineyard: farming, lumbering, and manufacturing; for North Anson: farming, lumbering, and manufacturing. These communities were selected as typical of small communities in western Maine.

The interest shown in the church in these different sections of country is indicated in Fig. 1. Church attendance is here used as the measure, and three classes of people are distinguished with reference to their interest in the church, viz., those attending more than half the Sundays on which preaching services are held, those attending between 10 and 50 per cent of the Sundays, and those attending less than 10 per cent of the Sundays, or practically none. In each case where whole families are studied only those members over fifteen years of age are considered. The figures here presented show certain striking differences between these different regions as regards interest in the church, the proportion of non-churchgoers varying from 20 per cent in Tennessee and 28 per cent in Missouri to 45 per cent in Kansas, 53 per cent in Westchester County, New York, and 65 per cent in Maine.

Before undertaking to measure the factors which might account for these differences in church attendance, it should be noted that of these five regions one is southern and another is southern in its traditions and institutions. In the other three, New England influence and traditions are predominant. If, therefore, there is between the northern and southern sections a striking contrast in the matter of church attendance, we need not be surprised. We know that the southerner is traditionally a religious standpatter, and that the New Englander has behind him a tradition of dissent and a critical and practical spirit. In the traditions and mental attitude of the communities examined there may be, therefore, important factors which will help to explain the attitude toward the church. It is not within the scope of this paper, however, to go into the history of the communities or into the subtler problems

of folk psychology, but rather to study the communities in cross-section and to show the outstanding characteristics now present which will help to explain the differences between them as regards interest shown in the church. These characteristics can be shown

## *CHURCH ATTENDANCE in different Regions of the U.S.*

### *West Tennessee*



### *North East Missouri*



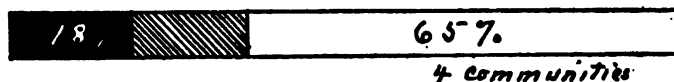
### *North East Kansas.*



### *West Chester Co. N.Y.*



### *Maine*



attending church more than 40% of the Sundays.
  attending Church from 10 to 40% of the Sundays

non-church-goers.

FIG. 1.—Church attendance in different regions of the United States

in part by statistical measurement and in part only by general description.

One characteristic which the two southern sections share in striking contrast to the northern sections is the system of church management. Thus the white people of Gibson County, Tennessee,

had 85 country churches, only 2 of which had a resident minister, and only 1 of which had preaching more than once a month. Of the 46 town and village churches, 26 had resident ministers, and only 10 had preaching full time. In Missouri the same system prevailed. In the 12 communities studied in Kansas, New York, and Maine, only 2 of these including villages of more than 300, there were 14 resident ministers, 25 churches, and preaching every Sunday in each of the 25 churches. From this fact it follows that it is impossible to compare the church attendance in Missouri and Tennessee with that in Kansas, New York, and Maine, except in one particular, viz., the proportion of people in the northern and in the southern sections who have no interest in the church and attend, if they attend at all, only on special occasions. It should also be pointed out that it is a striking and significant fact that the church attendance should be most general in the two sections in which the system of church management is least efficient.

The difference in the educational advancement of the different regions can be, to a certain extent, measured by the difference in the school training of the people. Table I shows the number of people

TABLE I  
SCHOOL TRAINING OF PERSONS MORE THAN SIXTEEN YEARS OLD

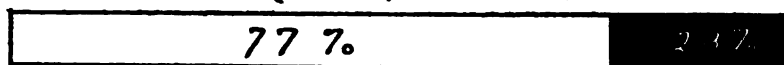
REGION	COLLEGE OR NORMAL SCHOOL		HIGH SCHOOL OR BUSINESS COLLEGE		NOT MORE THAN COMMON SCHOOL	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Gibson County, Tenn. ....	10	2.2	18	4.2	427	94.6
Missouri. ....	37	3.3	74	6.6	996	90.1
Kansas. ....	89	6.7	135	10.0	1,325	83.3
Westchester County, N.Y.*	60	10.7	105	18.8	394	70.5
Maine. ....	35	4.4	118	15.0	633	80.6

\* Includes summer residents, and does not include Catholic element.

in each region who have had college or normal-school training, high-school or business-college training, and the number who have not gone beyond the common school. This shows that in the Tennessee and Missouri districts, where the interest in the church was general, the percentage of people with more than common-school training was relatively low, while in Kansas, New York, and

Maine, where interest in the church was restricted, the percentage of people with more than common-school training was relatively high. It should be clearly understood, of course, that school training does not tell the whole story of educational advancement. Other factors, such as the character of the schools at which the training is received, the character of the instruction received through the churches, the points of contact with the great currents of thought through periodicals, travel, lectures, libraries, etc., are

*in Tennessee (white farmers only)*



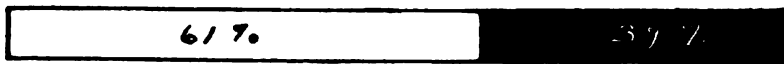
*466 farms.*

*in Missouri.*



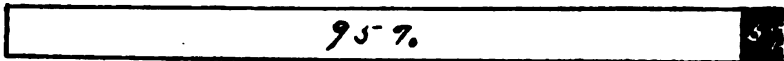
*939 farms*

*in Kansas*



*444 farms.*

*in Maine.*



*U. S. Census figures*

*Owners*
 *Tenants*

FIG. 2.—Farms operated by tenants

all important, and in these particulars the communities studied in Kansas, New York, and Maine were all more fortunate than those studied in Missouri and Tennessee.

The increase in tenancy is commonly given as one of the chief causes of the decline in the interest in the church among country people. The proportion of tenants in four different regions is shown in Fig. 2. According to these figures, the importance of tenancy, except as a local factor, would appear to be overemphasized. It is true that the proportion of tenancy is higher in Kansas



than in Missouri or among white farmers in Tennessee, but in Maine, where the proportion of tenancy is lowest, the interest in the church among the farmers is also most restricted. In four Maine communities studied, 73 per cent of the farmers did not attend church.

The difference in farming conditions is also of some importance. The fact that the Maine farmer finds farm labor scarce at even \$2.00 a day, that he has only a short growing season for the farm crops, that he has dairy cattle to care for the year round and logging to do in the winter-time, may partly explain his poor attendance at church, as compared with that of the Tennessee farmer, who has plenty of farm labor at \$1.00 a day or even less, a long growing season, and little live stock to care for. More progressive and energetic methods of farming, with a better distribution of crops throughout the year, may partially explain the poor church attendance of the Kansas farmer as compared with that of the Missouri farmer.

Another factor is the facilities for social intercourse outside of the church. The Maine communities here considered were supplied with many social organizations. The Odd Fellows and the Rebeccas, the Masons and the Eastern Star, the Knights of Pythias and the Pythian Sisters, and the Grange were all flourishing. Moving-picture shows and dancing were also much in evidence. In the Tennessee, Missouri, and Kansas communities studied, such lodges as the Modern Woodmen, in which insurance is the prime consideration, were the best developed; farmers' organizations were either entirely absent or poorly developed, while dancing was not generally permitted on account of opposition from the churches. In many of these Tennessee and Missouri communities, the writer found the young people complaining that "things were dead," and church and Sunday school were really among their chief recreations. In some communities the young people went to prayer-meeting just because they wanted something to do. The influence of the country church would therefore seem to vary inversely with the facilities for social intercourse outside of the church, and the importance of the social factor must be clearly recognized. At the same time the extent of the development of

facilities for social intercourse and recreation outside of the church may be regarded as an *index* of the church's influence rather than as a cause of its decline. Thus the absence of dancing in the small communities in Tennessee and Missouri is due to the disapproval of the church, and shows the power of the church fully as much as it explains the presence of the young people at church or prayer-meeting.

The most striking difference found in these five regions, and the factor that bears most directly upon the problem here considered, is the conception of religion prevailing in these different regions.

In Tennessee, where the interest in the church was most general, the conception of religion was distinctly "other-worldly." Salvation was thought of chiefly as an escape from a future hell of fire and brimstone, and the means of escape was the wonder-working power of the blood of the Lamb, dispensed through the church. Out of 16 ministers interviewed not more than 3 expressed their conception of the church's mission in terms of social service, while the minister of the only church in the community in which one of the chief schools in the county is located, a so-called college, stated very emphatically that it is useless to try to make the world better. In consequence of this magical conception of salvation, the main emphasis in this county was placed on correctness of belief and correctness of ceremonial. The president of the leading denominational college in western Tennessee expressed his absolute disapproval of any scheme of church federation, because he could not co-operate with any church which permitted baptism by any other form than immersion. The minister of the largest church in Gibson County, a man receiving a salary of \$1,800.00 a year, took a similar position. Another influential minister in the Presbyterian denomination in this county kept a man out of his church for a year because the man wanted to be baptized by immersion, and he held that this form of baptism was unscriptural and therefore wrong. These are not isolated instances, but they reflect the general belief in the church as a mediator of a magical salvation rather than a generator of spiritual energy. Not only, therefore, did the fear of punishment after death compel attendance at church, but there was also a fairly vigorous social compulsion. Several

times in the course of his investigation the writer heard the term "wicked" applied by one member of the community to one of his neighbors. In each case, upon inquiry, the wickedness proved to be not dishonesty or immorality, or general meanness. It lay rather in swearing, not going to church, and making slighting remarks about the church. It need hardly be said that sectarianism in this section is bitter and church federation is very remote. It should, of course, be distinctly understood that side by side with this "other-worldly" conception there exists also the social viewpoint. There are devoted men in this section who are doing their utmost in behalf of a broader and more practical Christianity. The heaven is also at work in the hearts of most men, but as yet the social viewpoint is dominated and overtopped by the "other-worldly" viewpoint, like an under-story of maple or beech by an old pine forest. This "other-worldly" emphasis is characteristic of this section. It may be suggested, moreover, that the absentee-minister-once-a-month-preaching system, characteristic of the country-church work in this section, lends itself admirably to the "other-worldly" message. Under such a system, fire insurance is secured at very low rates, with a minimum expenditure of both time and money.

In Missouri, where the church influence was also general, the "other-worldly" conception was likewise prevalent; only 5 out of 18 ministers interviewed defined their views in terms of service to the community. The common idea was that of saving individual souls from the wrath to come, although the beginning of another attitude was evidenced by the applause which greeted speakers who presented the socialized conception of religion. Church federation in this section is still a dream. Two-thirds of the ministers interviewed were not in favor of it and were strongly sectarian in point of view. It is only fair to state, however, that between certain branches of the same denomination, as between the Presbyterians North and South, and the Presbyterians and Cumberland Presbyterians, some important forward steps have been taken.

Kansas may be considered as in the transition stage. Religiously the people of Kansas are probably less radical than they

have been politically. Out of 11 ministers working in the 6 communities here considered, 6 did not have the socialized viewpoint. Inasmuch as these 6 communities were studied because there was in them a definite religious movement for community betterment, the proportion of ministers in the state as a whole who did not have the socialized viewpoint would be larger. There is in Kansas a strong movement for church federation, but it has as yet accomplished little that is tangible, and it is meeting with many obstacles. For instance, one of the district superintendents of the Methodist church openly took the position that his job was to put the Methodist church on the map, and that this talk about church federation and the kingdom of God on earth was "all bosh." Other church leaders, while less outspoken, are no less unsympathetic.

In Westchester County, New York, and in Maine, 12 out of 14 ministers interviewed defined the mission of the church in terms of community service and expressed themselves as heartily in sympathy with the movement for church federation. Among the people, also, the socialized conception of religion is general. "A minister either has to lead or follow in this community-service program," said one of the ministers interviewed, and he was probably right. It is also to be noted that the preparation of the ministers in this section is generally good. Out of 15 ministers interviewed all had had some college or seminary training, and 7 were graduates of both college and seminary. It should also be noted that in 4 of these 6 communities, there was, and had been for years, a strong Universalist influence.

Confirmation of the conclusion that the removal of the fear compulsion is the most important factor in the decline of interest in the church may be found in the fact that in the districts surveyed the Catholic church, which is the most pronounced exponent of "other-worldly" Christianity, still commands the attendance and the financial support of its people. Thus, in one New York community, out of 109 Protestant families, 68, or 63 per cent, contributed no money to the support of the church, while of the 29 Catholic families 22, or 76 per cent, supported their church both by their attendance and by their money. It is worth noting that 6 of the 7 Catholic families who failed to support or attend their

church were Italians, and that out of 23 Irish Catholic families only one was not active in the church.

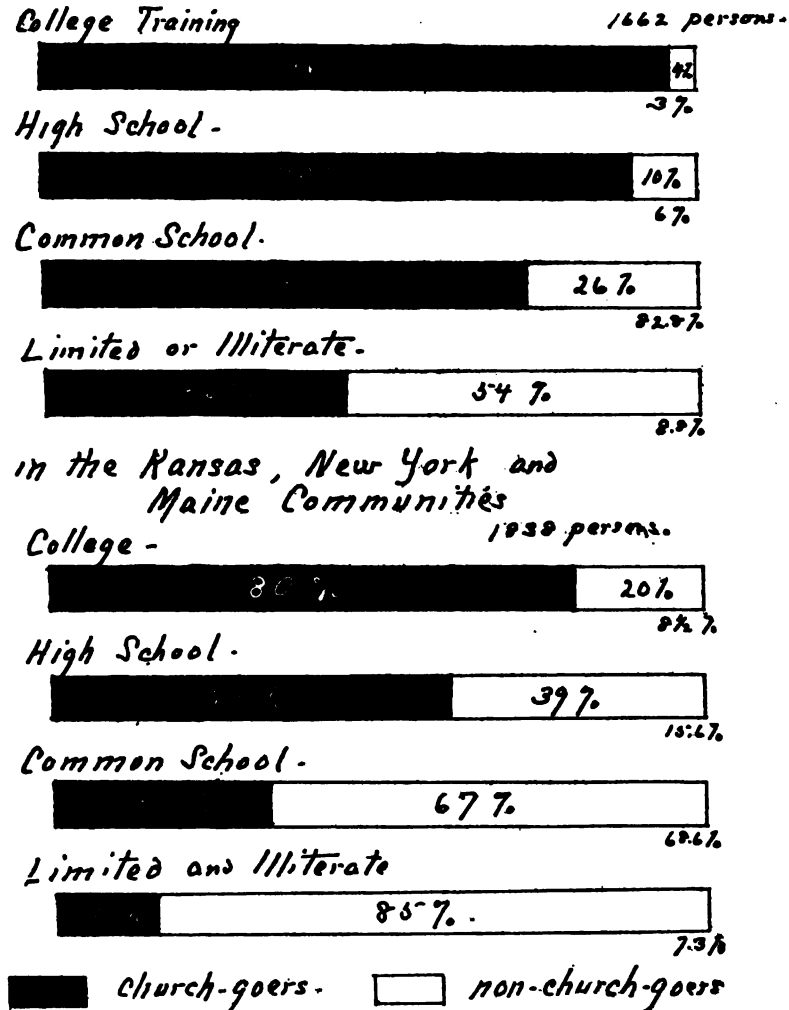


FIG. 3.—Church attendance of persons with different degrees of school training

If we now examine the church attendance of persons with different degrees of school training, as shown in Fig. 3, we gain further light on the problem. Comparing Kansas, New York,

and Maine, where the church attendance is restricted, with Tennessee and Missouri, where nearly everybody attends, we find that the great falling off has been among those with little school training. In all sections studied, the majority of those with more than common-school training are supporters of the church. This would indicate that in those sections where public opinion has become liberalized, and the old fear compulsion has become ineffective, the appeal to the nobler motives which has always existed side by side with the appeal to fear still retains its power, and the appeal meets with a better response among the better-educated classes. The fact that it is generally the better-educated who are called upon to bear the burden of the church work makes the church's appeal to them distinctly an appeal to serve and to assume responsibility.

It is worth noting in connection with the indifference toward the church among the poorly educated classes that in relatively few cases, according to the writer's observation, is conscious skepticism the cause of non-church-going. The majority of the men who do not go to church cannot give any clearly defined reason for not going. They believe that the church is a good thing. They like to see their children go. The reason is generally indifference and disinclination, coupled often with moral laxity. With the liberalizing of the popular religious opinions which are breathed in from the surrounding atmosphere, the old fear of hell becomes less vivid, and the old belief in the efficacy of going to church is challenged by the assertion "I'm as good as Smith and he goes to church." In so far as such men, even in the more liberalized sections, could express their religious views, these views would be those of the older theology. The religious atmosphere has merely made the hell in which they still believe less real, and has brought forward no other compelling appeal.

Undoubtedly social discrimination and the greater effort put forth by minister and people to win the better-educated persons have something to do with their good attendance. Thus we find in Fig. 4 that the farmers who own and operate their own farms attend church more regularly than the tenants, and the tenants attend more frequently than the hired men. Probably

the more well-to-do, like the better-educated man, is made more welcome when he comes, and is more likely to be given office and responsibility. At the same time we must also recognize an important factor in the character of the average tenant and the average hired man, and their relative unresponsiveness to the church's appeal.

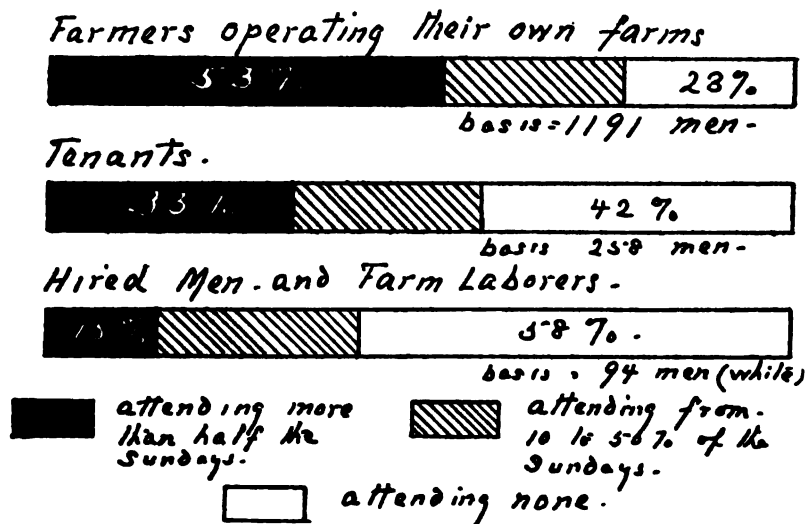


FIG. 4.—Church attendance of farm-owners, tenants, and hired men—based on the figures from Tennessee, Missouri, Kansas, and New York.

Confirmation of the view that the unresponsiveness of the average man to the appeal to his unselfish motives is the chief cause of the decline of the church's influence in the more liberalized sections may be found in the study of the church attendance of the men listed as active in public affairs, as given in Table II.

This shows that out of 178 men so listed in 6 communities in Kansas, New York, and Maine, 129, or 73 per cent, were also interested in the church and attended at least part of the time. This indicates that the country church is retaining its hold upon the more public-spirited and altruistic men of the community. The motives of these men may, in some cases, be mixed. They may be actuated by a desire for social recognition, or by the desire to

increase their influence; but it is fair to assume that the dominating motive which actuates these men in their activity in both church and community is that of service. It is also legitimate to point out that the church, in so far as it is able to influence the thinking

TABLE II  
CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF MEN ACTIVE IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

	Active in Church	Not Active in Church
Wabaunsee, Kan.....	20	6
North Salem, N.Y.....	17	2
Bedford, N.Y.....	16	5
North Anson, Me.....	21	10
Newport, Me.....	27	12
Dead River, Me.....	20	12
New Vineyard, Me.....	8	2
	129 (73%)	49 (27%)

of the community leaders, still possesses a power to control public opinion which is second only to that of the press.

The importance of the church as compared with other organizations is shown by a study of the social activities of the men of these same communities, as given in Table III. It thus appears that

TABLE III  
SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF MEN

	Active in Church Alone	Active in Church and Other Organizations	Active in Other Organizations but Not in Church	Active in Nothing
Wabaunsee, Kan.....	22	31	26	35
North Salem, N.Y.....	35	20	4	107
Bedford, N.Y.....	25	30	10	85
North Anson, Me.....	35	28	47	122
Newport, Me.....	24	49	66	180
Dead River, Me.....	7	12	14	52
New Vineyard, Me.....	14	20	10	70
	162 (14%)	190 (16%)	177 (15%)	651 (55%)

more than half the men active in the church are also active in other organizations, and more than half of those active in other organizations are also active in the church; while of those who are not



active in the church, only 21 per cent are active in the lodge or other organizations. We may say, therefore, that no other institution or organization has taken the place of the church. Here and there country communities may be found in which lodges or farmers' organizations have become very strong and influential, but generally it is found that the leading workers in these organizations are also active in the church. The men upon whom the church has lost its hold are now, for the most part, outside of any organized social activity. They are no longer interested in anything except their own families, their own work, and their own pleasures.

The data upon which these conclusions are based are, of course, not sufficiently comprehensive to make them absolutely convincing. They indicate, however, that all due allowance being made for the other factors which enter into the problem, the main cause for the restricted interest in the church in Maine, New York, and Kansas, as compared with the more general interest in Tennessee and Missouri, lies in the removal of the fear compulsion due to the liberalizing of public opinion. We may go further and say that, in the five sections studied, the proportion of those who have lost interest in the church varies directly with the liberalizing of popular religious opinion; and in the process of liberalizing popular opinion the efficiency of the schools and even of the churches themselves has worked, at least temporarily, to the church's disadvantage. It is, however, a significant and hopeful fact that even in the more liberalized sections the better-educated and the more public-spirited are still, for the most part, interested in the church, and the chief losses are among those in whom the altruistic and social interests are poorly developed.

It is not within the scope of this study to compare the interest in the church today with that of a former period. All the evidence available, however, indicates that the church in New England has had commanding influence; and sixty years ago there was probably as small a proportion of non-churchgoers in New England as there is today in the country districts of Tennessee. The evidence at hand also indicates that in spite of the spread of Unitarianism and Universalism, the theology of Jonathan Edwards at that time still dominated popular thought. It may be inferred, therefore,

that the same factor which accounts chiefly for the sectional differences in church attendance would also account for the periodic differences.

These findings point to the importance of the church's task in saving or socializing the individual man, and they raise the question whether the modern gospel has not a message which will command the allegiance of the average man as did the old message of eternal punishment and the vicarious atonement. Cannot the hell of wrong habit, of diseased will, of misused opportunity, and of guilty conscience be made just as real and just as vivid as the hell pictured by Jonathan Edwards; and cannot the necessity of membership in, and loyalty to, the organization in which men are associated at their highest level, in order to guarantee the survival of the values which they desire in their personal life and in their social order, be made just as convincing as the old doctrine of salvation through the taking out of life insurance in the church—by accepting a creed, attending worship, and partaking of the sacraments?

## WAR AND THE DEMOCRATIC STATE<sup>\*</sup>

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Herbert Spencer set forth a theory<sup>a</sup> which in its main import signifies that there is a general evolutionary tendency for society to develop from a military to an industrial type of organization, and that with the coming of a well-developed industrial order of society the compulsory nature of the state will largely disappear and we shall have democracy. There seems to be implied in this theory an inherent correlation of industrialism, a minimum of political government, and the absence of war, which must disappear with the coming of the democratic industrial organization of society.

Herein lie at least three significant errors in Spencer's thinking and in that of some modern publicists, which may be stated briefly as follows.

1. The industrial organization of society does not dissipate the coercive political organization. On the contrary, it seems to multiply political functions and machinery beyond anything previously dreamed of. Only in a society where industry is self-regulating, where individual and social interests do not conflict, and therefore where individual interests are in harmony, can political controls over industry be dispensed with. To Spencer's *laissez-faire* view of society such automatic and negative self-regulation of industry and of the state seemed as feasible and as desirable as the divine harmony of interests or impulses appeared to Fourier. Both are equally illusory.

2. The industrialization of society does not abolish war any more than it abolishes the political state. It may possibly be contended with some truth that the number of wars and struggles due to personal rivalries between kings and dynasties has decreased in our

<sup>\*</sup> Read before the Western Philosophical Association, St. Louis, April 21, 1916.

<sup>a</sup> *Principles of Sociology*, Part V, chap. xvii-xix.

industrial era, but we should not be too hasty in concluding therefrom that with the coming of the industrial organization of the state wars are disappearing. Industrialism is itself an increasingly effective cause of war. Though Spencer lived in the midst of a developing industrial era, he failed to appreciate the measure of the significance of economic forces in the evolution of society. Wars from the earliest times have not been merely personal quarrels due to formal slights or personal insults. They were quite as often struggles for personal and group possessions. In our modern societies, where the individual dignity sinks into a smaller significance and the power of personal leadership is somewhat mitigated by a popular, if intangible, referendum; in short, where public-mindedness in large measure takes the place of mob-mindedness as a method of social adjustment and control, the economic factor becomes the chief source of friction between classes and peoples. Though only occasionally do hungry mobs fight directly for food in our complex society, with its splendid facilities for physical distribution, we continually struggle for the possession of those things which produce or command food. The labor union struggles for higher wages, and the maritime and industrial state contends with rival maritime and industrial states for markets which give in exchange foods and raw materials for finished products. And not infrequently this contest is not merely legislative or diplomatic but is sanguinary, as it is at Ludlow or Youngstown, or in Europe today. Here the struggle for food, however indirectly mediated and manifested, which is inevitable in our industrialism as it is now organized, becomes the strongest cause of war.

3. One other error into which Spencer and the neo-Spencerians have fallen should be mentioned. An industrial organization of society no more than a military organization of society is the inevitable correlate of democracy. No doubt a democracy could under certain conditions exist in either form of social organization, and possibly the industrial organization is inherently more favorable to democracy than is the military; but as a matter of fact industrialism appears at the present time to be working against democracy in favor of autocracy and even to be creating a military organization in its service as a means to subjugating those who

love democracy too well. In modern Germany industrialism in league with the traditional political hierarchy has created in the service of autocracy the most powerful war machine ever known, in Great Britain it has created and maintained the greatest navy, and the foreign-trade expansionists in this country are now seeking to do the same thing for us on a smaller scale, under the shibboleth of "preparedness"—that is, preparedness for the conquest of world-trade.<sup>1</sup> In brief, then, the modern industrial state is by no means democratic. Whether it can be made to become so remains yet to be seen. Some insight into this problem can perhaps be gained from a brief review of the development of the industrial state as we have it today.

The states of the ancient world were, generally speaking, relatively small in extent of territory and in population because of the absence of two great unifying factors—adequate facilities for transportation and a good industrial organization of society. Diverse peoples can be brought together under a single allegiance only through the force of conquering or menacing arms or a common economic interest. In a society which is poorly developed industrially there can be no great community of economic interests extending over a wide range of territory, and where transportation facilities are poor a political unity imposed through military conquest must be limited in extent and in duration. The lack of industrial development of the ancient world will largely account for the great number of small states with a diversity of languages and customs. Only where agriculture was well developed and where the agricultural regions were united by relatively ample transportation facilities do we find large states developing. In a

<sup>1</sup> This attitude is well expressed in the following paragraph from an article by C. L. Penny dealing with foreign trade policy in *American Industries* for April, 1916, pp. 13-14 (italics mine): "The real struggle of today between industrial nations is the struggle for *control of markets* in agricultural or food-producing countries. This struggle had assumed, *before the war reverted it to its older and more primitive form*, a very novel mode of conquest. For a long time, the old, unproductive method of military conquest had given way to the more refined and much higher method of *financial conquest*. This method consists of an extension of credit by the wealthier industrial nation toward the upbuilding of its agricultural contributor or partner by means of which the industrial nation insures the safety of its arteries of trade and secures the products of the agricultural nation."

few instances, as in the cases of the Alexandrian and Roman empires, well-organized armies were used to overrun and conquer wide expanses of isolated and largely defenseless territory. But as soon as these peoples were aroused to their dangers and had time to develop systems of military defense for themselves, both these great empires crumbled. Simultaneous attacks from a great many quarters upon these mushroom empires broke them up completely. The Alexandrian empire did not last a generation. The Roman empire, thanks to the care given to the matter of the construction of military roads on land and to its central position upon the greatest highway of antiquity—the Mediterranean—was able to maintain its hold upon outlying provinces for a longer time. But ultimately the demand that its armies be in widely separated places almost simultaneously proved too much for it and it collapsed. Its attacks had merely aroused the slumbering peoples to the north from their isolation and they in turn entered upon a period of marauding and conquest, perhaps stimulated by an economic necessity—the overpressure of their populations upon the food supply obtainable from the type of industry with which they were then familiar.

It is interesting to note that out of all these struggles of the ancient world for personal or political aggrandizement or for economic advantage not a single great national unity arose with the elements of permanency in it. The various peoples had no great interest in common. This discreteness of political organizations and units continued through the period known as feudalism, largely because there was a reversion rather than an advance in industrial organization at this time. Under the influence of the northern conquests the world had returned in large measure to a primitive agricultural basis, and it was some centuries before the handicrafts developed sufficiently to call forth a commerce which could again bring widely separated or even neighboring peoples into extensive peaceful contact with one another. Even when the stimulus to commerce came through the increase of commodities of trade those in power discouraged it. It was a convenient and rich object of prey for the land-owning baron and the gentleman highwayman alike. Neither religion nor folk morals protected the trader where

the political power refused, because his vocation was new and the uses of exchange and the validity of a profit from the purveying of novelties were doubtful to the conservative minds of the burghers, and doubtless the priest could sense the hidden danger of new ideas which came packed in the articles of commerce like new diseases.

It was a fortunate train of circumstances which finally gave protection to the trader and thus stimulated the artisan and ultimately fostered a wider peaceful contact of peoples and thus expanded the scope and range of our civilization. Each princeling was quite as eager then as formerly to expand his territory and therefore his power and prestige, but other princelings were equally desirous that he should not be able to do so. The greater military advantage naturally rested with the one who could command and maintain the larger army. For such a purpose mercenaries and revenues were necessary, and mercenaries could be had wherever revenues existed. Thus Machiavelli is only one of the far-seeing political statesmen of early modern times who urge the political value of a well-developed and protected commerce and industry which would be able to yield abundant taxes. Few countries have profited from this teaching more than Germany and England.

Even before Machiavelli's day ambitious princes had begun to offer protection against baron and highwayman to commercial cities and caravans in exchange for taxes and for representation in a semi-mythical parliament or states-general. At first these national assemblies seem to have been primarily if not wholly assemblies for the pledging of fealty and funds—the fealty of the upper orders and the funds of the commercial classes. But in the course of time the lower orders asked for pledges in return for taxes, and in the degree in which the states became industrialized the power of the great industrial and commercial classes increased. In some of them, of which England and the United States may be taken as examples, the balance of power has actually passed out of the hands of the royal and noble classes into the hands of the great financial and commercial classes. In others, represented well by modern Germany, there has resulted a strong protective alliance between the king and nobility on the one hand and the financial and industrial

classes on the other. In the less industrialized states, such as Russia, the commercial and financial classes are still dominated by the upper classes, but a compromise must inevitably follow the reorganization of these states upon an industrial instead of a primitive agricultural economy.

In each of these modern industrialized states where the center of power has been shifted to or toward the great industrial and financial classes, the machinery and the outlook of the state have not greatly changed. The government is still a class government, though the classes in power have been shifted more or less. The great masses of the handworkers and clerical employees while no longer voiceless in the government are still relatively powerless. Even where there is sufficient information and intelligence regarding great issues for the popular will to be formulated in behalf of the popular welfare, and where there is adequate machinery for the popular will thus formed to express itself at the polls, it is still likely to miscarry somewhere between the polls and the act of publication of legislature-made laws, judicial decisions, and executive mandates. As yet in no great modern state—not even in the most industrialized—have the people—the fourth estate—learned to rule and therefore to direct the affairs of the state in the interest of democracy or of themselves.

It is for this reason that it must be contended that the industrial state and the democratic state are not equivalent terms. Apparently a highly efficient industrial organization on a national and even an international scale can flourish at least as well—perhaps even better—under the control of a dynastic or financial oligarchy as in a democratically organized state. Likewise war still persists, though now waged primarily for industrial and commercial advantages. Modern states have grown too large and too complex for merely personal quarrels to be leading factors in the causation of war. Modern wars are mainly for trade or territorial advantages which will strengthen the industrial organization and prestige of a country and from which the ruling classes draw their major sustenance. Thus industrialism, which has in large degree displaced or modified the former powers of kings and nobles, has now become a new cause of war in the interest of those who control industry or profit from its success. But would this be true if the



industrialized states were democratically instead of autocratically or plutocratically controlled? Generally it is assumed that war—at least war in most of its aspects—would cease if we had complete democratic control. This assumption seems to be implicit in the recent widespread demand that all proposals for a foreign war should be submitted to a popular referendum.

But is it possible to produce a democratic organization of society which will have the elements of permanency in it? As the writer conceives it, an affirmative answer to this question depends upon the possibility of the masses of the population achieving three great conditioning means. The first of these and prerequisite to all the others is the acquisition by the public of accurate and full information regarding public affairs and public needs. Doubtless we are much nearer this goal today than we have ever been before. The invention and perfection of cheap printing, the development of other means of rapid communication and transportation, and the growth of science itself—including social science—have together contributed to widen and deepen the information of the masses. But that this information regarding the conditions of their welfare has not been complete or accurate enough to bring about the establishment of a democratic state is evident. There are some obvious causes of this failure. A certain degree of leisure from exhausting physical toil is necessary to an intelligent and exhaustive pursuit of information such as will enable the citizen to compete with the professional politician for governmental control. Great masses of the population yet fall short of a sufficient amount of this leisure. In other cases, where there is sufficient leisure, it is devoted merely to amusement—often of a distracting and enervating kind—rather than to the acquisition of such information as will conduce to the formation of intelligent judgments on public questions. Equally menacing is the tendency, perhaps recently accelerated, for the sources and purveyors of information to become biased, polluted, and perverted. It sometimes seems as if all popular publicity were partisan, and even now many of the specialized seekers nearest the fountains of truth fear to speak freely all they know. It is evident that there must be more than a willingness to learn on the part of the masses; there must also be sufficient leisure, which translated means income, and there

must be established some effective control over amusements and publicity in the interest of social welfare, before this prime requisite for democracy can be obtained.

The second step in the acquisition of democratic control is the development of a machinery for popular self-expression in order that the people may make their knowledge effective. As yet no machinery of this sort adequate for the needs of a large industrial state has been developed. If the various direct nomination and primary schemes, the initiative, referendum, and recall, the voters' leagues, and similar agencies for securing popular control over government do not produce efficient results, others must be found, if democratic control is to become a reality; for the percentage of error in our irresponsible representative system is tremendous. But even with the attainment of these various devices for disseminating reliable and adequate information and for securing efficient control over government, there will still have to be a thorough overhauling of the governmental machinery itself and a revision of governmental aims before democratic justice can be attained. Such a question as this of social justice, already acute in the time of Plato and perhaps even more pressing now, cannot be solved off-hand, but certain urgent needs are pretty clearly formulated in the minds of most of us at the present time. We know, for instance, that our legal and administrative systems need to be overhauled through the modification of property inheritance, the revision of the economic equities in distribution, and the reorganization of educational systems, and the like, so that there shall be greater equality of opportunity as foundation-stones of democracy. But is the attainment of all these conditions of the democratic state possible? Can the people acquire information regarding the conditions of the common good, can they develop a method for the control of their government, can they revise the economic, social, and educational foundations of their political and social order so that it will make for justice? Many who have striven hardest to secure such ends are profoundly pessimistic regarding the possibilities, but it is as yet too early to answer in the negative.

But if the methodological obstacles to democracy as above described can be removed, will war thereby be made to vanish? In

the case of civil war the answer is easy and is in the affirmative. For a democratic control of the state presupposes a fundamental unity of interests on the part of the masses of the people and this is most likely to come through a common industrial development. A democratic state must therefore also be a geographic and economic unity. Democracy is not possible where there is a conflict of economic interests, such for instance as existed in this country preceding the Civil War, or where there are well-marked traditional differences, as of culture or religion, though in time these latter differences tend to disappear under the reforming influence of economic unity.

In the case of international contests the answer is more difficult. In those cases where foreign aggression is stimulated by a ruling class for the sake of a class interest, as by an unpopular dynasty in order that it may divert public attention from itself by an appeal to patriotic phrases and the scent of powder, or by a ruling financial and commercial class for the purpose of capturing profitable foreign loans and foreign markets which are more profitable to this class than to the people of the country as a whole, democracy would eliminate foreign wars because it would eliminate those self-seeking classes which initiate the wars for their own gain. And it must be admitted that many foreign wars have such origins at the present time.

There is another possible cause of foreign wars which has already begun to operate to some extent in our time. In this case war represents a food struggle on a national scale. Where a country develops a population on an industrial basis far in excess of its ability to produce its food at home, as is markedly the case in Great Britain today and increasingly true of modern Germany, some sort of title to outlying markets, such as colonies or dependencies, may appear to be a vital national necessity. If, moreover, those sources of food supply and of markets for manufactured goods or loans with which food is purchased are separated from the overpopulated and overindustrialized country by large expanses of sea, it may seem that national survival itself depends upon having such a navy that it may control this sea in case the country with a scanty food supply is attacked. In such a case, even in a democratic state,

where dynasties and commercial classes do not profit at the expense of the masses of the people, war might under certain conditions appear to be justifiable as the only alternative to starvation.

In such a case wars in a democracy could be avoided only by intelligent control of internal conditions—in this case public control of population to restrain it from exceeding the national food resources, thus preventing that nation from becoming dependent on other peoples for its food. Also it would be necessary so to balance industrial and agricultural production that the former should not crowd out the latter through some system of unproductive land ownership, such as might occur in a non-democratic state. The economic causes of foreign wars cannot be entirely eliminated until there is adequate control over population, so that foreign conquest will not seem desirable merely because there is not food and food-producing lands enough at home.

And even under these conditions foreign wars would not cease until all states became democratic, and exercised rigid control over their populations, for the ruling classes in undemocratic states might still find it profitable to attack the democratic ones. And it is even conceivable, though scarcely probable, that one democratic state might seek to subjugate a more prosperous one merely to prey upon its wealth.

If we should make an application of these principles to our own country today we might safely contend that if the United States were a truly democratic state it is scarcely conceivable that it would be involved in war or would need to make very active preparations for war. For we have sufficient basic economic and geographic unity so that civil war would not be a menace to us; without predatory industrial classes we should not find foreign industrial and financial control particularly profitable to our people as a whole; nor does our population yet press sufficiently upon our food-producing facilities to turn our attention as a people abroad; and, finally, we are so isolated by long stretches of sea and our population is so large that it is not conceivable that any powerful foreign state would attempt to invade us. We may therefore safely conclude that if the United States engages in a foreign war it is not likely to be in one democratically initiated.

## A NEGLECTED OPPORTUNITY AND DUTY IN JOURNALISM

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In two papers that have appeared in this journal<sup>1</sup> the present writer has discussed the actual and possible rôle of the modern newspaper in the political and moral life of the people—or in the education of the great reading public. The shortcomings of the average commercial newspaper were touched upon, but the conclusion that was reached was, on the whole, by no means as cheerless and pessimistic as that of many severe critics of contemporary journalism. Independent, honest, and high-minded journalism, the writer firmly believes, is entirely possible, and in no wise incompatible, moreover, with “enterprise,” readableness, and popularity.

But to say that such journalism is possible even on a commercial basis—to say, in other words, that a publisher need not sacrifice *reasonable* profits to dignity, moral courage, and righteousness—is, of course, not to say that the actual supply of honest and independent journalism is even approximately equal to the demand for it. The truth is, not many of our newspapers answer the reasonable requirements of the intelligent and decent elements of the community. (Only a few do this; the majority leave much to be desired.) Some are too sensational; others are erratic and unstable. Many are utterly indifferent to the questions that really matter, in the long run, simply because the average person is supposed to be indifferent to them.) In the handling of political, civic, industrial, and social news, few of the big newspapers even pretend to adhere to any standard, or to care for method and consistency. The personal, the trivial, the cheap, the “yellow” incidents are generally exploited at the expense of the substantial and serious

<sup>1</sup> See especially the paper entitled “Is an Honest and Sane Newspaper Press Possible?” *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1909.

matters that underlie the news. The unpardonable sin, the intolerable thing, in commercial journalism is "dulness," and absolutely everything is ruthlessly sacrificed to "dramatic, human interest," to "breeziness" or "appeal." And, of course, the managing editors and their reporters and copy-readers always think of interest and appeal in terms of crowds and multitudes. Hence sensational or melodramatic items will, at the last moment, displace and "kill" important but "dry" civic, administrative, or political matter that is appreciated only by small groups of citizens and readers.

It is a fact which hardly requires further elaboration that our greatest commercial newspapers cannot really be depended upon to "give the news." Their boast in this respect is totally unfounded. They give *certain* news, and give it without system or method. They omit and suppress other news with equal capriciousness and lack of any definite policy save the one avowed policy of making the whole paper as exciting and lively as possible. Certain Chicago papers recently suppressed a grand jury report which criticized sensationalism and charged journalism with responsibility for juvenile criminality.

To this familiar complaint against contemporary journalism there must be added the even more grave, if perhaps less common, complaint of deliberate unfairness, class bias, and political or factional partisanship in handling news. This complaint is made against the national news agencies as well as against individual papers. Many social workers, labor leaders, and progressive thinkers feel that big business, big finance, and capitalism unduly control the news machinery of the country. This control, they believe, results in much injustice, and in prejudice and confusion of vital issues. The Colorado mining strike is usually cited as an illustration of the unfairness of the news agencies. The way in which the hearings, by a Senate subcommittee, on the appointment of Mr. Brandeis to the federal Supreme Court were treated or "digested" and "summarized" in the press reports is another illustration furnished in certain "advanced" circles. The writer's own opinion is that the unfairness of the press associations is the result rather of narrow ideas and ignorance than of deliberate

prejudice, or of the conscious desire to pander to the monopolistic elements of the country. That, however, unfairness there is, can hardly be doubted.

Now, the probability of press reform in these directions is very faint. (Practically every factor in contemporary journalism militates against reform.) How many of our big newspapers are published and controlled by men who love journalism, have lofty professional ideals, glory in good work worthily done, and realize the responsibility that rests upon them? After all, a newspaper is what the owner chooses to make it. A man of principle, of intelligence, of self-respect, of poise, will run one kind of a newspaper. He will, first of all, run a newspaper in which the editorial expressions of opinion will be scrupulously differentiated from the presentation of facts in the news columns. He will not color, or manipulate, either the news or the headlines. He will demand strict honesty and impartiality of his reporters, correspondents, and desk men. He will give all sides worth giving. He will insist, first and last, on furnishing the raw material of opinion to all his readers—of carrying knowledge to them, and of carrying the power that goes with knowledge. His own views he will state candidly and vigorously, but he will state them *as* his own views, and neither claim to know what public opinion is when he does not know it, and has no means of knowing it, nor assume to reflect the opinions of the many publics that make up the great public.

But how many men of principle, of self-respect, of dignity and ability, run newspapers? We have men who are in the business for profit. We have men who are in it because they are vain, ambitious, pushful. We have men in the business who have political axes to grind, who have friends in public life whom they wish to advertise and "boom." We have men in the business who love power and notoriety. We have men in the business who use their papers as adjuncts to financial promotion and speculation. Finally, we have men in the business who, though personally unfit for it, have succeeded fathers or grandfathers of conspicuous fitness for journalism, and who live on past reputation and past prestige.

We can no more expect genuine journalistic reform from these types of publishers and editors than we can expect the proverbial

silken purses from sows' ears. (The style, verily, is the man. The newspaper, to repeat, and its style, from headlines and offensive, nauseating self-advertising up to the editorial manner and the mode of presenting news, reflect the proprietor's mental and moral traits.)

Nor is this all. The basic material conditions of contemporary journalism are fatally unsound. (Journalism that is too "cheap" to be self-supporting as journalism cannot be satisfactory. Newspapers that cannot make their ends meet without heavy, abundant advertising, and to which circulation is merely a means to advertising, cannot be independent, sober, and honest.) They are under the constant necessity of "splurging," of trafficking in rumors and false reports, of making mountains out of molehills. And this in turn carries with it the necessity of rigorous economy in handling news that cannot possibly be rendered sensational and exciting. Inexperienced and uneducated reporters are too often assigned to "cover" civic and local news of moment. The ability and the experience available in the office are required elsewhere.

Has not the time come to revive definitely the idea—vaguely broached years ago—of privately endowed newspapers?

We have various "foundations" for education, for research, for progressive philanthropy, for certain social and industrial reforms. They are indispensable. We know that higher arts, the higher music, could not exist without liberal endowment. (Is it not sufficiently clear that sound, clean, and dignified journalism cannot hope to take root, to establish itself in modern cities, without at least temporary endowment?)

It is idle, of course, to expect municipal or state endowment of journalism. The remedy, were it practicable, would prove worse than the disease. The endowment of a newspaper, or chain of newspapers, by a single multimillionaire, or group of multimillionaires, would undoubtedly also prove vain or undesirable. The policies of such newspapers would either actually be controlled and dictated by the rich patrons, or else the general public would suspect such control and dictation. Such suspicions, even if unfounded, would be fatal. Newspapers supported by any of the existing "foundations," for example, would become targets for all manner of attacks and misrepresentation.



But we are by no means limited to this form or mode of endowment. If it be admitted that the education of our democratic masses cannot be safely left to commercialized newspapers; if it be admitted that it is desirable to set up and maintain standards of journalism—intellectual and moral; if it be admitted that it would be a boon to a community to have a great, trustworthy, vital, honest, ably edited, and ably written newspaper, and that gradually the influence of such a newspaper would make itself felt even in the worst of the commercialized newspapers—if all these things be admitted—and the writer does not believe that there is serious doubt as to them—then it must be admitted that there is no insurmountable obstacle in the way of a reasonable and carefully safeguarded endowment plan.

Tentatively, and in order to provide a basis of discussion, to elicit suggestion and criticism, the writer submits the following outlines of a plan.

1. Organize a national foundation for the special and sole purpose of establishing a chain of absolutely independent and sober-minded newspapers in the big cities of the country.

2. Appeal not only to men and women of great wealth, but to persons of moderate fortunes, or even of small means—small, that is, for our day, but not too small to permit indulgence in an intellectual, moral, and artistic luxury—to become contributors or supporters of this newspaper foundation.

3. Enlist progressive and honorable business men, professional men, educators, labor leaders, journalists, social workers, authors, artists, and others, and organize a national board of trustees representing these several elements of the community to direct the foundation.

4. Organize a smaller but representative board in each city where one of the proposed newspapers is to be started.

5. Adopt and prescribe a definite and practical news policy for the proposed chain of newspapers. That is, decide how to handle news relating to vice and crime, to family scandal, to sport, to trivial gossip, and the like.

6. Proclaim an absolutely non-partisan editorial policy. Announce that all controversial and contentious questions—Mexico,

for example, or the meaning of neutrality in connection with the great world-war, or the submarine and its uses, or the trade in arms and ammunition—will be frankly treated as such. That is, while the editorial columns of the journal will present the views of the editor or editorial board, other columns will be opened to writers of authority and standing for the sober presentation of differing views; nay, that care will be taken to secure the timely presentation of divergent views, so that the reader may have before him the best statements of the several points of view actually occupied with reference to any important question.

7. Organize an editorial board in every city represented in the proposed chain, but at the same time let one responsible managing editor be selected and engaged, and let ample power be vested in him for all ordinary journalistic purposes.

8. Charge a "living price" for the paper—two or three cents a copy, if necessary—and let circulation grow naturally in response to the appeal of an independent, reliable, well-written, progressive, and wide-awake newspaper.

9. Do not exclude advertising—except, of course, quack and immoral advertising—but do not solicit it. Let it, too, come naturally, as a recognition of the value of the journal as a business medium.

10. Pay good salaries and wages, but not excessive, inflated ones. Let it be known that absolutely honest and careful work will be required of all reporters, desk men, correspondents, special writers, department editors, etc., and that flippancy, sensationalism, artificiality, exaggeration, affectation, theatrical sentimentalism will be frowned upon and discouraged. Let it be known that the paper respects the public, regards it as capable of appreciating truth, accuracy, dignity, and sanity in journalism. There are thousands of young men and women who will work joyfully and enthusiastically for such a newspaper. There are thousands of capable and progressive journalists who are ashamed of the style and method that are imposed upon them. Some have the courage to say so in print; many say so in private conversation.

There is nothing utopian about these requirements or conditions. Newspapers of the type described might never become

"gold mines," but no person of sense and experience can doubt for a moment that in time they would become self-supporting. The dissatisfaction and the disgust with many of our "great newspapers" are more widespread and profound than one realizes. As a very thoughtful and active woman of national reputation said to the writer lately: "The public is supposed to be getting what it wants in journalism. It is really taking what it gets. Why, I have to read every day a newspaper I despise. I have to obtain my information, and often I unconsciously form opinions, under the direction and manipulation of men I know and do not respect either morally or intellectually. But what can I do? There is no choice. The other papers in my city are even worse in some respects than the one I take." Thousands of men and women in every city will heartily subscribe to these words. Thousands would heave a sigh of relief if they were assured of honest, independent, and sincere treatment of the issues of a great campaign.

Let me, however, anticipate and meet some objections to the plan that are certain to be raised.

The first may be formulated as follows, "Why, the proposal involves syndicated 'journalism.' What is a newspaper without the personality behind it? When you read opinions, you wish to know whose opinions they are. What weight attaches to syndicated policies? How can a foundation or a board of directors shape and determine newspaper policies?"

The answer is simple. How many of our newspapers *have* personalities behind them? How many readers *know* these personalities? And what if the personalities are known unfavorably? What if we actually know that greed, political ambition, love of notoriety, etc., inspire the opinions expressed by certain newspapers? We may be compelled to read these organs in spite of our knowledge.

Besides, if we want opinions, a truly independent and honest newspaper will know how to satisfy this want. It will interview known experts and authorities, or invite them to contribute careful articles. The sensible person is not deceived by the tacit claims of the editorial writer. Anonymity covers much ignorance and ludicrous pretension. If certain facts require interpretation,

one wants to know the qualifications of the ready interpreters. The editorial "we" guarantees nothing. It is often a false and impudent pretense. It often pretends to speak for a community, or class, or group, even when it deliberately misrepresents that community, class, or group. And it certainly speaks before it has made an effort to sound public opinion. It cannot wait—that would not be "enterprise," and a rival editor would be sure to rush in ahead of the man who hesitates, investigates, or waits.

The proposed newspaper foundation would represent all honest opinions and views. Its object would be to bring data, facts, information, knowledge, to the readers, and of course opinions are facts. The existence of differences of opinion among those who are really entitled to form and hold an opinion on a given question is itself a fact of importance. He who wants advocacy, special pleading, partisan treatment of a subject, and who would rather not hear the other side, is generally accommodated. It is the reader who wants "the full record" that is disappointed and neglected.

Here is one "burning" illustration of this statement. The controversy over the new submarine boats and their "rights" in warfare—the controversy over the defensive armament of merchantmen and the rights of civilians and neutrals on such ships—seriously troubled many Americans. They wanted to know what international law had to say on the issue. They wanted to know whether our national administration was fully justified in taking the position it finally took on that question. Did any newspaper deem it necessary to ask the leading professors of, and authors on, international law to prepare statements thereon? The issue involved momentous and tremendous consequences, yet the most enterprising of the newspapers contented themselves with the expression of personal and valueless notions, or with little scraps and fragments of expert opinion. One gathered the impression somehow that the supposed authorities were not agreed. The anxious reader was perplexed, not enlightened, by the little that was put before him. Yet to have put before him the mature views of the eight or ten men in the country whose authority could not be challenged would have been a relatively simple matter.

Another objection to the plan may be anticipated. It is this: that people will look with contempt on a newspaper that depends on "charity" or endowment for its very existence. To this there are two answers. Do people look with contempt on science, art, education, that depends on private and enlightened beneficence? Is dependence on a few big advertisers, with all the direct or indirect "control" of news and policies such dependence notoriously implies in many cases, preferable to dependence on voluntary, unselfish endowment? In the second place, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. Contempt would not long survive the testing of a respectable and fit newspaper by its "consumers." Good writing, good reporting, good book reviews, good art criticism, good special correspondence, timely and able articles on current subjects, honesty and independence, fairness to all parties and schools that are entitled to consideration—such qualities as these would not be long in commanding attention and admiration, in bringing enthusiastic praise and support.

{ We have plenty of syndicated trash, syndicated falsehood, syndicated malice, syndicated vulgarity and sensationalism. Why should not decency and integrity, sobriety and common-sense use the resources of co-operation and beneficence? What is more important to democracy than freedom and honesty of discussion? What is more dangerous and pernicious than the pollution of the sources of popular education? \

This or that multimillionaire may be satisfied with existing conditions in journalism. But there are thousands of wealthy men and women who are emphatically not satisfied and who would cheerfully contribute to an endowment fund of the kind suggested. A newspaper conference was held a few years ago to discuss the evils and vices of contemporary commercial journalism. Cannot a conference be called to consider the feasibility of a newspaper foundation? Is not the matter worthy of the attention of the sociologists?

## IMPLICATIONS OF A STANDARD OF LIVING

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Any group, any community, or any era is foresighted that inquires into its standard of living, or, as the English writers and some economists style it, a standard of comfort, which is probably more expressive in its connotation. The implications involved are far-flung and far-reaching. Its sociological significances cannot be overestimated.

Since anthropological and ethnological works trace the development of man in his early mastery over the materials and forces of nature, attention here need simply be directed to the sociological significance of such development. In these days in place of a continuous struggle for mere subsistence, we desire abundant food of good quality, and many comforts and luxuries besides. We desire leisure for mental, moral, and aesthetic enjoyment, and prefer to spend as little economic energy as need be in order to attain these things. In other words, we demand a relatively greater return for a smaller economic effort. This becomes increasingly possible as we discover how to utilize what nature so generously supplies to us: as we learn to use more effectively, wood, stone, and metal, and to increase our store of these through the preservation and enlargement of our forests, the manufacture of artificial stone, by the making of steel, the extraction of aluminum from clay, or nitrogen from the air. As also we pass beyond the sail and the water mill to the enormous energies stored in stream and electricity, we reach a condition when Malthusianism becomes old-fashioned. For through these achievements food supplies are multiplied enormously, and the energy needed to attain them passes as a burden from human muscle to nature itself. The brain of man invents and guides the machine, and natural power does the rest. The man behind the machine symbolizes a great factor in dynamic civilization, as well as the man behind the gun. The real hopefulness of the situation at present is, that as long as the intellect of man can continue to make improvements in machinery, and utilize more efficiently natural resources, mankind will become more and more free from the fear of starvation; the standards of life will rise; slavery, serfdom, and unskilled labor will disappear, and with shorter hours of labor, which will involve intelligence rather than muscle, even the working classes will have leisure to devote themselves to cultural attainment, as is not possible under a system involving strenuous toil and unrelenting poverty. . . .

If statistics were available, it would be possible to prove the march of civilization by noting historically the decrease in per cent of those who live from hand to mouth.<sup>1</sup>

We see then the development of a progress which carries with it a concomitantly growing fund of wealth which makes possible a standard of living—

the greatest national asset of any civilized, enlightened, prosperous, and progressive people. . . . Undigged minerals and soils and water power and harbors, accumulated capital in manufacturing plants and road beds and rolling stock, native shrewdness in bargaining, native energy in labor, acquired knowledge of the arts of industry, are all of less significance, less fundamental importance, than that complex, subtle, intangible reality—the standard of life of the working people.

Trade unions exist mainly to protect the standard of life. When laborers in some great conflict seek to show that their cause is just because the low wages against which they protest are not sufficient to maintain their standard of life, they make, if they are sincere, the one irresistible appeal to which every patriot must pay heed, the appeal by which, if their evidence is sufficient, they will be justified in the long range view of human welfare. If war or industrial depression or irregular employment or famine or pestilent epidemic or demoralizing poor relief or the luxurious indulgence of vice breaks down the standard of life, this is for civilization its one real disaster, retrievable, it may be, by long and painful effort, but very probably not in the same nation or community. Such a disaster is not easily retrieved. Earthquake or flood or fire or defeat in arms may be but a slight disaster in the larger perspective of history, but any force which reaches the inner standards of the people, their ideas as to what manner of life they should lead, has a cumulative and incalculable effect on all their future welfare.<sup>2</sup>

Not alone in the field of sociology are the effects of a standard of living so far-reaching, but in the field of economics as well. Ely has this to say upon this point:

The standard of life is, by very definition, a fundamental factor in determining, in the long run, the supply of labor . . . because experience has shown that the standard of life affords an element of strength to laborers in their bargains with employers. Any encroachments on it are met with a strong and determined resistance. Moreover, a high standard of living is, as we have seen, one of the things that make for productive efficiency on the part of the laborer, and hence tends to increase his earning capacity.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dealey, *Sociology*, pp. 105-9.

<sup>2</sup> E. T. Devine, *The Normal Life*, pp. 157, 158.

<sup>3</sup> Richard T. Ely, *Outlines of Economics*, p. 278.

We have only lately come to realize the importance of the standard of living, for it is only a few years since Cardinal Manning of England "startled the English-speaking world by his enunciation of the right of man to a subsistence as prior to the rights of property as a doctrine of the church."<sup>1</sup> Gradually, however, such ideals have permeated the entire body politic and this spirit is summed up admirably by J. A. Ryan when he says:

The great majority of fair-minded persons believe, indeed, that labor does not get its full share of the wealth that it creates, but they are not agreed as to the precise measure of that ideal share. Upon one principle of partial justice unprejudiced men are, however, in substantial agreement. They hold that wages should be sufficiently high to enable the laborer to live in a manner consistent with the dignity of a human being.<sup>2</sup>

Even the casual observer will notice that by far the greater part of the discussions concerning the standard of living has revolved around the laborer's condition, the tacit assumption being that his standard was below the minimum. It is interesting briefly to review the various attempts that have been made to find out how the laborer spends his earnings and to note the occasions that stimulated or gave rise to the various inquiries and the uses that have been made of the various conclusions.

Financial exigencies of governments gave rise to the earliest attempts that we have noted. The purpose was to find whether an increase in taxes could be borne by the working population. Another occasion for these inquiries is the economic distress of the people as seen in the high prices for food, lack of employment, increasing demands for poor relief, unrest, and discontent—"les plaies sociales" as Visschers put it. The distress is sometimes acute, as in Eden's day, or at the time of the two Belgian investigations. It may be Chronic like that of York and London that gave rise to the studies of Rountree and Booth. Scientific interest as well as humanitarian zeal attracted Engel and LePlay to the investigation of the subject, and the necessity of justifying their *raison d'être* has apparently led some of our State Labour Bureaus to enter the field.

The uses which have been made of the results of the inquiries into the cost of living are manifold. LePlay sought to utilize his family monographs in his argument for the maintenance of monogamic marriage and paternal authority. Engel connected his studies with generalizations regarding the economic

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to J. A. Ryan's *A Living Wage*, by Richard T. Ely.

<sup>2</sup> *A Living Wage*, p. vii.



welfare of the nation. Eden argued from his reports the need of change in the poor laws and other remedial legislation. Davies deduced from his data the need of establishing by law a minimum wage. Dietary experts use the figures of expenditure for food to show the need of education in domestic science, and protectionists compare standards of living in the United States and in Europe to justify the protective tariff. Arbitrators appeal to the figures of the family budget in deciding on the reasonableness of a given wage scale, and charitable organizations want to know how much a dependent family needs in order to live according to a normal standard.<sup>1</sup>

We have run over, thus hastily and summarily, the far-reaching significances of a standard of life of the citizens of any polity. It will be interesting, therefore, to compare the definitions of a standard of life or comfort as given and discussed by the several writers in various divisions of scientific work. Chapin, in his study of the standard of living of workingmen in New York along the lines of an inquiry based upon actual budgets, defines it as a "measurement of life expressed in a daily routine which is determined by income and the conditions under which it is earned, economic and social environment, and capacity for distributing the income."<sup>2</sup> Devine, in his *Normal Life*, defines it as "that spiritual atmosphere, that indefinable force, compounded of income and what we buy with it, ideals and tastes and the environment provided by our fellows, which is something more than the sum of its parts, something different from any of them, a power to which unconsciously we defer in every choice we make, and which we frequently invoke to sustain arguments or justify general policies."<sup>3</sup> Both of these last two definitions are from sociologists who are interested more particularly, if not solely with income, and expenditure as expressed in dollars and cents. They are interested in having the income provide for a standard of living sufficient to enable the family to be reared to a healthy manhood. They are interested in having this standard high enough to prevent deteriorating influences due to insufficiency from interacting and destroying the individual.

The economist, however, defines the standard somewhat differently. Ely tells us that "the number and character of the

<sup>1</sup> Chapin, *Standard of Living among Workingmen in New York City*, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Chapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 255, 256.

<sup>3</sup> E. T. Devine, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

wants which a man considers more important than marriage and family constitute his standard of life."<sup>1</sup> He is here concerned with the relation of a standard of life to the supply of labor and discusses the validity of the subsistence theory of wages, asserting that "the amount paid in wages is obviously considerably more than is 'necessary to enable the laborers to subsist and to perpetuate their race, without either increase or diminution.'"<sup>2</sup>

The students of social psychology define the term somewhat differently again. Sumner uses it as "the measure of decency and suitability in material comfort (diet, dress, dwelling, etc.) which is traditional and habitual to a subgroup."<sup>3</sup> Gabriel Tarde has studied the effects of imitation of dress and other characteristics of life on the standard of living.

In short, each one of our specialists has seen the connotation of the term in his own light—in its effects in the field of his specialty. From all, however, we can easily gather the exact meaning of a standard of living. To some it is a minimum standard; to others a habitual standard of comfort.

So far, we have discussed the far-reaching effects and some of the various definitions of a standard of living. We turn next, therefore, to a discussion of the determinants of a real standard—the yardstick by which we measure the level of the standard. What are the indispensable concomitants of a standard of living? We will study the individual chronologically—from his birth through old age.

A standard of living presumes first for the infant a healthy parentage which is conditioned by adequate prenatal care for and influences upon the mother. It has been aptly said that if you want to handle a child you begin with his grandfather; and the answer to this is that you must commence with the grandfather when he himself is a child. Proper parentage carries with it as a corollary the elimination of the unfit—the imbeciles and congenitally deformed individuals. A firm expression of our present-day standard of living is the recent example of the Chicago physician

<sup>1</sup> Ely, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 377.

<sup>3</sup> William G. Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 171.

who permitted a deformed individual to die rather than allow it to have a malformed and unhappy existence. The infant must have a normal infancy in which it is nursed by its own mother and not cared for in a day nursery which is an anachronism in the twentieth century.

Its childhood should be dedicated to education in play and work. It should not be given over to work near coal chutes, near spinning jennies, or to uprooting beets in Colorado, to shining shoes for Greek padrones, to selling us our newspapers late at night or delivering them to us for our breakfast tables, or to work in canning factories in New York state, or to picking cranberries in the bogs.

The period of youth should be given over to good character-building. Character-building should not be done upon a basis of fear. Right living must become a religion, an emotion. An emotional opposition to evils must be instilled.

When the child reaches working age, which should not be under eighteen, he should already have been given the opportunity to test his aptitudes and attitudes toward various lines of human endeavors. He should have been given an opportunity to come in contact with various industries so that he may not choose a life's vocation blindly. He should know the possibilities of every trade and profession so that he does not choose a blind-alley occupation which will sap up the best years of his life ere he learns of the future in store for him. The industries should be so organized that unemployment shall disappear—that periods of rush and overwork which bring the toxin of fatigue and multiply industrial accidents should balance and fill out periods of slack which bring crime and vice through uncontrolled leisure. Wages should be adequate enough to permit marriage at an earlier date than at present possible.

After the individual has made a home for himself the question of the wise use of the income is paramount. This task descends to the woman. It is her primary task so long as the family is monogamic. The income of the family should not be earned by women and children; neither should the income be augmented by taking into the family lodgers or boarders who usually cause

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NOT SO.

domestic trouble. The wife should have been trained during her youth in the use of dietetics—how to buy the best food from a nutrition standpoint for the least expenditure. The wages of the husband should be adequate enough, also, to provide for days of sickness; days of unemployment due to industrial diseases and accidents should be paid for by industry and not by the individual—remembering as well, that these same diseases and accidents are largely preventable.

The period of maturity of the individual should provide him with leisure for further study and recreation; it should provide the wife with opportunity for social service for which her previous training has aptly fitted her. The family is no longer patriarchal, as has aptly been shown by Crapsey in his *Rise of the Working Class*, and a substitute must be evolved. What that substitute shall be is hard to predict. There is no doubt, however, that a change in the form of our family is slowly developing and that we are witnessing a formative process.

The period of old age should be free from worry and care. The individual should be free from dependence upon others and upon charitable impulses—he should be self-sufficient, if necessary by some form of social insurance. There is no more pathetic sight, and at the same time no greater indictment of the times, than the application by old, decrepit individuals who have given their best efforts and muscles to society, to hard-hearted relatives and frequently children, or to charitable organizations. That society is fortunate which has a large number of aged and pays deference to their comforts but not, however, to their psychology and philosophy. If we can transfer China's deference to the welfare of her aged without taking with it her solicitousness for their judgments and add it to our mode of life, our standard will have been materially elevated. We no longer subscribe to Nietzsche's doctrines in this direction.

These, then, are some of the determinants of a standard of life toward which those who are endeavoring to make a better world for those who shall follow are striving. It is a messianic ideal. We next turn to a study of some of the principle sociological aspects of a standard of living.

That there is intimate connection between the standard of living of a people and its marriage rate and resulting birth-rate there is no doubt. Malthus used this principle in accounting for the increased cost of living. We hear much of this correlation in arguments for the restriction of immigration.

Restraint from marriage for prudential reasons (Malthus in his *Essay on Population*) means the fear of losing, as a consequence of entering upon the responsibilities of the married state, the command of adequate means of subsistence. The means which will be regarded as adequate will vary according to the conception formed by the individual or the class to which he or she belongs, of the elements which make up subsistence; and it is this conception which is implied in the term "standard of comfort," or "standard of living."<sup>1</sup>

This clearly states the tendency of individuals to maintain with a sometimes laudable tenacity their standard of living by a prudential restraint from marriage. This reasoning of Malthus was also used by the socialists Rodbertus and LaSalle, who have spoken of an "iron and cruel law of wages" which forces down wages by increasing the population. In connection with this statement we have the unique social device by which China encourages marriages by making infanticide easy. Marriage is there impelled, not by the profitableness of children, a device which is used in certain localities, but by the liberty and ease of destroying them. "In all great towns," says Mayo-Smith, "several [children] are every night exposed in the street, or drowned like puppies in the water. The performance of this horrid office is even said to be the avowed business by which some people earn their subsistence."<sup>2</sup> It is extremely questionable whether the ethical effect of lowering the value of life which this device implies does not do more harm than restraint from marriage with its concomitants of vice and disease.

There is an obvious close connection between low marriage rate and low birth-rate. Various and many causes have been assigned to this somewhat alarming phenomenon of modern life both in America and elsewhere—notably in France. Ellwood in his *Sociology and Social Problems* assigns six causes. We are

<sup>1</sup> Palgrave, *Dictionary of Political Economy*, p. 337.

<sup>2</sup> R. Mayo-Smith, *Statistics and Economics*, p. 76.

here concerned, more particularly, if not solely, with the standard of living and the low birth-rate. We leave out, therefore, the physiologic causes of sterility of women and diseased condition of men.

Economic conditions are without doubt mainly at the bottom of the decreasing birth-rate in the native white population. Certain unfavorable economic conditions have developed in this country of recent years for this particular element; especially have higher standards of living increased among the native white population in the United States more rapidly than their income. This has led to later marriages and smaller families. Again, more intense competition along all lines has forced certain elements of the native stock into occupations where wages are low in comparison with the standard of living. . . . The native born . . . have retired for the most part to the more socially honorable occupations, such as clerkships in business, the professions, and the like. In many of these occupations, however, as we have already said, the wages are low as compared with the standards of living maintained by that particular occupational class; hence, as we have already said, later marriages and fewer births. . . . No legislator can devise means of encouraging a class to have large families when by so doing that class would necessarily have to sacrifice some of its standards of living.<sup>1</sup>

The somewhat valid criticism of the feminist movement as being responsible for a part of this decreasing birth-rate is based upon the fact that the educated woman is loath to give up her standard of living—both material comfort and an individual life's work and *Weltanschauung*—to bring children into the world. There is little doubt, however, that this attitude is due to the still partially misunderstood woman's movement and is but transitory. There is no doubt, and there are not wanting signs to substantiate the fact, that so soon as man has fully taken woman at a par, marriages will be contracted to meet the new standards and our birth-rate will be correspondingly increased.

A standard of living operates upon an individual as such and secondly upon an individual as a member of social group or social unit—the family. Treatises have been written tending to prove that the family as we have known it for years is breaking up. Just as the patriarchal type of family life as known to the Hebrews and at one time to the Romans gave way to a decentralized family life, so our present-day family is breaking up. Just what the

<sup>1</sup> Charles A. Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, pp. 146 f.

family will evolve into we cannot predict; however, we do see certain tendencies in this formative process.

The higher standards of living and comfort which have come with the growth of our industrial civilization, especially of our cities, must also be set down as a cause of increasing instability of the family. Higher standards of living are, of course, desirable if they can be realized, that is, if they are reasonable. But many elements of our population have standards of living and comfort which they find are practically impossible to realize with the income which they have. Many classes, in other words, are unable to meet the social demands which they suppose they must meet in order to maintain a home. To found and maintain a home, therefore, with these rising standards of living, and also within the last decade or two with the rising cost of living, requires such a large income that an increasingly smaller proportion of the population are able to do this satisfactorily. From this cause, undoubtedly, a great deal of domestic misery and unhappiness results, which finally shows itself in desertion or the divorce court.

It is evident that higher standards of taste and higher standards of morality may also operate under certain circumstances to render the family life unstable in a similar way.<sup>1</sup>

The standard of living which, as we saw above, operates to postpone the age of marriage acts in another manner to tend to break up the family.

It may do so in this manner. After thirty, psychologists tell us, one's habits are relatively fixed and hard to change. People who marry after thirty, therefore, usually find greater difficulty in adjusting themselves to each other than people who marry somewhat younger; and every marriage necessarily involves an adjustment of individuals to each other. This being so, we can readily understand that late marriages are more apt to result in faulty adjustments in the family relation than marriages that take place in early maturity.<sup>2</sup>

So much for the social effects of a standard of living. What of the economic effects? First of all we look at the significance of a high standard of living. It has been said that you can take corn away from an Englishman but not from an Irishman. The significance is that a high standard allows for some contraction of which a low standard does not permit. A high standard of living, moreover, may under certain conditions act as a stimulus to further efforts upon the part of workingmen. Ricardo has somewhere

<sup>1</sup> Ellwood, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148 f.

put it that "the friends of humanity cannot but wish that in all countries the laboring classes should have a taste for comforts and enjoyments, and that they should be stimulated by all legal means in their exertions to procure them." The social effect of a high standard of living is stated by Smith as follows:

A plentiful subsistence increases the bodily strength of the laborer, and the comfortable hope of bettering his condition, and of ending his days perhaps in ease and plenty, animates him to exert that strength to the utmost. Where wages are high, accordingly, we shall always find the workman more active, diligent, and expeditious, than where they are low. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Compare the sodden and slovenly population of India and China with the progressive workmen of a New England town. Compare the efficiency of the Ford automobile shops with a \$5.00 minimum daily wage and any other similar factory. With this as a basic fact we can readily deduce the importance of a rising standard of living. Smith again says:

Servants, laborers, and workmen of different kinds make up the far greater part of every great political society. But what improves the circumstances of the greater part can never be regarded as an inconvenience to the whole. No society can surely be flourishing and happy, of which the far greater part of the members are poor and miserable. It is but equity besides, that they who feed, clothe, and lodge the whole body of the people should have such a share of the produce of their own labor as to be themselves tolerably well fed, clothed, and lodged.<sup>2</sup>

The foregoing facts being so, we can deduce the state and stage of a society by its standard of living. It is merely reversing the process. Adam Smith has the following to say upon the principle:

The liberal reward of labor, therefore, as it is the necessary effect, so it is the natural symptom of increasing natural wealth. The scanty maintenance of the laboring poor, on the other hand, is the natural symptom that things are at a stand, and their starving condition that they are going fast backwards.<sup>3</sup>

Not only can we infer the level of a country by its standard of living, but we can deduce the character of a family by its standard of living as expressed in its budget. Engel's law so-called gives

<sup>1</sup> Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Part I, chap. viii, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.



this in precise form. Engel has pointed out that we can use the single figure, namely percentage of income devoted to food, as an index of material prosperity. "The larger this figure, the poorer the population or the family; the smaller this figure, the greater the command which such a family or community has over the comforts and luxuries of life."<sup>1</sup>

We have discussed thus far the effect of a standard of living as related to economics and sociology. What have the social psychologists to offer on this score? Gabriel Tarde in his inimitable *Laws of Imitation* has studied the social effects of imitating standards of living.

The first French Court dates from Charles VIII; but we must not think that the imitative contagion of court manners and luxury took several centuries to reach down to the common people of France. From the time of Louis XII its influence was felt everywhere. The disasters of the religious wars arrested its development in the sixteenth century, but, in the following century, it started up again very rapidly. Then the miseries brought on by the last war of the Grand Monarch occasioned another setback. During the eighteenth century there was a fresh start; under the Revolution, another reaction. In the time of the First Empire the advance began again on a great scale; but from that time on it took a democratic form about which we need not trouble ourselves for the moment. Under Francis I and Henry II the spread of the luxury begun under Louis XII continued. At this period a sumptuary law forbade "all peasants, laborers, and valets, unless attached to princes, to wear silken doublets or hose overladen or puffed out with silk." From 1543 to the time of the League there were eight important ordinances against luxury. "Some of them," says Baudrillart, "apply to every French subject; they interdict the use of cloth of gold, of silver, or of silk." Such was the general elegance that prevailed on the eve of the religious wars. To justify laws in restraint of trade "one of the reasons most frequently cited was the fact that France was ruining itself in the purchase of objects of luxury." Besides, the same fact is revealed in the prosperity of the industries of luxury which presuppose an extensive patronage.<sup>2</sup>

To Tarde also wars are occasioned by clashes of standards of living.

Today, the nations which are entering upon civilization are the markets for the old nations of Europe, because they have caught the contagion of new

<sup>1</sup> Mayo-Smith *op. cit.* p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Gabriel Tarde *Lois de l'imitation*, Parson's translation, pp. 218-19.

wants without being as yet stung to emulation by the sight of new industry. England's world-wide commercial conquests, so fruitful of immense consequences, result from this.<sup>1</sup>

This is indeed a prophetic utterance of the present conflict when one hears much about Germany's desire for a "place in the sun." The imitation of standards of living also gives industries the opportunity to develop.

The ardent homilies of innumerable Savonarolas, the preachings of Luther and his followers, the passionate theories of our Encyclopedists, were all necessary factors in causing almost all classes and nations to consciously and openly dress and live in approximately the same way. It is this condition which permits industry to unfold.<sup>2</sup>

This imitation of standards of living still goes on unabated and apace. Today it is being stimulated by appealing advertisements and street hawkers and well-displayed windows. Indeed, a class of men has developed with this as a prime function.

We saw above how class imitation of standard of living has tended to develop a decadent nation and resulted in sumptuary laws. It is not alone on the side of imitation of a standard of living which tends to develop extravagance and a resulting period of vice, but social demands of one's group can have the same effect. Sumner in his study of the folkways has this to say:

It is often wise and necessary to disregard the social standard of comfort because it imposes foolish expenses and contemptible ostentation, but it is very difficult to disregard the social standard of comfort. The standard is upheld by fear of social disapproval, if one derogates from class "respectability." The disapproval or contempt of one's nearest associates is the sanction. The standards and code of respectability are in the class mores. They get inside of the mind and heart of the members of the class, and betray each to the class demands.

If, however, the standard of living which one has inherited from his class is adopted as an individual standard, and is made the object of effort and self-denial, the individual and social results are of high value. One man said, "Live like a hog and you will behave like one"; to which another replied, "Behave like a hog and you will live like one." Both were right in about equal measure. The social standard of a class acts like honor. It sustains self-respect and duty to self and family. The pain which is produced by deroga-

<sup>1</sup> Tarde, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 338.

tion produces effort and self-denial. The social standard may well call out and concentrate all there is in a man to work for his social welfare. Evidently the standard of living can never do more than that. It can never add anything to the forces in a man's own character and attainments.<sup>1</sup>

What strength develops from derogation from one's customary standard may be seen from the awe with which Basarov, the hero in Turgenev's *Fathers and Children*, is held by some and the opprobrium which he drew forth from others.

We have traced the various implications of a standard of living. It has become patent that the standard of living has been slowly raised throughout the ages and that consequently the whole basis of civilization has undergone, *pari passu*, a metamorphosis. Says Patten, in his *New Basis of Civilization*:

Those who would predict tomorrow's economic states from a study of the economic states of Rome or Venice overlook the difference between a society struggling to meet a deficit and one so well situated that thought can be centered on the equitable distribution of a surplus. In the one case the civilization must develop its traditions to keep the deficit as small as possible and eventually overcome it, and in the other to utilize the surplus for common good, not to undermine energy and productive ability or to create parasitic classes, but to distribute the surplus in ways that will promote general welfare and secure better preparation for the future. The one type of society may be called a pain or deficit economy, the other a pleasure or surplus economy.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sumner, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-72.

<sup>2</sup> Simon Patten, *A New Basis of Civilization*, p. 9.

## DURABLE MONOGAMOUS WEDLOCK

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### I. ANACHRONISMS IN THE AMERICAN HOME

A pessimistic view of monogamous wedlock is now current, and it receives confirmation from what appears to be an obvious interpretation of pertinent facts. It is true that the divorce rate in this country is presumably very nearly, if not quite, the highest shown by any people. It is also true that the average number of persons per family has been steadily declining decade by decade during the last fifty years, even though exceptionally large families have been added to the population in recent years through the fecundity of the foreign-born women. This large number of divorces and the rapid increase in the divorce rate, together with the noteworthy tendency in the native element in the population to commit "race suicide," seem, obviously enough, to warrant not a little misgiving as to the durability and permanence of monogamous wedlock.

But do these facts, and others of a similar nature that are now available, tell the whole story? It may be that we shall find on examination that it is a case of erroneous inferences drawn from detailed facts seen out of perspective. It may be that we are concentrating our attention upon symptoms and overlooking the seat of the difficulty. Perhaps our interest in individuals and their tribulations blinds us to great social and industrial changes now in progress of which these individuals are unwilling and, for the most part, unwitting victims. Surely it is a time when, if ever, serious consideration should be given to the history of human marriage and to the factors which determine the nature of the family as a social institution.

It is our purpose in the first section of this article to examine the general assumption, inherent in all of the pessimistic interpretations, that the permanence of monogamy rests upon the perpetuation of a particular type of home and of family life; and in the second

section, dealing with the new status of women, we shall consider what basis there is for the stability of the modern family as a societal unit.

In the discussion of the vicissitudes of the modern family, speakers and publicists commonly separate themselves into two groups. One group is concerned with the home as the dwelling-place of the family and urges "the housing question" as the vital issue in community welfare. The center of concern for this group is the complete disappearance of the single-family residence in the older sections of our great cities. The other group is concerned with the interrelations and the mutual responsibilities of the members of the family unit. The center of interest for this group is the rising divorce rate and the tendency toward "race suicide." It is perhaps unfortunate that these two groups are so sharply differentiated, assuming themselves to have nothing in common, when both evidently have what is essentially a common interest—namely, the perpetuation of the advantages which are believed to inhere in monogamous wedlock.

For our present purposes, however, it is convenient to follow this line of demarkation and to distinguish two component parts of the home: the family and the dwelling. Both are undergoing marked change and modification at the present time and both are involved in the question of the durability of our standard form of the marriage institution.

Our traditional idea of what constitutes a home is rarely a topic of conversation nowadays and we are quite unconscious of the fact that it produces a bias in our minds. To most American citizens home, no doubt, still means, traditionally at least, a house occupied more or less permanently by a single family (husband, wife, and children), with an adjoining plot of ground at the disposal of the residents. It depends upon the economic and social status of the individual whether this single-family dwelling be conceived of as a mansion, or as a cottage or bungalow, and whether the area of land surrounding the dwelling be large or small. But there is agreement that this single-family dwelling constituting a home is, or ought to be, owned by the family occupying it and that the adjacent land may furnish supplies for the family.

Such a household serves as an economic and social center. Economically it is largely self-supporting and self-sufficient. Food supplies and raw products are obtained from the land, and the members of the family carry on the necessary processes of manufacture and exchange, both sexes sharing in the work. This household is also a social unit. It serves as a meeting-place for neighborhood gatherings; it is the place where the young people meet socially and where courtship may happily proceed under parental supervision.

This we may properly call the Colonial type. It is splendidly typified in the home of George Washington on the banks of the Potomac. A visitor to Mount Vernon gets an impression of unity, completeness, economic self-sufficiency and social efficiency—an impression that it was a place which served admirably as a center of peaceful and restful domesticity. Usually it is not without a sigh of regret that the visitor returns to one of our modern cities. Cherished by our traditions, glowingly pictured in our finest literature, enshrined in our hearts, is this Colonial type of the American home. Popularly, at least, it is the standard, the ideal form of the American home.

But we find that an increasing proportion of the population is coming to live under urban conditions; and in the cities the single-family dwelling is becoming surprisingly rare. For perfectly obvious and valid reasons it is being replaced by terraces, double houses, flats, apartment houses, tenements, and lodgings. Many families—there is reason to believe that it will soon be a majority of all the families—are now living in these multiple dwellings, owning no residence and possessing no land. They have a right to use a balcony, a porch, or part of a veranda, some stairs and a hall, a section of the basement or the attic—and the public streets. There is no place for the children to play, without disturbing the neighbors or obstructing the traffic on the streets.

There is little chance for peaceful domesticity in these multiple dwellings. The streets are noisy. Some of the neighbors keep unseasonable hours and have vociferous pets. Others are amateur musicians. There are also pianolas, piano-players, and victrolas. Vacations are necessary in order to avoid nervous breakdowns,

and these vacations must be spent away from home. Sundays and holidays must be spent in an automobile or on a trolley car. Isolated security, rest, and recuperation are not to be found at home. All must go away when they are in search of pleasure and recreation.

The domestic arts are now largely factory processes. There is almost no sex division of labor in the household, for there are left to it none but the "sweated trades." To contribute to the support of the family it is necessary for both sexes to work away from home and become wage-earners. No longer is the household a self-sufficient unit, either socially or economically.

And these multiple dwellings in our cities are not satisfactorily adapted to the domestic needs of families. It is argued that people sleep in the dark, and that therefore a bedroom needs no window. Children are a nuisance in a multiple dwelling; therefore make no provision by means of which they may be less of a nuisance. Non-resident owners and absentee landlords are not primarily interested in building and maintaining ideal American homes. When people build houses for other people to live in and maintain them as an investment for immediate dividends, these dwellings are not likely, in the ordinary course of human events, to be the best possible places for families to live in.

It is evident that the modern family is suffering from unsatisfactory living conditions, but it is also plain that the Colonial type of home is an anachronism today. We must concern ourselves with a new type, or types, and we must consider a larger unit. We must put into the meaning of *home* something of its old Teutonic sense when in the form *Heim* it meant a village, or a community.

To get a satisfactory modern home in our cities it is necessary to establish standard building and maintenance regulations. The housing question and broad-gauge city planning are matters to be taken seriously. Comprehensive building codes, particularly housing codes, are to be drafted and enacted, and their enforcement insisted upon. And when we undertake not only the correction but the prevention of bad housing conditions, we shall find that we have to begin with the growing villages and the enlarging suburbs, and draw largely upon the police power of the state. If state factory inspection is necessary to protect the interests of people

at work, we have no reason to be surprised if it be true that state housing inspection is necessary to protect the interests of people in their homes.

In a number of ways the conception of a larger domestic unit is already finding expression and taking tangible form. There was a time when the provision of a water supply was an individual household matter. For an ever-increasing number of households it is no longer an individual or private matter at all. If the homes are to have an adequate, pure, and safe supply of water, it must come through intelligent and far-sighted community action.

Where isolated dwellings prevail, each household may confidently be expected to dispose of its waste matter in a satisfactory manner. Under modern conditions this is impossible and some kind of a sanitary system and organization must be devised which will perform this service for every household and all of them together.

Our food supply comes from widely scattered sources, produced under varying conditions and handled by numerous transportation agencies. We buy our provisions, meats, fruits, and prepared foods of the retail dealer. We buy and eat, on faith; we cannot know. Here is a modern city that gets its milk supply from half a dozen different states and thousands of farms. The individual household cannot possibly know about the purity and the quality of the milk that it uses. / We must develop some community agency for taking care of this matter, some system of inspection that will be adequate and dependable. /

The proper care of the sick members of the family is impossible in these modern dwellings. We are obliged, therefore, to take an interest in hospitals and their management. We discover that the modern hospital has a new and peculiar function, a community service, which was foreign to the work of the old-time hospital.

In brief, though we move slowly, because of our failure to discern the anachronisms in some of the standards and ideals which we cherish, we are learning that all the advantages of multiple dwellings are not to be secured at their maximum value without intelligent and persistent community action. We are learning, too, that there is such a thing as public health and that it bears a vital relation to the health and welfare of the members of the individual household.



— Thus do the new types of dwellings modify our traditional views of domestic life. Equally important changes are to be noted in the organization of the household and of the family itself.

In the Colonial type of home the family formed a fairly stable unit. The relations and mutual responsibilities of husband, wife, and children were well understood. The family was patriarchal in organization, its headship being vested in the husband, who bore without protest the duties and the responsibilities of that position. Children were, both economically and socially, an asset, and they enjoyed all the advantages of being an asset instead of a liability. The school merely supplemented the home in the education of the children. There was a well-established sex division of labor. The women did practically all the spinning, dyeing, weaving, and sewing. They had general charge of the preparation of the food supplies and did much of the brewing and baking. The status of women was not questioned; it was in harmony with the customs and traditions of the time. The wife was subservient in a gladsome, womanly way to the head of the family. Only the unmarried spinster occupied an uncertain status, attested to by the fact that she has been popularly called an old maid.

In the modern family all of this has been changed; the relations of husband, wife, and children are no longer so completely patriarchal in character. The wife is much less subservient to the husband; not infrequently the bride stipulates that the word "obey" shall be omitted from the pledge in the marriage ceremony. A new order of things has altered the relation of woman to the institution of marriage.

In the marriage institution we really have a case of antagonistic co-operation. Neither party wants to enter such a permanent relationship unless there are distinct advantages to be gained. New ways of earning a living, therefore, make necessary a readjustment in the relations of the two parties. At the present time a revolutionary readjustment is in progress. A new alignment for the sex division of labor is being worked out. The entrance of women into wage-earning occupations gives them a stronger economic position, and hence the terms of the marriage relation are being revised.

The fact that modern manufacturing plants can do the work of the domestic arts more cheaply means that women cannot, if they would, all remain at home, spinning, weaving, making house furnishings, and preparing meals for a family. Some women, it is true, are still living under conditions which do not permit them to engage in remunerative work. As will be pointed out in the second section of this article, it is indicative of a change in the status of women that at present a part of the women are wage-earners and a part are not.

It cannot be doubted that, as time goes on, a larger and larger proportion of the women must necessarily work for wages in factories, stores, and offices. And they are, as a matter of fact, now entering practically all the branches of the modern factory system and the business world. They are also establishing businesses of their own and they are entering the professions. The unmarried spinster is happily no longer the traditional old maid; she is achieving an assured status as a business and professional woman.

What is new about this situation is not that women are working. Women have always worked. (The new fact is that women are working for wages; they are becoming wage-earners. It was not so very long ago that men began to work for wages. Some important consequences followed that change. Now women are working for wages and still more important consequences are at length beginning to be recognized. It is becoming apparent that a new type of home and of family life is necessary. The old is no longer possible.

All that may be involved in the development of a new type of family life cannot be determined in advance, and opinions differ considerably at present regarding the possible advantages to be gained. There can be no question, however, that current tendencies warrant certain inferences.

If the married women go out from the home to work for wages, that seems to mean less care of the home, less care of the young children. No substitute has been found for a mother's care of her young children, but it is becoming clear that the educational agencies and curricula must be much more closely related to the needs of the members of the family. The boys cannot work with

the father. The girls cannot work with the mother. Neither the boys nor the girls have any adequate means, directly through the family relationship, of choosing or of learning a useful occupation. It is incumbent on the educational leaders to provide practical and effective vocational education and training in the schools, along with a considerable amount of vocational guidance. It is urged that emphasis needs to be placed upon the education of boys as home-builders and income-earners, while girls should be educated as home-makers and income-spenders. There are strong reasons, some of which have here been referred to by implication, for insisting upon the education of girls as income-earners. And it is evident, even to the casual observer, that both boys and girls might profit from instruction and training as income-spenders.

The modern home seems, on the whole, not to be giving to the children the very valuable moral training which was possible in the Colonial type of home. Agencies outside the home must therefore assume a larger measure of responsibility for this essential moral training, at any rate until the family as a societal unit becomes much more stable than it is at present. Both the church and the school are now with some deliberation and insight undertaking this task, and there is the promise of gratifying results, although here again the failure to discern anachronisms is a serious handicap.

If the girls and young women go out from the home to work for wages, the tendency is for them to be bound less closely to the home and to their parents. They come to feel more or less independent and their social life no longer centers in the home. Instead, it centers in dance-halls, moving-picture shows, theaters, and parks—public places of amusement. (Hence it is necessary to exercise supervision over public places of amusement.) In this matter of recreation we are facing a serious community problem, particularly serious because so few people as yet recognize the fact that it is a community problem. To seek fun is a perfectly normal and wholesome human experience. In our dance-halls and pleasure resorts the young people are seeking the fun which is not easily obtainable in their homes as now constituted, and they are being exploited for gain, often to their utter ruin and the desolation of future homes.

When both sexes are working side by side for wages, it becomes all the more important that the conditions of employment should receive serious consideration. We are now forced to concern ourselves with child-labor, the minimum wage, and legislation with reference to the employment of women. We must also know what the incidence of the risks of modern industry is upon the family and what is involved in the development of a proper and satisfactory system of social insurance. It is scarcely the part of wisdom to let the hazards of life fall most heavily on the weakest individual members and families of the social group, without any attempt to utilize the sound principles of insurance to distribute these risks widely throughout the whole group.

Again, it may be repeated, attention must be directed to matters of community welfare. A rural population, sparsely settled on the land, has become a dense population in an industrial environment. The family is no longer an isolated societal unit; it has become a constituent part of a complex and intricate community life. The cross-currents of this community life, if it be poorly organized and its potency misdirected, tear the family asunder. Those who would conserve the family need to concern themselves with the disordered social and industrial conditions which impinge upon a normal and wholesome life for husbands, wives, and children.

In general, the woman has had more to gain from wedlock than has the man. It is not surprising, therefore, that the woman has usually got the worse of the bargain. She has, for various reasons, been the weaker party, and hence not in a position to dictate terms; she has generally accepted the larger measure of the disadvantages. Our existing laws on domestic relations represent an attempt measurably to safeguard the woman, in recognition of her weaker position and her handicaps. As she gains a position of economic independence, she has less need of statutory guardianship in the domestic relation and the basic terms of wedlock must be altered somewhat in her favor. Chivalrous attention and care are no longer the full measure of compensation for the burden of child-bearing which falls the more heavily on her. She is insisting that she shall determine whether and how often she shall assume that burden.

The issue at stake here is whether the long-established property right in women shall continue to prevail. There is little doubt what the outcome will be ultimately, but no one can measure the amount of misunderstanding and recrimination, of abject human misery for numbers of people of both sexes, that will attend the determination of the issue. The great task which the man faces is the curbing of his masculine possessiveness; the great task for the woman is the intelligent assumption of the duties and responsibilities which go with her altered position. *conv.*

The nature of the family as a social institution is not dependent upon ecclesiastical pronouncement, royal edict, or legislative enactment. There are some things you cannot force a society to do, any more than an individual. [You cannot by legislation, or by any form of compulsion, force men to be ambitious, to be energetic, or to be good and honest and true.] "No more can you by legislation compel a society to maintain an ideal marriage institution. It has never been true that the standard form of wedlock has had no departures from it. In between the simplest pairing arrangement of short duration and pair-marriage for life we find numerous variations in the family relations of the sexes, and these variations are to a greater or less degree always present. Side by side with polyandry and with polygyny, monogamy is found. Where group marriage prevails, other forms are not wholly absent. Monogamy (pair-marriage for life) has never succeeded, even with the powerful sanction of Christianity behind it, in obtaining the unvarying adherence of all classes and every individual member of society. . . .

The marriage institution is distinctly a social institution, one that is controlled by the customs, standards, and ideals of society. It lies in the mores. Its existence, its continuance, and the terms on which the marriage relation may be dissolved are really determined by the conditions of life, and by the standards and ideals which characterize the society in question. If wedlock is regarded as merely a social convenience, at a time when conditions are in many ways unfavorable to the maintenance of high-grade family life, as is true at present, divorce, or something which is practically the same thing, will be common. If wedlock has a solid basis in mutual interests for the parties concerned, and

especially if, in addition, it is regarded as a holy union to be dissolved only by conditions extremely unfavorable for its continuance, then divorces and separations will be rare.

The family as a societal unit is now in a period of transition, a period of essential and thoroughgoing readjustment. The acute condition of the servant problem indicates this, as does also a number of other matters frequently discussed at dinners, bridge parties, and afternoon teas. Most people are at present giving their attention to the symptoms of this transition. They are studying desertions and divorces, when they ought to be studying the marriage institution and the family. They are seeking a remedy for divorce and for the social evil, when they might much more profitably be seeking a new basis for the stability of the family in accord with a higher status for the woman and be devoting themselves to the initiation and perfection of measures of community action that are essential to the maintenance of a modern home that will give to all its members a maximum of satisfaction. Wedlock must yield a profit in satisfaction of interests of the parties concerned, and there must be mutual advantages for the two sexes in order that the marriage institution shall be stable.

Some changes in the basic relationships of the family and of the home are inevitable and necessary at the present time, whatever the cost. It is certain that the cost will be heavy, measured in terms of human suffering and misery, but we can scarcely doubt that in the long run the gain will overbalance the loss—unless we have ceased to have faith in humanity. Ida M. Tarbell came close to stating correctly an essential truth, when she said recently:

The human heart does not change. It demands its mate, always has, always will; and the mated will find a corner to themselves where they can sit by their own fire and rear their own brood. Their corner may be a flat and not a cottage, their fire may be a gas log and not a bundle of sticks, their dinner may come in from the corner in cans and be heated and not cooked, the wife may vote and the husband may give himself a score of liberties an earlier generation would have frowned on, but what has all that to do with the foundations of life? These are but the fluctuations in ways and expressions which each succeeding generation surely brings.

Durable monogamous wedlock is not dependent upon the perpetuation of the Colonial type of home; nor is pair-marriage for

life conditioned upon the maintenance of the patriarchal form of the family. A study of the history of human marriage shows that this institution has in the past undergone many changes and modifications. Just now another notable change is in progress. Monogamous wedlock is not threatened with extinction, nor is its durability fatally impaired; but it is undergoing an essential and wide-reaching adaptation to new life conditions. Prominent as a factor in this adaptation, perhaps the most prominent factor of all, is the change in the status of women. In the next section we shall consider the bearing of the new status of women on the stability of the modern family.

## II. THE NEW STATUS OF WOMEN

In general, the status of women has been controlled, in all civilization up to the highest, by their power to help in the work of life. Where women have had important functions they have been valued; where they have needed protection and support, and have not been able to contribute much, they have been treated with contempt. If the economic situation is strong, so that each man can pay a good price for a wife, girls are valuable; in the contrary case female infanticide arises. If the women's contribution to the food supply is essential, women are well treated; while if the men are warlike meat-eaters [their own providers, therefore], they treat women as drudges, tempering the treatment with respect for them as necessary mothers of warriors. Among nomads the status of women is low, and women, children, and the aged are regarded as burdens. The two former are necessary, but all are treated capriciously. Under agriculture women win a position of independent co-operation. When towns are built women incur dangers on the streets and complications arise; their position in rural life is then far more free than in towns. Public security in the latter once more changes the case. When women are valued for grace and beauty and are objects of affection, not means of gain, they win, as compared with earlier stages.

Thus did the late Professor W. G. Sumner cogently summarize the history of the status of women. With his usual sagacity and insight he also at the same time indicated the boundary lines within which the new status of women is to be achieved. Perhaps the time is not propitious for a full characterization of the new status; perhaps we are as yet too closely involved in the complicated phenomena which surround its achievement; but in certain innovations and observable tendencies there are foreshadowings, at

least, of a different and somewhat more responsible status than women have hitherto known.

The fact that society propagates itself by the co-operation of two sexes is of tremendous sociological importance. To treat of the *socius* as the center or nucleus of societal relations is to deal with an absurd abstraction. There are two sexes, separate and distinct, in human society, and the dividing line between them is one which is never crossed. Men and women have never thoroughly understood each other and they do not today. The two sexes can never look at the problems of life in precisely the same way; the difference of sex gives them two diverse viewpoints. A common viewpoint is as impossible for them as a common gender.

This diversity of viewpoints gives rise to sex-misunderstanding and sex-antagonism, the fruits of which often ripen into bitterness in the divorce courts. A good illustration of male sex-misunderstanding is afforded by the author of a recent book who, at the same time, gives expression to some apprehensions about the new status of women.

No man [he says] should feel ashamed of being directed in most of his affairs by a wise, loving, and faithful wife. But few men can live happily with a female drill-sergeant. To say that there is no managing in marriage is to deny one of the plainest facts of life. Most women are born managers of men. And if men want to retain any of that freedom, which is at present their alleged exclusive privilege, they must learn how to manage women. It is always well for a man to remember of what plastic stuff he is made. The fine delicate fingers of the woman for whom he possesses an infatuation can mould him into a shape that he may not be able to recognize as his own image.

The current discussion of woman suffrage, composed as it is chiefly of arguments and counter-arguments that never join issue, offers many illustrations of both male and female sex-misunderstanding. The male point of view is commonly represented by the argument that, to exercise intelligently the right of suffrage, women must "forsake the home" and become "less womanly"; the female point of view receives its characteristic expression in the counter-argument of "simple justice and freedom for self-realization."

The woman suffrage movement is one of the battlefields, more obvious and spectacular than any of the others, where the achieve-



ment of a new status for women is in progress. On this battlefield is presented, in all the vividness and passion of popular discussion, the struggle of innovation and variation against the power of tradition and conservatism; and the inevitable background of sex-misunderstanding and sex-antagonism is always observable. The men insist that "it is the privilege of men to care for the women" (patriarchal tradition, reinforced by the chivalry of the Middle Ages), to which the women reply, "We do not ask it, preferring independence and equal opportunity through the use of the ballot" (the fetish of democracy, reinforced by current dissatisfaction and aspiration).

The status of women at any given time is the result of an adaptation between the two sexes, reached by an adjustment of the prevailing sex-mores to the life conditions. If the life conditions are altered at any time, a new adjustment is necessary, and the part which the woman can take under the new life conditions will largely determine her status. Woman has always been limited and handicapped in the struggle for existence by her child. To win subsistence has been no easier for her than for the man, and in addition her infant has claimed a portion of her time and labor. It has been to her interest to develop a plan of co-operation with the man through a marriage institution. But this marriage institution has also been of great advantage to the man, as well as to the woman, because it permitted a division of labor in the struggle for existence—a method of co-operative effort which has in the last fifty years so effectively demonstrated its utility in all branches of industry.

The facts of human history make us exceedingly cautious about saying that there are some kinds of work which women are not fitted to do. Every considerable change in life conditions in the past has resulted in a change in the sex division of labor. It is the nineteenth-century change in life conditions, which we call the industrial revolution, that is producing now a new sex division of labor and is thus altering the status of women. Some hundred years ago the economic effects of the industrial revolution became noticeable and students began to be interested in a new science—economics. Somewhat later the more circuitous but equally positive societal effects and consequences became evident, and people

awoke to an interest in *social* problems—this interest giving point and significance to the development of another new science, that of sociology or the science of society. We are now discovering, at length, not only that there has been an unprecedented increase in the rate of production of wealth, with all the problems connected therewith, but also that the system of wage or monetary payment for labor has been introduced and established, not for one sex alone, but for both sexes.

The absorption of the domestic arts by the factory system of production has left the "waiting women of romance" in a somewhat precarious position and they are by no means clear in their own minds as yet what course to pursue. It is not even clear to all of them that the alternative which they face is that of remaining at home with little or nothing to do, or of accepting the opportunity to work for wages outside the home, and the fathers and mothers seem often to be in even greater perplexity. The situation in which the woman college graduate not infrequently finds herself would be amusing if it were not so full of tragedy. After four years of self-reliant effort away from her parents, she is expected at once to be idly contented in a well-appointed home in the management of which her mother needs no assistance; and she discovers perhaps that her parents fail to understand in any measure why she should wish to do anything other than grace the home with her presence until she finds a man to marry—or until an acceptable man finds her.

Attention was directed in the preceding section to a fact which indicates that a change in the status of women is in progress—namely, that at the present time some women are income-earners and some are not.

Many of the women occupying the better grade of family residences and apartments are living under conditions which do not permit them to work, i.e., to contribute to the family income. These women are not permitted to work at anything that is remunerative, on account of the attitude of their parents and husbands and of the social standards which prevail. They are occupying, perhaps we may say, the position of ornamental fixtures in the home. Their function in the household is apparently to make themselves indispensable luxuries and thus keep the family together.

In a woman's college classroom discussion of the best way to finance the modern home, an attractive young Senior said that her idea was that, after all the household bills and joint expenses were paid out of the husband's earnings, each should then share equally in what was left. It came out in the discussion that the home she had in mind was a cozy little flat where she could make her husband happy and contented when he returned from his business tired out and cross. She had no plan for her time when she was not occupied in making her husband happy and contented. With the characteristic candor of college students, her classmates set her apart as "the girl who was looking for a man to let her spend his income and give him half of what was left."

According to the accepted social standards it is perfectly proper for the tenement-house women to assist in the maintenance of the family, but they have neither the necessary room nor the facilities to engage in remunerative work at home without endangering their own health and that of their families. Consequently a large proportion of the tenement-house women are now to be found working for wages outside their own homes. And, it may be noted in passing, even if the tenement-house mother remains at home to look after the children, she cannot really take care of them and give them the moral training which children used to get in the Colonial type of home. The children run the streets and get into mischief. She can provide practically nothing for them to do that is beneficial to them.

Plenty of evidence from census material, and from numerous other sources, is available to show that there are few kinds of work from which the female sex is absolutely debarred, either by nature, by law, or by custom. For the present purpose it is necessary only to refer to some of the facts about the employment of women in industry in the United States. In the census report of 1900 the detailed classification of breadwinners, with respect to the kind of work in which they were engaged, distinguished 303 occupations. Women were represented in all but 9 of these occupations—no women were reported as firemen in city fire departments, nor as telegraph and telephone linemen, nor as United States soldiers, sailors, or marines. But there were only 9, we repeat, of these occupations out of the whole 303 in which no women were reported.

According to the Thirteenth Census, in which a new basis of classification of occupations was used, out "of 116 principal occupations pursued in the United States in 1910" women were represented in all but 11. To those who, like the writer of a leading editorial in the *New York Times* a few months ago, are disposed to find "true objections to turning woman out into the everlasting scrimmage of life," it must be somewhat disconcerting to find that women were reported in 1910 following such occupations as lumbermen, raftsmen and woodchoppers, carpenters, electricians and electrical engineers, machinists, molders, painters, glaziers, varnishers and enamelers, shoemakers and cobblers (not in factories), coppersmiths, draymen, teamsters and expressmen, railroad foremen and overseers, railroad (steam and street) laborers, switchmen, flagmen and yardmen, mail-carriers, commercial travelers (2,593 of them), deliverymen, laborers in coal and lumber yards and warehouses, porters, guards, watchmen and doorkeepers, civil and mining engineers and surveyors.

It is an indication of a significant tendency that in many of these occupations, and in a number of others in which women were found in 1910, they were not represented in 1880. No women were reported in 1880 as officials of banks and companies, but in 1890 217 women were reported as occupying this position in the business world and in 1910 the number had increased to nearly 4,000. No women were employed in 1880 as powder and cartridge makers, but in 1890 there were 422 women thus employed and in 1910 there were 2,762.

Between 1880 and 1910 there have been notable increases in the numbers of women employed in such occupations as chemists, assayers and metallurgists, janitors and sextons, commercial travelers, packers and shippers, sales-women, street-railway employees, telegraph and telephone operators, undertakers, glass workers, bakers, millers, leather curriers and tanners, brass workers, clock and watch makers and repairers, gold and silver workers, engravers, bookbinders, photographers, upholsterers, as well as factory operatives in all the leading industries and such professions as architects, designers and draftsmen, dentists, journalists, artists, musicians, teachers, lawyers, clergymen, physicians, and surgeons.

The only general division of occupations, as classified by the census authorities in 1910, in which women outnumber men, was domestic and personal service; and they constituted only 4 per cent of the persons engaged in transportation, 3 per cent of those engaged in public service, and one-tenth of 1 per cent of those engaged in the extraction of minerals; but in professional service there were four women to every five men, one-third of the persons engaged in clerical occupations were women, in manufacturing and mechanical industries women constituted one in six, in agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry one in seven, and in trade one in eight of the gainful workers. About one-third of all the wage-earners in the state of New York in 1910 were women.

In comparison with preceding decades there has been a considerably greater increase from 1900 to 1910 in the proportion of women engaged in gainful occupations, i.e., working for wages or on a salary. In 1900 one woman in every five was engaged in a gainful occupation; in 1910 nearly one out of every four was a gainful worker.

These facts are not to be interpreted as meaning that the women are becoming more industrious and ambitious, or that they are becoming less womanly and virtuous; they mean merely that the women are entering occupations outside the home under a system of wage payment for labor. It has been well said that—

woman is no larger factor in industrial life than she has always been, but the form of industry has changed. It draws her into great groups, and those groups collect in cities and manufacturing towns. We see her oftener than we did when she canned and wove and sewed in small isolated groups. She is more obvious. She marries, makes her home, bears her children. That which disconcerts those who observe her . . . is mainly that she talks, thinks, and wants things that apparently never interested her before.

The change in life conditions is altering her status.

Illustrations are at hand which clearly foreshadow the nature and extent of the altered status of women. A new code of conduct, corresponding to the new status, is already taking shape.

▷ The mixed and unsettled state of street-car ethics offers one illustration. At the present time we have conflicting ideas as to what constitutes proper treatment of women in street cars. Shall

a man keep his seat while any woman in the car is standing and hanging to a strap? In many cities it is customary now for men to keep their seats, unless there are exceptional circumstances. Suppose an employer gets on a crowded car along with a number of his women office-employees or clerks. Now if they were men, they would of course expect him to take a seat, if he could get one, and keep it. That corresponds also to their relationship in the office or store. In the case of women, however, if he treats them as women used to be treated, he offers his seat. That means a reversal of the relationship which exists in the office or store. There they must do his bidding, run errands for him, write his letters, sell his goods for him. There he must have absolute obedience and quick compliance with his orders. A certain amount of work must be done. If one girl is too tired or too weak to do the work, he must get someone else. He must consider the woman worker as no different from the male employee. The question arises whether he shall maintain this attitude outside the office, store, or shop. Of course many employers avoid this question entirely by riding in automobiles.

But even if the street-car difficulty can be avoided, there is still the question of recognizing women employees on the streets. There is a difference in social standing. The old standard of conduct was for the woman to speak if she regarded the man as of the same social standing and if there had been a proper introduction. May the woman employee continue to exercise this prerogative? The question arises, Is business acquaintance and relationship a sufficient introduction, i.e., does it constitute a basis for a measure of social recognition?

Then there is the woman's side of the question. Suppose she pleases her employer, suppose she does her work so well that he wishes to show her some special courtesy or favor and he presents her with gifts—flowers, a box of candy, or theater tickets. That was the old way for a gentleman to show courtesy or favor to a lady. Shall the woman employee insist upon no courtesies or favors which have any social significance? Shall she insist upon nothing else than more wages, a higher salary, as a return for particularly efficient work or for a satisfactory performance of her duties?

There is no generally recognized standard in regard to these matters at the present time. Women's entrance into wage-earning occupations requires some new ethics concerning the relationship between the sexes in society.

And there is another aspect to this significant situation. The working girl, in general, has a lower social standing, i.e., well-to-do people do not regard it as quite the proper thing for a girl to work for wages or to earn her own living in any way—except possibly as a teacher. This is in accord with our traditions. Husbands do not want their wives to work, since possibly it might be interpreted as a reflection upon their own wage-earning ability. Fathers do not want their daughters to work. When two young working people are married the young husband tells his wife she must give up her position; he will support her; she is to make a nice, cozy home where they will be happy together. But this means an amount of leisure to which she is not accustomed. She finds it difficult to adapt herself to the new situation. No longer are clothing and house furnishings to be made at home. They are to be bought. The problem which the young couple faces is that of getting the money to buy them.

In the home of well-to-do people who keep servants the woman of the house becomes a manager chiefly, rather than a provider. There are no household industries. The household work has been reduced to a minimum and servants are employed to do this minimum. Here again the woman has the problem of using her leisure time. "Social duties"—a very modern term—have come to occupy an important place, i.e., engagements of various kinds outside the home—charitable, philanthropic, educational, club meetings, teas, card parties, suffrage meetings.

Even the English language must expand—as it hasn't yet—to meet the code sure to result from this change in status. This is indicated if we consider the effect upon forms of business correspondence when women enter business. If one has occasion to write a letter to a firm composed of women, he is puzzled to know what form of salutation to use. He cannot say "Dear Sirs," nor "Dear Madams," nor "Dear Misses." It doesn't seem quite proper to borrow a French word for use in an English business

letter. "Gentlewomen" is scarcely good form, nor is "Dear Ladies." Suppose the firm were composed of a woman and a man—Smith & Jones, Miss Smith and Mr. Jones—or The Jones Co., Mr. and Mrs. Jones.

In some of the gainful occupations in which women are now engaged they are still designated as men—e.g., draftsmen, clergymen; and many words that have hitherto connoted only the masculine gender must now be used with a feminine connotation—e.g., architect, dentist, journalist, lawyer, physician, commercial traveler, photographer. In connection with one of the new occupations which women have entered since the taking of the census of 1910, a new word has already come into use—policewomen. When it becomes necessary to modify the meaning of words in current usage and to form new words in order to describe what women are doing, it may fairly be said that they are arriving at a new status.

The gallantry and chivalrous consideration for women, which so distinctively marked a gentleman in the old days, is fast becoming an anachronism in modern business. It was a clever gentleman of the old school who, when he wished to tell another man, in a letter, what he thought of him, gave this dictation to his stenographer: "Sir, my stenographer, being a lady, cannot take down what I think of you; I, being a gentleman, cannot express it; but you, being neither, can readily divine it." Perhaps it was this type of gentleman that the editorial writer in the *New York Times* had in mind when he wrote: "At present . . . there is a strong and wholesome barrier which serves to keep women apart from men in the hurly-burly of life, to insure them courtesies from the opposite sex, to give them many precious privileges." It would seem, however, that this writer must be a poor observer of what is going on. He must have failed to observe the number of women in the crowds on the streets of our great industrial centers at the lunch hour and he must be strangely oblivious to such instances as the employment of women in buildings constructed for men only, where no provision whatsoever has been made for the women's convenience.

Those individuals, whose status is rapidly changing as is true of the women today, are ordinarily affected disadvantageously



and they suffer many hardships—and no exception has been made in this case in favor of the women.

It has been said that those who have benefited most by the innovation of women as wage-earners are the large employers of labor who offer wages to women which men would spurn. Women workers are no doubt being extensively and shamelessly exploited; it cannot very well be otherwise when they are obliged to pass at once from the position of adornments in the home, with no adequate preparation and training for their new kind of work. They are sadly in need of education as income-earners, but this it is difficult to obtain when many occupations that they are entering have not yet received, for them, the stamp of social approval. Even our census authorities say that one of the factors influencing the proportion of women among gainful workers is the existence of industries which furnish "suitable employment for females." In taking up new occupations the women are obliged to combat the current notion that these occupations are not *suitable* for women. One of the handicaps that women have at present in business, particularly if they are dealing chiefly with women, is that they must "chat awhile." The tendency is still strong among the young women not to accept the life of a wage-earner as a final fact but as a mere interval between school and marriage. In some cases married women have shown themselves more independent and disinclined to accept low wages when offered, more disposed to grumbling and making complaints to employers, with the result that many employers prefer those who are unmarried.

There is substantial evidence, however, that women are slowly winning their way, not only as industrial wage-earners, but also in the business and professional world. Their presence as income-earners is regarded less and less in the light of an innovation and they are coming to occupy a position of recognized independence and competence. They are developing self-reliance and common standards as to hours and conditions of work and rate of pay. They are becoming direct contributory factors once more in the struggle for existence and are thereby gaining a higher status and avoiding the degeneracy which follows luxurious idleness, as well as the

fretfulness, depression, and morbidity which attend insufficient employment of brain and body. Common observation gives a measure of general application and credibility to the remark of an elderly gentleman who said to a friend: "While my wife was having babies she was quite contented and happy, and found full employment. Now that the children have grown up, she is capricious, dissatisfied with life, and full of worries."

The self-possession and worldly wisdom which women gain in remunerative occupation outside their own homes are giving them far better protection than an abject reliance upon the chivalry of men. Nor are they any the less womanly because they have ceased to occupy a merely adventitious position as connubial parasites, and are maintaining their self-respect as income-earners and actual participants in the work of life, with a keener perception, gained by having worked for it, of the value of money.

The economic equality of men and women has thus far perhaps become more fully established on the stage than in any other profession or in the field of industry and business. The difference of sex does not now operate in this profession against the women and in favor of the men in determining the amount of their remuneration. Actors marry actresses and both husband and wife continue to support themselves, assuming a joint responsibility for the maintenance and care of the children.

It is not essential, of course, in order that a woman may become a factor in the maintenance of the family, under a system of monetary payment for labor, that she shall leave the home every day at seven o'clock in the morning and return at five-thirty or six o'clock in the evening. There is more than one way under modern conditions for a wife to become a contributing partner in the home. Two illustrations, selected from the many that are at hand, may suggest the range of choice that is open. In a large city in the Middle West a husband who is a teacher of voice culture has a wife who for years has been the successful manager of courses of symphony concerts and musical entertainments. In an eastern city the wife of a leading florist has established a business of her own as a breeder of pedigreed dogs, and it is reported that in some

years she has made more money from her dogs than her husband has from his flowers.

"Woman," it has been said, "has been deified as the Mother of God, worshiped as queen, revered as priestess, honored as teacher, respected and protected for her maternal function." It is now an open question whether she shall achieve the full status of a wife. The notion of a woman as a *wife* is a very late one in the history of the human race and of the marriage institution. Woman has been a sharer in the primitive struggle for existence; among nomads, a servant and a drudge; with the growth of the idea of property, woman became such, occupying the status of a chattel or a slave; in the marriage relation woman has become a *mother*, not merely a slave or property. Her sex function has been socially recognized and she has been given a higher status on account of it. Chivalry well illustrates this conception of woman. It persists to this day. Many men argue that woman's function is limited to that of rearing children, as that is the noblest work to which she can aspire. The present emperor of Germany has said that woman's function is "Kinder, Kirche und Küchen." Many women complacently accept this as their position at the present time; but the fact is that women, in increasing numbers, are not content to remain in a status prescribed by social standards which grew out of the life conditions of the past.

No doubt there are many women who are more interested in the rights and privileges of the new status than in the duties and additional responsibilities which it imposes. Many do not see that there are any new responsibilities to be assumed. When a census-taker asked a woman in New York City for the name of the head of the house, she replied promptly and emphatically: "I am." When she was confronted with the question about the nature of her business, in a tone of utter contempt, she naively replied: "Why should I have a business? Haven't I a husband?"

Woman as a *wife* is a conception not fully attained by everybody as yet. It really is a very modern notion. The word "wife" seems to connote a high status, a position of large responsibility in the household, but after all, in fact, it has been interpreted as

meaning a position with restricted authority. The wife is more or less of a *silent* partner; she may act as a representative of the firm up to a certain point and no farther. It is a matter clearly at issue at the present time whether the wife shall be given, and whether she will intelligently and capably accept, complete joint partnership in the family. Many of the women are refusing to be *silent partners* any longer. They are breaking the silence and the result is the modern woman movement.

It may safely be said that the new status will place women in a freer but at the same time more responsible position. They will contribute as income-earners to the maintenance of the family and, as income-earners along with men, they will receive equal pay for equal work. The property right in women will at length cease to prevail and their general legal status will be modified in their favor as individuals, while the law of domestic relations will have to be very largely revised. The relationship of chivalry between the sexes will be less prominent, but in its place will be a much larger measure of mutual respect and confidence. The position of unmarried young women will be less adventitious in character, unrestricted to the one trade of pleasing men and becoming a wife (now said to be "a matter about which a nice girl does well to know nothing"), while they will win in the marriage relation the rank of competent membership in the family copartnership and the full status of a wife.

The present instability of monogamous wedlock results from an imperfect adaptation to modern social and industrial conditions. The family is not functioning effectively as an industrial and societal unit, and an adjustment is necessary in its basic relationships. This adjustment involves the entrance of women into wage-earning occupations and their participation once more in the support and maintenance of the family, through a new sex division of labor. It is not too much to say that wherever and whenever the family has functioned effectively as an industrial unit, through an accepted sex division of labor, it has been stable and has brought satisfaction to all the parties concerned.

The growing conception of the modern home as a domestic unit much larger and more inclusive than that cherished in our tradi-

tions, together with the fact that women in increasing numbers are entering wage-earning occupations and effecting a new sex division of labor which is rapidly gaining general recognition, may reasonably be expected to contribute to the durability and the permanence of monogamous wedlock. Such symptoms of instability in the institution of marriage as are now current are to be regarded as characterizing a notable transition period, the culmination of which will be a more perfect adaptation to the new life conditions and a new status for the women. This change in the status of women is not likely to be generally mischievous in its effects; on the contrary, it will very materially strengthen the coherence and the stability of the modern family.

## THE SOCIAL ELEMENTS OF THE INDIAN PROBLEM

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The problem of what to do with the native American Indians has been the cause of much effort and discussion for three centuries. The white race in its endeavor to take possession of the continent has experimented with three great plans of dealing with the aborigines and none of them has so far entirely succeeded. In the beginning there was an endeavor to occupy the land forcibly and by various means to exterminate its barbaric owners. These things could not be at once successfully done. With the establishment of the United States as a government another plan came into vogue. The idea of extermination persisted for a long time, to be sure, but there was enough sentiment to bring about a new course—that of segregation. The Indian up to 1850, let us say, refused to be exterminated, and his fight for life and territory has no parallel in history. Segregation, however, did more to exterminate the Indian than did bullets. Rigorously guarded reservations became a place of debasement. The “noble red men” could not exist upon them. As wards, ruled over, guarded, fed, clothed, thought for, and done for, they lost much of their ancient spirit. With the Dawes act of 1887 another experiment was launched. Its purpose was absorption. The Indian under certain restrictions was to be made a citizen. But how could men who believed themselves robbed and without a court of justice, who were confused, blind, and broken in spirit, become citizens? What could citizenship mean to them? What manner of man is the reservation Indian today? One needs only to look to see that there has been a calamity. But who is responsible? one may ask. Every man who by neglect and indifference has permitted the soul of a race of men to sink beneath the evils of civilization into misery,

ignorance, disease, and despondency. Today because of these things there is an Indian problem. But what is this problem?

There is little real understanding of the blight that has fallen upon the red race within the United States. Notwithstanding the immense effort that is put forth by missionary bodies and by the federal government to remedy the unhappy situation of the Indian, neither of these forces acts as if it surely knew the elements with which it was dealing. But as between the church and the state, if a comparison were drawn, the church understands better and responds more intelligently to the vital necessities of the race. Even so, there is no clearly defined philosophy that reveals causes and points out remedies.

The Indian Bureau of the Department of the Interior is charged by Congress with the administration of Indian affairs. Its avowed purpose is the protection of Indian property and the transformation of race, to the end that the Indians may become good citizens. Yet the Bureau is not achieving as great a measure of success as its commissioner and other earnest officials might wish.

The church has a similar but broader object, expressed in its own words, "to save the souls of the Indians"—in other words, to build manhood and character. But even the church has its trials, and its missionaries pray for greater and more permanent influence over the morals of the red men whom they have set out to redeem.

Neither the church nor the state with all its powers of organization, however, proceeds as if it had discovered why its task is so greatly hampered or why it must apply so much unproductive effort. It appears that the Indians are perverse, are naturally inclined to degradation, are inferior and heedless as a race, or that they are an accursed people as some of the early colonists thought. Yet both church and state labor on, for they feel that Providence has intrusted a benighted people to their keeping. Each factor is an instrument of American civilization, the one of civic power, the other of moral force. Each sees the Indian problem in the light of its own standards. Each translates its conception of the needs of the Indian in terms of its own liking. Each understands through its own system of thinking and bases its acts upon a confident

assumption of its correctness. Little attempt is ever made to outline the plan of its action and to explain why it thinks thus and so, and to submit such a plan to a psychologist, a sociologist, or an ethnologist for criticism or suggestion. Each has more or less definitely expressed the idea of "the white man's burden," of the obligation of American civilization and Anglo-Saxon blood to lead mankind to higher goals. Each body resents any aspersion upon the integrity or the inherent moral qualities of the race it represents, for is not the Anglo-American the most charitable, the most conscientious of all races?

Nevertheless is there not a fundamental blindness, caused shall we say by a moral blind spot? Is there not a lack of feeling due, shall we say, to local anesthesia? Is there not a certain cerebral center in the cortices of the social brain that seems insensible to certain impressions? The people of the country who do have the welfare of an unhappy race at heart must both recognize and come to understand the true nature of the injury the red man has sustained through his contact with civilization.

For the sake of definiteness and to stimulate constructive thought we wish to lay down seven charges, out of perhaps many more, that the Indian makes at the bar of American justice. Whether the white man believes them just or not, true or not, he cannot discharge his obligation to the red man until he considers them and understands that the Indian makes them because he at least feels that they are just. There will be white Americans who will see the charges as rightfully made and there will no doubt be some Indians who, trained in the philosophies of the narrow school of the conqueror, will not admit them. But notwithstanding such objections we desire to submit the charges. The Indian's present view must be known if his sight is to be directed to broader visions.

#### THE SEVEN STOLEN RIGHTS

The people of the United States through their governmental agencies, and through the aggression of their citizens have: (1) robbed the American Indian of freedom of action; (2) robbed the American Indian of economic independence; (3) robbed the



American Indian of social organization; (4) robbed a race of men—the American Indian—of intellectual life; (5) robbed the American Indian of moral standards and of racial ideals; (6) robbed the American Indian of a good name among the peoples of the earth; (7) robbed the American Indian of a definite civic status.

Each of the factors we have named is an essential to the life of a man or a nation. Picture a citizen of this republic without freedom, intellectual or social life, with limited ability to provide his own food and clothing, having no sure belief in an Almighty Being, no hero to admire, and no ideals to foster, with no legal status, and without a reputable name among men. Picture a nation or a people so unhappy. Yet civilization has conspired to produce in varying degrees all these conditions for the American Indians.

So much for the seven great robberies of the race. We have not even cared to mention the minor loss of territory and of resources—these are small things indeed, compared with the greater losses that we have named.

But though the robbery has been committed, the government and great citizens will exclaim, "We have given much to atone for your loss, brother red men!"

Let us examine then the nature of these gifts. The federal government and the kind hearts of friends have (1) given reserved tracts of land where the Indians may live unmolested (but are they unmolested?); (2) given agents and superintendents as guardians, and constituted a division of the Department of the Interior as a special bureau for the protection of the red race (but is the Indian protected?); (3) given schools with splendid mechanical equipment (but is the Indian educated in any adequate degree?); (4) given the ignorant and poor clerks who will think and act for them, and handle their money (does this develop manhood, ability, and good citizenship?); (5) given food, clothing, and peace (has the ration system been honest and adequate?); (6) given a new civilization (and with it a host of alluring evils); (7) given a great religion (but in the light of hypocrisy and a commercial conscience how could the Indian absorb it or be absorbed by it?).

So great and good gifts must have a price, the conqueror thought, for men cannot have these boons without suffering some

disability. Measures are necessary to protect the givers and even government itself from the results of its own charity and leniency to a people but lately regarded as enemies. The government therefore as a price has denied the Indians the real benefits of civilization and placed them in a position where they have become the prey of every moral, social, and commercial evil. The Indians have been made the material for exploitation.

The Indians were not at once denied the fundamental rights of human beings, living in an organized civilized community. It was only as the seven great robberies became more or less complete and the reservation system grew that the great denials took effect. The robberies and the denials are of a subtle psychological character and many there are who will ingeniously argue that the Indians still have all the things we have mentioned, or may have them if they will to, and that the seven gifts are but the gratuities of a charitable government.

But the men who so argue are devoid of finer spiritual perceptions or, perchance, they are unable to see from another man's viewpoint when they have one of their own. There are not wanting men and women who are unable to realize that another man can be hungry when their own stomachs are full. There are men having considerable mental endowments and a knowledge of the world who say, "If I were in his place, I would do thus and so. I would seize opportunity and soon all would be well." Men of this character are still mentally blind and spiritually dull and are the first to deny that any great wrong has been done after all. They are insensible to the fact that the red man has felt his debasement and that his soul and his children's souls are bitter with a grief they cannot express and which they cannot cast out.

The result of such denials of basic human rights to proud men and women is definite and deep. Whether he can express his thoughts in words or not, whether the turmoil in his heart finds voice or not, every American Indian who has suffered the oppression that is worse than death feels that civilization has (1) made him a man without a country; (2) usurped his responsibility; (3) demeaned his manhood; (4) destroyed his ideals; (5) broken faith with him; (6) humiliated his spirit; (7) refused to listen to his petitions.

The old reservation Indian feels all these things and they burn his very soul, leaving him a wretched, dispirited man. Only those who have escaped from the bondage of their race and have, as rare exceptions, entered into the freedom, the education, and the religion of the conquering race, have been able to keep up hope for the ultimate salvation of their people, and these often feel their bitterness the more.

If these statements seem to tinge of satire and of bitter invective to the civilized man, they are nevertheless very real things to the Indian who knows wherein he is wounded. To him this analysis will seem mild indeed, for it says nothing of a thousand deeds that made the four centuries of contact years of cruel misunderstanding. Yet to him these earlier years were better years than now, for he was then a free man who could boast a nation, who could speak his thought, and who bowed to no being save God, his superior and guardian. Nor will we here mention the awful wars against women and children, the treacherous onslaughts on sleeping Indian villages, the murders of the old and helpless, the broken promises, the stolen lands, the robbed orphans and widows—for all of which men professing civilization and religion are responsible—for this is aside from our argument. We mention what is more awful than the robbery of lands, more hideous than the scalping and burning of Indian women and babies, more harrowing than tortures at the stake—we mean the crushing of a noble people's spirit and the usurpation of its right to be responsible and self-supporting.

Let it be affirmed as a deep conviction that until the American Indian is given back the right of assuming responsibility for his own acts and until his spirit is roused to action that awakened ideals will give him, all effort, all governmental protection, all gifts are of small value to him.

The Indian must be given back the things of which he has been robbed, with the natural accumulation of interest that the world's progress has earned. American civilization and Christianity must return the seven stolen rights without which no race or community of men can live.

## THE RESTITUTION

The people of the United States through the Congress, through the Indian Bureau, and through the activities of its conscientious citizenship must return to the Indian:

1. *An intellectual life.*—In his native state the Indian had things to think about, things and forces vital to his existence. Unless he thought, he could not live. These things in their several subjects were a part of his organized mental and external activities. Using the thoughts that came, Indians could plan, organize, invent, and promote. Their thoughts clustered about concepts with which they were familiar. All men must have a thought nucleus. Rationally associated concepts become the basis of intellectual activity. When thought springs from activity and leaps to action, interest and desire are created, and the man finds thoughts things that keep him alert. He knows that his friends and associates are thinking along similar lines because they are familiar with similar things. Human beings have a primary right to an intellectual life, but civilization has swept down upon groups of Indians and, by destroying their relationship to nature, blighted or banished their intellectual life, and left a group of people mentally confused. From thinking out of themselves they began to contemplate their own inward misery and to act under the depressing impulses that sprang from it. Yet nothing that could be easily or effectively understood was given to replace this mental life, primitive though it was. The Indians must have a thought-world given back. Their intellectual world must have direct relation to their world of responsible acts and spontaneous experiences.

2. *The social organization.*—The Indians were always fond of mingling together. They had many councils and conferences. They had associations, societies, fraternities, and pastimes. These things grew out of their social needs, and each organization, game dance, feast, or custom filled some social need. They understood what they wanted and strove to meet the want. Civilization swept down upon them and with an iron hand broke up dances, forbade councils and ceremonies, and refused to sanction customs, because they were "barbarous." Yet nothing was given that ever effectually replaced these customs, speaking broadly and consider-

ing the social setting of the individual. Civilization will not have done its part until every Indian again finds a definite setting and an active part in the organized activities of communities of men. Every man must have the right to be an exponent of a certain ideal or group of ideals. In these he finds himself and takes his keenest pleasure.

3. *Economic independence.*—In his native state the Indian needed no government warehouses wherein to contain his food and clothing, he needed no mills in New York to make his blankets, no plantations in Brazil to furnish his breakfast drink, no laboratory in Detroit to decant his medical extracts. Each Indian tribe and to a large extent each individual was a master of his own resources. The Indians could produce, cultivate, or make their life necessities. They could make what they used, hunt or grow the food they ate. Civilization gave the Indians garments, and utensils they could not make. To get them they had to trade skins or lands. When the hunting-grounds were diminished and the Indians driven upon small barren tracts they became dependent for food, dishes, tools, and clothing upon an external source. They were issued rations. Deep indeed was their humiliation. From a self-supporting people they had become abject paupers. Thousands died from eating decayed food, thousands froze because the clothing issued was stolen before it reached them, thousands without doubt died from broken hearts. Then disease swept over them and reaped a full harvest, for the fields were ripe for the grim gleaner. Today the reservation Indian has neither the freedom, the capacity, nor oftentimes the desire to create or control his own economic life.

4. *The right of freedom.*—The first and greatest love of the American Indian was his freedom. Freedom had been his heritage from time immemorial. The red man by nature cannot endure enforced servitude or imprisonment. By nature he is independent, proud, and sensitive. Freedom to the red man is no less sweet, no less the condition of life itself, than to other men. With Dryden the red man may exclaim:

The love of liberty with life is given,  
And life itself the inferior gift of heaven!

The fathers of the American Republic had suffered the hand of oppression. They could not endure the torment of being governed by a hand that wrote its laws across the sea. The will of the mother-country was not the will of her children and there was a revolt. Patrick Henry expressed the feeling in the hearts of his compatriots when he shouted: "Give me liberty or give me death." Benjamin Franklin wrote: "Where liberty dwells, there is my country," and Thomas Jefferson in his *Summary View of the Rights of British America* laid down the principle, "The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time." In how many instances do all these thoughts paraphrase the expression and the actions of the freedom-loving red men, who are now governed, not by their own kindred, but by a hand that reaches out far across the country.

The voice of great men rang out many times in the council halls of the nations of red men. The words of King Philip, Garangula, Dekanissora, Red Jacket, Tecumseh, Pontiac, Black Hawk, Osceola, Red Cloud, and others, sound even yet, in eulogy of native freedom. The time was when red men were not afraid to speak, for back of them was power. How masterful was the speech of Garangula in reply to the governor of Canada, who came to intimidate the Five Nations and force them to trade with France alone, when he answered: "Hear, Yonondio, I do not sleep. I have my eyes open and the sun enlightens me. . . . We are born free, we neither depend on Yonondio nor Corlear; we may go when we please and carry with us whom we please, buy and sell what we please. If your allies be your slaves, use them as such. . . ."

Imagine a reservation chief talking that way today to so small an official as a politically appointed agent set over his tribe! The chief would be sent to the agency jail. This very year two Indians were put in jail for circulating copies of a congressional investigation of their reservation—so despotic still some Indian agents conceive their power to be.

5. *The God of nations.*—The American Indian must have restored to him moral standards that he can trust. A weak and hypocritical Christianity will make the red man of today what his ancestors never were—an atheist.

It has been difficult for some to realize what the disruption of an ancient faith can mean to the moral nature of a man. The old way is abandoned; its precepts and superstitions are cast to the scrap heap. Yet no wrath of the spirits comes as punishment. The new way is more or less not understood. Perhaps the convert may find that the magic and the taboos of the new religion have far less potency than he imagined, for no horrible calamity befalls him when he violates the laws of his new-found religion. The convert may then become morally worse than before. All restraint has been eliminated and every sea seems safe to sail, for there are no monsters there, as superstition said. His moral anchor is torn from its moorings and he is free and adrift. Thousands of Indians who have not understood Christianity, who have been unable to distinguish between the ethics of Christ and the immorality of some individual who was presumably a Christian, have become moral wrecks, just as thousands of others who have seen the light have gone their way rejoicing, singing:

God's in his heaven,  
All's right with the world!

The red man as he is today, more than even he himself realizes, needs to know God. The basis of all his ancient faith was God. To him God was the beginning and the end of all human experience. Though he could not comprehend the Deity, he could revere him as the Great Mystery, whose all-seeing eye looked upon his every act.

Civilization through its churches and mission agencies must restore the Indian to a knowledge of his Maker. Civilization through its schools and social institutions must give back to the red man great ideals over which he may map his life and by which he may rebuild his character.

6. *A good name among nations.*—No race of men has been more unjustly misrepresented by popular historians than the American Indian. Branded as an ignorant savage, treacherous, cruel, and immoral in his inmost nature, the Indian has received little justice from the ordinary historian whose writings influence the minds of school children. None of these popular writers tell of the white man's savagery, once he held the power over the red man's soul

and body. The churchman would bid us be silent when we tell of the wars of Pilgrim Fathers on Indians. Some would not have us know that when the Pequot men, women, and children had been murdered, the Puritan preacher rose in his pulpit to thank God that the militia had "sent six hundred heathen souls to hell!" It is not considered good form to mention that Christian Indians were hunted and murdered like dogs in Pennsylvania and Ohio, and even shot in church as they knelt to pray for God's blessing on their persecutors. We are not allowed to know that Indians were hunted as wolves and that the states of Virginia, Ohio, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, New Jersey, and even New York offered bounties for Indian scalps. The Pennsylvania schedule was as follows: "For every male above ten years captured, \$150; for every male above ten years scalped, being killed, \$134; for every female or male under ten years captured, \$130; for every female above ten years scalped, being killed \$50." Historians tell the white youth that Indians scalped their enemies and killed defenseless women, yet no mention is made that white men plundered, murdered, raped, and tortured Indians. Nor are all these atrocities of an ancient day—Wounded Knee is not yet forgotten, and scores of local raids and unprovoked attacks are remembered. President Sherman Coolidge<sup>1</sup> as a boy was saved as if by Providence from a machine-gun attack on a peaceful Arapahoe village.

It may safely be said that most Indian raids or wars were provoked by a long series of contributing causes which the patient Indians could no longer ignore. Proud people may not be forever goaded by abuse and broken promises.

A great nation like the United States needs not to vilify the history of its aborigines. They were men and brave men. Their cruelty and treachery were no more than those of the white men they fought, and each deed of violence they committed—as "ignorant savages"—can be matched by more revolting deeds committed by "educated, civilized men."

Why then should the truth not be known? Why besmear the pages of the red man's history with the blood that clots thick on

<sup>1</sup> Of the Society of American Indians, graduate of Hobart College and Seabury Divinity School.



the white man's hidden record? Why not stand with Wendell Phillips and say to all the world:

From Massachusetts Bay back to their own hunting grounds, every few miles is written down in imperishable record as a spot where the scanty, scattered tribes made a stand for justice and their right. Neither Greece nor Germany nor the French nor the Scotch can show a prouder record. And instead of searing it over with infamy and illustrated epithet, the future will recognize it as a glorious record of a race that never melted out and never died, but stood up manfully, man by man, foot by foot, and fought it out for the land God gave him.

The Indians have a right to know that their name as a people is not hidden forever from its place among the nations of the earth. They have a right to ask that the false statements and the prejudice that obstructs historic justice be cast aside. They have a right to ask that their children know the history of their fathers and to know that the sins and savagery of their race were no worse than those of other races called great for bravery and conquest. Yet the Indian youth in government schools are denied a true knowledge of their ancestors, as may be judged from merely reading the essays of Indian students on the past history of their people.

The reservation Indian of today is not the noble red man of yesterday, though all elements of that nobility have not departed. The world is entitled to know why the change has come; the United States must know the facts we have pointed out and respond to the obligation that knowledge entails. The Indian must again be given a name that may be honored, else what sort of men and women will these future citizens be, who are to look to their ancestral blood as that of an accursed and inferior race?

7. *The right of an assured status.*—With the whole of his social, economic, and political life and organization taken from him, with his relations to things, persons, and groups completely broken, who today, we may well inquire, is the Indian? What is he in the eyes of the law? The legal status of the Indian has never been defined. He is not an alien, he is not a foreigner, he is not a citizen. There is urgent need for a new code of law defining the status of Indians and regulating Indian matters so that a definite program replaces chaos. A commission such as the Society of American

Indians has petitioned for in its memorial to the President should be empowered to draft a code of law and submit it to Congress. If a new day of friendship and co-operation has come, a new law should govern the red man in his relations with the federal government. The present laws in many instances are barriers to progress and conspire to produce conditions of life that make the assimilation of the Indians well-nigh impossible.

As I have elsewhere stated:<sup>2</sup>

Definite legal status in an organized community has an important psychological value. It is for want of this subtle psychological asset that the Indian suffers most grievously. It is the tap root of most of his material evils. Witness the change that has come over the red man of the plains in the last fifty years. The old initiative has been crushed out and in spirit the poor Indian is low indeed. . . .

There can be nothing but bewilderment and anarchy when a man knows not what his status in his country is. This is especially true when the individual has property interests and matters at hazard in the courts—handled at the initiative of others. A group of people whose civic status is insecure becomes demoralized and the panic spirit spreads to the individual. This fact is understood by the thoughtful student of human progress. Hon. Franklin E. Lane, the present Secretary of the Interior, summarizes this view in his annual report for 1914. He makes no attempt to excuse his country for its errors or lack of policy nor does he say that in spite of this “ . . . any Indian who desires can step through any day and stand clothed immediately with any legal right that is enjoyed by a citizen,” as did an Indian school authority recently. The Secretary understands the psychic equation and candidly states:

That the Indian is confused in mind as to his status and very much at sea as to our ultimate purpose toward him is not surprising. For a hundred years he has been spun around like a blindfolded child in a game of blindman's buff. Treated as an enemy at first, overcome, driven from his lands, negotiated with most formally as an independent nation, given by treaty a distinct boundary which was never to be changed “while water runs and grass grows,” he later found himself pushed beyond that boundary line, negotiated with again, and then set down upon a reservation, half captive, half protégé. What could an

<sup>2</sup> See the *Quarterly Journal, Society of American Indians*, II, No. 3, 1914; cf. also *Annual Report of the Mohonk Conference*, 1914.

Indian, simple thinking and direct of mind, make of all this? To us it might give rise to a deprecatory smile. To him it must have seemed the systematized malevolence of a cynical civilization. And if this perplexed individual sought solace in a bottle of whiskey or followed after some daring and visionary medicine man who promised a way out of this hopeless maze, can we wonder?

Manifestly the Indian has been confused in his thought because we have been confused in ours. It has been difficult for Uncle Sam to regard the Indian as enemy, national menace, prisoner of war, and babe in arms all at the same time. The United States may be open to the charge of having treated the Indian with injustice, of having broken promises, and sometimes neglected an unfortunate people, but we may plead by way of confession and avoidance that we did not mark ourselves a clear course, and so, "like bats that fly at noon," we have "spelled out our paths in syllables of pain."

Professor F. A. McKenzie points out a number of pertinent facts entirely in harmony with this argument when he states:

I maintain that the Indian has not been incorporated into our national life, and cannot be until we radically change a number of fundamental things. We must give him a defined status, early citizenship and control of his property, adequate education, efficient government and schools, broad and deep religious training, and genuine social recognition. We must give him full rights in our society and demand from him complete responsibility.

The Indians today, the great mass of them, are still a broken and beaten people, scattered, isolated, cowed and disheartened, confined and restricted, pauperized and tending to degeneracy. They are a people without a country, strangers at home, and with no place to which to flee. I know there are thousands of exceptions to these statements, but yet they remain true for the great majority. The greatest injustice we do them is to consider them inferior and incapable. The greatest barrier to their restoration to normality and efficiency lies in their passivity and discouragement. We have broken the spring of hope and ambition.<sup>2</sup>

To a people so hampered and dispirited, civilization and religion have been offered, as if their very environment were not adverse to these agencies. It should not require our argument or the statement of the Secretary of the Interior to make apparent the fact that the government through Congress should at once determine the legal status of the Indians. The whole situation brought about by this fundamental neglect of the country is summed up in the memorial of the Society of American Indians to President Wilson, which was presented on December 10, 1914. This memorial was

<sup>2</sup> *American Journal of Sociology*, 1913.

the result of a special conference convened in the city of Washington by order of the University of Wisconsin Conference of the Society in 1914. In drafting it many of the most distinguished Indians in the United States took part. These included an Indian Congressman, the Registrar of the Treasury, lawyers, scientists, business and financial experts, clergymen, teachers, and newspaper men. Indorsing this memorial of these Indians were many distinguished friends of the race, including a university president, United States army officers, representatives of all the principal religious denominations and of various philanthropic bodies interested in Indian welfare. The memorial in part reads:

As a race, the Indian under the jurisdiction of the United States has no standing in court or nation. No man can tell what its status is, either civic or legal. Confusion and chaos are the only words descriptive of the situation. This condition is a barrier to the progress of our people, who aspire to higher things and greater success.

We hold it incontrovertible that our status in this nation should be defined by federal authority. We request, therefore, that as the first essential to a proper solution of the Indian problem, and even for the benefit of the nation itself, this matter be placed in the hands of a commission of three men—the best, the most competent and the kindest men to be found—and that they be authorized to study this question, and recommend to you and to the Congress the passage of a code of Indian law which shall open the door of hope and progress to our people. . . .

We plead, sir, that you give us the cheer of your word, that you consider our request—to grant the American Indians those fundamental rights and privileges, which are essential to release them from enforced wardship, dependence, and consequent degeneracy; and that you will advocate measures that will, according to the recognized principles of civic and economic development, speedily secure their admission to the field of even chance for individual efficiency and competency. . . . For the weak and helpless, for the discouraged and hopeless of our race scattered over this broad land we make this plea and petition. . . .

If the church and the state are sincere in their desire to bring moral and civic salvation to the American Indian, each must manfully face the conditions that have made the red man a problem. The psychological character of the problem must be recognized, for most of the red man's woes are diseases of mental attitude. The miseries of his external life are the results of a bewildered, dispirited, and darkened mind. The work of the agencies of good is to give

order and hope, incentive and ambition, education and ideals. Every effort of the federal government should be directed to these ends, and men must be made to feel the thrill of manhood, the joy of having a part in the making of their country, and a sure faith in ultimate justice.

It is our belief that if we would atone for our injury to a suffering race we must see its trouble as it is. If need be, let it prick our conscience and so cause us to stir ourselves to renewed effort along more logical lines. Let this effort be to refuse longer to deny the Indian his first and greatest right. Let us acknowledge our present substantial failure. Let us remember that until we do the basic things first our failures will continue to go from bad to worse. When the government has done its primary duty, and when the good citizen has broken with his infidelity of opinion toward the Indian, then the school and the church may hope for large and splendid progress. Then shall a race of men—the red race—know its redemption.

## REVIEWS

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*Some Aspects of the Tariff Question.* By FRANK WILLIAM TAUSSIG.  
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915. Pp. x+374.  
\$2.00.

The reader who takes up this book expecting to find a dry and detailed treatment of highly technical phases of the tariff question will be either disappointed or happily surprised. Not that Professor Taussig has not shown in his other writings an unusual facility for making intricate and technical questions interesting for the intelligent general reader; but in this volume he shows a breadth of knowledge and depth of insight, together with a sense of the larger social bearings of the tariff, which were not so fully in evidence in his *Tariff History*. Consequently, not only the student of the tariff as a question of practical political economy, but the general economist and the sociologist as well should find in this book much of suggestiveness and value.

Part I, on "Some Principles," gives what is perhaps the most concrete and illuminating treatment of the principle of comparative advantage in international trade yet worked out by an American economist. This principle is really the foundation on which the remainder of the book rests. The principle of comparative advantage in strict logic always leads to free trade as the only economic policy theoretically justifiable. But one finds in these chapters a maturity of view, a caution in drawing conclusions, a capacity for "looking before and after" that should give the book an appeal even to the most hidebound protectionist or doctrinaire free trader. While on the whole Professor Taussig is still of his old conviction, that the tariff in the great staple industries has either been inoperative or worked to the disadvantage of the American consumer and not infrequently to the producer as well, and while he shows up the pulling and hauling of special interests and the dishonesty of much tariff legislation in a way to content the most out-and-out free trader, he nevertheless leaves the reader with the impression that each case must be considered on its merits, and that a judgment of the merits of the case must be delicately adjusted to a great variety of intricate and conflicting forces and influences.

Were this review written from a strictly economic point of view it would be desirable to point out certain possible shortcomings of emphasis.

In the discussion of dumping, for example, and of costs and fair price in relation to dumping, the author does not consider, as he should, the fact of overcapitalization of domestic concerns which argue for the legitimacy of dumping on the ground that it enables them to earn fair return on capital. Moreover, he is perhaps too conservative and cautious in his estimate of governmental ability to ascertain fair costs and fix fair price. Again, in his discussion of the development of machinery in cotton manufacture one would welcome, as elsewhere, a much more extensive consideration of the tariff in relation to labor and labor competition. He does refer to the incoming of dense masses of unskilled immigrants, but all we get in the way of critical treatment is a sort of easy optimism that the condition of labor improves as time goes on—possibly under the principle of comparative advantage. Incidentally, he remarks that “one should hesitate to use the condemnatory term exploitation.” Just why is not stated. Again, on p. 288, in referring to the question of speed, he says: “The ideal would be alert and strenuous labor for so long a working day as can steadily be maintained without irrecoverable fatigue or premature old age.” Such statements, even when given more or less incidentally in the course of treatment of matters in which the ethics of labor and capital is not the primary question in the author’s mind, afford a certain basis for the oft-repeated accusation made against the orthodox economists that they habitually think of the laborer merely as a means to an end—somebody else’s end. Yet those familiar with Professor Taussig’s economics know that he is as little open to this charge as any economist this side of Fabian socialism.

These studies of the tariff are really masterful excursions into economic history. Teachers of that subject will find the book most useful. Students of the labor problem and of immigration will also find much of interest, as will those who desire more light on the relation of invention and the introduction of machinery to industrial evolution and social change. Finally, these pages can hardly fail deeply to interest the reader, whatever his special field, in the tariff as an American institution—and perhaps a world-illusion.

A. B. WOLFE

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

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*Confessions of a Hyphenated American.* By EDWARD A. STEINER.  
New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1916. Pp. 63.

Professor Steiner always sees the good side of the immigrant, which is so generally invisible to the native American, and he tells about it in

a marvelously fluent style. This lecture is no exception. He feels that the real danger is much more to be looked for in the American who has adopted Europe and a sneer toward the crudity of America than from the maligned hyphenate. A second danger will come from letting our fears and prejudices lead us into a policy of suppression. It is but natural that people want to keep their mother-tongue, but, judging from the history of Europe, he says: "We have succeeded in keeping America a country of English speech just because we have not insisted upon it." The most conspicuous factor in preserving European national allegiances he thinks to be the religious organizations, which enter less readily into the democratic ideals of America because of their devotion to the purpose of maintaining traditional forms. In contrasting the much-discussed fear of violence from the Germans in our midst, he questions what would happen if we were sending munitions to England to help a war against Ireland, and finds cause to be grateful that the Germans are "usually not red-headed and never Irish."

There is no possibility of making a sweeping generalization which can define the relations of the various immigrant groups to America, and no greater mistake can be made than to universalize the present common attitude toward the Germans. It is difficult to keep in mind the divergent backgrounds from which the various immigrants come, but every "hyphen" gets its value directly from its own background. In spite of the unquestioned cosmopolitanism of Professor Steiner, his early background made America for him exactly as for Mary Antin, "the Promised Land." His enthusiasm for America, like hers, cannot fail to be different from that of people whose patriotism looks back to a definite land for whose political existence their profoundest traditions have been crystallized. Besides the Jews, who are without doubt the most loyal Americans in America, there are two other distinct groups: those who come from sovereign governments like Scandinavia, Germany, and Italy, and those who have been subjects in Poland, Bohemia, and—all except the Germans there—in Austria. The Hungarians, because of their semi-independence, fall between these two groups.

The Scandinavians are conscious of the worth and independence of their countries, and, with the exception of the efforts of the religious organizations, make no conscious effort to keep from becoming assimilated Americans as soon as possible. With the Germans there are a good many artificial conditions. To be sure, in recent years there have been some well-defined plans for organizing the continuance of German tradition, but it should be constantly remembered that most Germans came



to America to escape exactly what the rest of us condemn in Germany. As citizens they have previously become group-conscious, probably more on the temperance question than anything else. As Steiner says, "it is not loyalty to the Kaiser but to the Kaiserhof in which they gloried." Now, however, when every German is under suspicion, it is the most natural thing in the world that those who had forgotten it should glory in being Germans. One of the facts that nationalism is showing us is that it is natural for people to ally themselves with the persecuted with whom they have some traditional connection, rather than go with the persecutors with whom they have had cultural sympathy.

With regard to the dozen or more other "hyphens" that are somewhat persistent, the author thinks that, if the ideal of Mr. Roosevelt is what is desired, the hyphen is America's greatest asset. In case of war with the only country which the most warlike seem to fear, millions of men trained in the armies of Russia and Austria would immediately offer their services. In fact, the offer has already been made through several of their national organizations. Dumba's plan could never work, because the vast majority of the munition workers whom he sought to induce to go out on strike would rather make munitions to be used against Germany than do anything else in the world. I have myself attended several meetings in which this was discussed. At one, on the eve of a big strike which had been called in such a factory, the men were trying to decide whether to scab on their union or to seem to try to tie up a munition factory. It was decided that every effort should be made to prevent the strike, but that they should be loyal to the union unless some political significance could be seen in the strike, in which case they should stick to their jobs. At a Bohemian meeting in behalf of the Serbian Red Cross the Serbian speaker was given over six hundred dollars by these Bohemians, every one of whom had relatives in the Austrian army.

We have come to think that our recent immigrants come here solely to make money, but this is utterly wrong, even if the immigrant himself admits it. The proof may be seen in the fact that more than 99 per cent of the Serbians and Roumanians, and most Bulgarians, do not come from Serbia, Roumania, and Bulgaria, and of the vast immigration from Russia the number of real Russians is negligible. Let anyone ask one after another immigrant from the various countries to compare his own country with America, and the frequency of the reply, "America is free," will be both surprising and encouraging to those who have entered the hysterical state over the "hyphen."

HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER

OBERLIN COLLEGE

*Socialism and War.* By LOUIS B. BOUDIN. New York: New Review Publishing Association, 1916. Pp. 267. \$1.00.

This is a series of popular lectures to teach socialists how to determine their conduct toward the present or any possible future war.

The chief consideration put forward is class loyalty. The socialist belongs to the working class and to humanity. All other groups are to be ignored. To be sure, the nation can hardly be ignored, but it is to be completely subordinated and looked upon as a mere hindrance. The German nationalistic doctrine is set up as that of all nations and utterly condemned. That is, it is stated that every nation considers its own interests as paramount, and every act designed to increase its power, no matter how ruthless the attitude toward any other human group, as justifiable and good. As against this the socialist must consider only the working class, identifying *its* interests as those of humanity.

The present war is the direct result of iron-and-steel economics: i.e., Germany passed England in the output of iron and steel soon after 1900; in 1912 she doubled the English output, hence became very warlike and deliberately brought on the present war to gain the world's market for her iron and steel. The test of a nation's eagerness to go to war is her output of iron and steel. The author calmly ignores the output of the United States, which according to his theory should have made her the most warlike and domineering nation under the sun.

The favorite socialist epithet of ideologist clearly fits the author.

VICTOR E. HELLEBERG

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

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*Syphilis as a Modern Problem.* By WILLIAM ALLEN PUSEY, M.D. Chicago: American Medical Association, 1915. Pp. 129. \$0.50.

The progress made in recent years in combating syphilis has been negligible as compared with the progress in the fight against tuberculosis or with the rapidly advancing medical knowledge regarding syphilis. The American Medical Association, taking the view that the reason for this failure has been the ignorance of the public regarding the disease, published this monograph as a part of a commemorative volume issued in their San Francisco meeting in 1915. The author is professor of dermatology in the University of Illinois.

The monograph is intended for laymen, and technicalities are avoided whenever possible; nevertheless, it is a substantial presentation of the

subject. It contains three chapters on the history of syphilis, three on the course of the disease in the individual, and one on each of the following: hereditary syphilis, pathology, prognosis, syphilis and marriage, etiology, and prophylaxis. It is clear and readable and should appeal to the intelligent portion of the public, but, if the tuberculosis campaign is a fair precedent, such knowledge must reach the poster-and-exhibit stage before it makes much impression on either the intelligent or the unintelligent portions of the public.

From the standpoint of prophylaxis, the thesis of the book is that the sexual appetite is, after hunger, the dominant factor in social relations; that this sexual appetite "except within narrow limits is beyond society's control"; that syphilis is not merely the punishment of an individual for immorality but a public danger; and that "if syphilis is to be controlled, its control must come by treating it as a sanitary problem." The medical discoveries of the last decade have made it certain that syphilis can be eradicated as completely as yellow fever or the bubonic plague, and successful use of prophylactic measures in the United States army has made it evident that the program is feasible. The author does not urge that this sanitary program would eliminate prostitution, nor does he place it in opposition to social and moral measures. He urges that syphilis should be treated as are other diseases which have attained such proportions as to be dangerous to the public.

E. H. SUTHERLAND

WILLIAM JEWELL COLLEGE

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*With Poor Immigrants to America.* By STEPHEN GRAHAM. New York: Macmillan, 1915. 8vo. \$2.00.

Stephen Graham's absorbing interest is Russia, and this excursion into American life was doubtless prompted by his desire to study the transplanted Russians.

Mr. Graham came to the United States by steerage from Liverpool, passed inspection at Ellis Island, and there learned after he had "been medically examined and clerically cross-questioned about his life and ethics," that "America is no longer a harbor of refuge for the weak, but a place where a nation is determined to have health and strength and prosperity."

To collect the rest of the material for this book Mr. Graham tramped from New York to Chicago, as he had tramped from city to city in his study of Russian life. And here he found that while in Russia none

is looked upon more kindly than the man of the road, in America he is an "object of enmity," "almost a criminal." Even if this had not been the case the long walk offered little opportunity for study of the immigrant. Perhaps that is the reason why Mr. Graham tells us so little about the immigrant and has filled his book with impressions of America. For in spite of the title, only five out of the seventeen chapters have to do with that subject. He has a chapter on "The Passion of America and the Tradition of Britain," another on our "Characteristics," one on "American Hospitality," one on the "American Language," and one on the traditions which cluster around "Our Decoration Day."

Mr. Graham notes our courage, our almost religious faith in our own future, and our wastefulness of "the physical and psychical savings of the immigrant." He finds much evidence of our zeal to correct the evils of our social and political life.

In his prologue the author speaks of himself as coming "from Russia to America; from the most backward to the most forward country in the world; . . . from the land of Tolstoi to the land of Edison; . . . from the religion of suffering to the religion of philanthropy." But he does not like the change. He finds America "too happy and certain and prosperous . . . a place where the soul falls in a happy sleep," and he longs for his spiritual home, Russia, where "failure, danger, calamity and incertitude is [*sic*] a glory."

Those who purchase *With Poor Immigrants to America* because of its title will be disappointed, although when Mr. Graham writes of the immigrant it is with sympathetic understanding. His comments on America and Americans, while not profound, are entertaining.

GRACE ABBOTT

CHICAGO, ILL.

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*Fear and Conventionality.* By ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS. New York: Putnam, 1914. Pp. xviii+234.

This study of the lesser folk-ways called conventions practically confines itself to fear as the fundamental cause of all the usages developed in regard to strangers, travelers, hospitality, introductions, caste, chivalry, acquaintances, presents, calling, entertaining, sex relations, marriage, the family, age classes, ghosts, and gods. It is a very miscellaneous collection which is classified under the above-named rubrics. Under each chapter heading are heaped usages collected from every state of society, from the most primitive now existing to our own. They are

torn from their contexts in the group lives and strung along with no apparent order, making the reading difficult and tiresome. The author rules out all rational or purposive action, not even considering the possibility that actions once purposive may have become subconscious and customary. She leans so far backward from the error of overrationalization that she almost denies man reason as a guide to conduct. Then suddenly in the last chapter, entitled "An Unconventional Society," she jumps to the other extreme.

VICTOR E. HELLEBERG

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

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*The Marriage Revolt.* By WILLIAM E. CARSON. New York: Hearst's International Library Co., 1915. Pp. xiv+481.

The object of this work, as set forth in the Introduction, is threefold: to account for the "wide-spread revolt against conventional marriage"; to discover what "definite new conceptions" of marriage and divorce are being accepted; and "to obtain a forecast of probable future results" growing out of the discontent with present marriage and divorce restrictions. Starting with a sketch of the way in which social progress and especially the emancipation of women have altered the traditional attitude toward marriage, the author proceeds to outline the new thought concerning marriage as revealed by the more liberal writers on the subject—Ellen Key, Bernard Shaw, and others—and in the social mind in general. After an analysis of the causes and effects of the increase of divorce in the United States he attempts, by setting the divorce conditions in New York, where the restrictions are rigid, over against those in communities having more liberal laws, to demonstrate that the latter are preferable. Several chapters are devoted to an elaboration of the theme of the change in the popular attitude toward marriage, with some suggested plans for promoting happier marriages. The closing chapter reviews the ground covered by the book, and states some conclusions. An appendix summarizes the marriage and divorce laws of the several states.

So far as subject-matter or theory goes, the work does not contain anything new. Nevertheless it is one which, with more care in preparation, might have been made distinctly worth while to the general public. The writer deals with a live topic in an interesting way, and has gone over a vast amount of literature in the field which is not readily accessible to the average reader. There is room for an authoritative book which

shall make a digest of that literature and scientifically interpret the signs of the times with reference to matrimony, in a form suitable for general reading. The present work, however, does not rise to this opportunity. It is a popular rather than a scientific work, and so will probably prove ephemeral. Even when its position on a given point seems well taken, its partisan attitude and the loose way in which it is put together prejudice its value as a reference of authority. Repeatedly statements are made without reference to their specific sources; passages are quoted without citation of volume or page; scarcely a half-dozen footnotes appear in the entire sixteen chapters; and there is no bibliography. Much of the book shows signs of hasty workmanship. Thus, in chap. viii: "To obtain the material for this chapter the author spent a few hours in the Court of Domestic Relations [of New York]." Again, not enough distinction is made as to the relative value of the opinions and statements quoted; newspaper articles and casual conversations seemingly are used as of equal weight in establishing a conclusion as the carefully considered opinions of scholars. Moreover, it is not clear how the author will excuse himself for an occasional inaccurate use of terms, as, for example, on p. 257, where "polygamous" is made a synonym for "polygynous." In a treatise on marriage such a mistake seems inexcusable.

EARLE E. EUBANK

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION COLLEGE

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*Social and Economic Survey of a Community in Northeastern Minnesota.* By GUSTAVE P. WARBER, M.A. Research Publications of the University of Minnesota, "Current Problems," Minneapolis, 1915.

This is the third in a series of social and economic surveys of rural communities conducted by the Division of Research in Agricultural Economics of the University of Minnesota. The communities have been selected because they represent different types of rural economy, viz., (1) Southeastern Minnesota, a region of diversified farming and dairying; (2) Red River Valley, a region of large farms and grain-growing; (3) Eastern Minnesota, the "cut-over section," a region of small farms, dairying, and potato-raising.

Surveys of rural communities, as distinguished from agricultural surveys, such as were undertaken twenty years ago at Cornell, are few in number, and as yet rather vague in purpose. The thing that they exhibit most conspicuously, perhaps, is the poverty of the social sciences,

for in the long run the practical utility of the survey depends upon the progress of the social sciences whose concepts and categories it seeks to apply.

We do not know, as yet, except in the most superficial way, what ails the rural community. Until more is known mere general description of rural life will not add much to our knowledge or insight.

The present survey is interesting chiefly as a venture into a comparatively new field of observation and study.

ROBERT E. PARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Old Age Pensions: Their Actual Working and Ascertained Results in the United Kingdom.* By H. J. HOARE, with an Introduction by SIR LAURENCE GOMME. London: P. S. King, 1915. Pp. xi+196.

The subtitle of this excellent little book indicates its scope and the author's method of treatment. Information that has hitherto been inaccessible to students of the problems involved in state provision for old age is for the first time made available. The author is a lawyer who served before the outbreak of the war (at present he is serving with the British army) as clerk of one of the local pension subcommittees for London. He has not, however, written a technical legal treatise, nor one too cumbered with administrative details. It is rather a practical account of the actual working of the Old Age Pension acts of 1908 and 1911, with a discussion of the gradual development of improved methods of administration. The history of the old-age pension movement has been written by others, and Mr. Hoare makes only the briefest reference to this subject. He deals rather with the way in which the conditions as to age, nationality, residence, and income which are laid down in the statute as requirements to be met by all pensioners have worked out and with the question as to how far these conditions may be considered satisfactory. There are, for example, even in England, where an effective system of birth registration has long been in force, many claimants who fail to secure a pension because they are unable to furnish proof of age. This is a hardship that apparently cannot be removed, and such persons will probably be permanently debarred from participation in the benefits of the scheme. The chapter on the various problems arising in connection with the attempt to determine the income of pensioners is an exceedingly interesting one, and it is a point of importance that although

the statute provided for a sliding scale by which the pension varies from one to five shillings per week, according to the yearly income of the applicant, in practice this scale has been little used, and 94 per cent of the pensions granted are at the full rate. A flat rate would apparently have been better, since the additional administrative work caused by the existence of a sliding scale seems to have brought slight compensations.

The disqualifications relating to poor relief, the procedure on claims, the machinery of the acts, and statistics relating to their administration are also dealt with, and the final chapter contains suggestions for improvements that can only be brought about by statutory amendments.

E. ABBOTT

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## RECENT LITERATURE

### NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

**Sociology and Social Economics.**—Economics, which may now be called social economics, is from an inherent necessity forced to incorporate into its methodology the viewpoint which sociology offers. It is already noticeable that economics is gathering its facts as if it were being considered as a department of a more comprehensive social science, namely, general sociology. Sociology will constantly deal with economic phenomena, but not in the sense of having a preconceived speculative structure into which everything is to be fitted. It does, however, analyze economic facts and necessarily studies the validity of economic laws, but not with respect to their function as integral parts of an economic system. As yet there is no revolutionary school of economists who are attempting to test out their traditional hypotheses according to sociological principles. Furthermore, in spite of all sorts of internal dissensions among the sociologists themselves, it has happened that many of them, when dealing with material phenomena, have independently issued judgments contradicting some of the main hypotheses of economic theory. But there is also another important movement of thought. This is the ever-widening recognition which sociologists are giving to the part that economic life is playing in the determination of social and moral issues. Though the materialistic interpretation is not a part of positive sociology, yet its followers have gone so far as to say, with Levy-Bruhl, that it is not because of a conscious effort or renewed insight into the nature and desire for justice, that we get new ethical evaluations, but that, on the contrary, they have been otherwise conditioned, and nearly always, economically.—Joseph Davidsohn, "Sociologisk Socialökonomi," *Nationalökonomisk Tidskrift*, February, 1916. J. E. E.

**Economic Value and Moral Value.**—There is a sort of value peculiar to economics, such as the correlative opposite of cheapness. Over and above this there is a sort of value common to economics and ethics, a normative, practical, or conduct value, which we may call prudence. Besides these, there is a value peculiar to ethics. Economic theory has steadily grown more psychological. A tendency has developed, in theory at least, to get behind the existing forms and instruments of the economic process, to the human motives which underlie and animate the process. A felt need depends upon a judgment of indispensable utility, not upon the fact of indispensable utility. It is recognized that acquisitive or possessive interest may and does develop independently. That is, one may acquire and hold simply for the acquiring and holding, and there is doubtless an instinct of acquisitiveness which contributes to the formation of such an interest, but the characteristic and sustaining economic motive is the dependent interest of getting and having for the sake of using. As to the measurement of comparative strength of interests, they are matched against one another in the act of choice. The felt need of acquisitive interest is found in the judgment that an interest of a certain strength requires the object in question. It would be a mistake to interpret the economic value of a commodity as though it were a quantity of some simple interest relation. The economic value of a loaf of bread is one thing in your economy and another in mine. But a loaf of bread has no amount of absolute economic value any more than it has any single absolute distance. There has developed of late a distinct movement toward a social interpretation of economic value. At the same time all economic technology employs a more or less clearly defined ideal by which it criticizes and which it seeks to promote. If it is bad business for a merchant to cheat a widow, this is not because of the widow but because the dishonest merchant loses public confidence and defeats his own interest. Economic literature abounds in standards of inter-subjective distribution, but in my judgment these standards are extra-economic and can have no warrant without examination of those questions which in the traditional division of intellectual tasks are assigned to ethics.—R. B. Perry, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May, 1916. E. E. M.

**The Modern Social Religion.**—Personal character is determined by the assumptions of society. Three assumptions, common to all races and ages, have molded men's minds into the form they have today. These assumptions, the fixed basis from which all reaction springs, are: (1) that labor is a curse; (2) that religion is an escape from life; (3) that money is wealth. The tension caused by the first inevitably produces individual strife and national war; the instinct toward spiritual attainment is stifled by the second; the failure of realization of the best elements in individuals and society is the result of the third assumption. But the present age is deliberately trying to change labor to a blessing, to prove that religion is a part of life, to use wealth as a means to an end instead of as an end in itself. These efforts show that we are in a new epoch; a rebirth of human nature is taking place. For every epoch there has been a prophet, a divine authority, and the prophet whose words are authority for this cycle is "Baha'o'llah," or "Glory of God." His message is unity and peace. By reconciling spiritual law with social exigency, political and racial antagonism will be overcome, strife, both individual and societal, will cease, and unity will prevail.—Horace Holley, *The Forum*, May, 1916. M. C.

**A Form of Social Automatism: the Convention.**—Law expresses a necessary relation derived from the nature of things. A convention is the opposite of this; it cannot be derived from the natural laws. We mean by convention a type of thinking, acting, or speaking which conforms to a type accepted by a group. The type is formed by crystallization. By its inflexibility it preserves past forms of behavior. Social life is "woven over" by a network of conventions because of the hasty perceptions and generalizations of men, and because people take as true of individuals what is characteristic of species or groups. Conventionality tends to diminish the originality of the individual. It enforces the group's evaluations, moral or ethical, upon the individual. His submission to the group evaluations is partly reflex and partly the result of suggestion. It would be interesting to analyze typical human reactions—say that of love—for spontaneous and for conventional elements. To a large extent we are prisoners of our social life. To exist as persons we must sacrifice incessantly phases of our personality.—Marc Dufaux, "Une Forme de l'automatisme sociale: la convention," *Revue philosophique de la France et l'étranger*, March, 1916. C. C. C.

**Primitive Credulity and Its Survivals.**—Bain designated a type of belief which he termed primitive. According to James the primitive "affirms in reality all that is conceived." The primitive man is essentially a man of faith. Credulity is always spontaneous and immediate. The objective and subjective are not clearly distinguished. Modern children have a state of mind analogous to that of the primitive man. They imagine inanimate things to be alive. Their play depends upon a certain amount of credulous imagination. Adult civilized persons are credulous in varying degrees. They may be grouped in several classes. Some cannot judge or reason correctly about any abstract matter. Others are credulous about only one subject, religion, for example. Credulity and suggestibility are two states of different psychical natures, but practically they show much the same results. Insufficient reflection, ignorance, strong desire or passion, and mental inertia are conditions of credulity. Credulity is an instinctive and persistent trait in human natures.—Th. Ribot, "La Crédulité primitive et ses survivances," *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger*, March, 1916. C. C. C.

**A Psychological Basis for the Diagnosis of Feeble-Mindedness.**—As a result of the progress made by psychology in the measurement of intelligence, feeble-mindedness is now usually considered as representing a difference in the amount of intelligence possessed by the feeble-minded as contrasted with the normal individual. But the need for a generally accepted method of diagnosis is apparent. A more definite psychological concept of feeble-mindedness, based upon the underlying theory of the measurement of intelligence, may be gained by assuming the hypothesis, that, given a sufficiently large number of individuals, they will distribute themselves, in regard to degrees of intelligence upon a normal curve. For purposes of classification, five groups may be designated, namely, feeble-minded, backward, normal, bright, and very bright.

The assumption may be made that 50 per cent are in the normal group, 25 per cent above, and 25 per cent below, and that these 25 per cent groups may be divided again into groups of 22 and 3 per cent. As accuracy of measuring scales and adequacy of standardization increase, the dividing lines will become clearer. Three per cent of feeble-mindedness is not a necessary division, but it is a safe percentage, as estimates have given a somewhat lower one and measurements by scales have given a much higher. Diagnostic tables for the Binet-Simon and the Yerkes-Bridges scales are given to show the possibility of increasing the value of scales by accepting some hypothesis in regard to grouping individuals and denoting the number in each group by some percentage.—Rudolf Pintner and Donald G. Paterson, *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, May, 1916. M. C.

**Freud's Theory of Dreams.**—Freud bases his theory of dreams and their significance on a complicated psychology involving an elaboration of the notion of the subconscious, but this theoretical psychology is a metaphysical rather than a scientific creation, and is not particularly relevant to the account of dreams. According to Freud dreams hide their true significance under deceptive appearances. A single egoistic tendency having its principal source in sexual impulses seeks to realize itself in the dream. In the evolution of dreams from the subconscious these impulses may be very considerably disguised. The dream is, further, a realization of a suppressed wish, usually infantile in character. The immediate cause of the dream is found in the recent life of the dreamer. Absurd situations in dreams are always a disguised form of some powerful obstacle to the egoistical desire. Freud traces the sexual influence on dreams even in young children. Upon critical examination the theory of Freud is seen to be ingenious but invalid. The theory that the dream is a realization of a desire is only partly demonstrated, and is in contradiction with Dr. Borel's statistically established fact that the ambitious dream is exceptional. All that Freud's dialectic really shows is that it is always possible to find in the flood of psychic life an infantile or egoistical desire which can be attached more or less directly to the dream under consideration. But this is no proof of actual influence. However, though we cannot accept Freud's theory, we insist that it has done good work in pointing out the distinction between the psychical basis of dreams and their apparent significance. It has also pertinently emphasized the part which lower nerve centers play in the higher psychical life.—Yves Delage, "Théorie du rêve de Freud," *L'Institut général psychologique*, July-December, 1916. C. C. C.

**Instinct and Sentiment in Religion.**—The assertion that man has a religious instinct, while by no means literally true, is not wholly false. It may be true that man has always endeavored to come into rapport with a transcendent reality, that his morality has been heightened by emotion, that he has always felt, however dimly, that there are other and greater forces in the universe than he, not of a purely physical nature, and that he needs their assistance. The content of religious activities and beliefs are so clearly social products which the individual adopts as a result of his milieu that the psychology of religion is thought by many to be exclusively concerned with imitation and suggestion. The religious experience, while conditioned as to the forms and details of the rite and doctrine by the social environment, is none the less a development from within of innate impulses. A religious attitude is neither an instinct nor an artificial construct, but a sentiment. As such it may be compared with such a sentiment as love, which is not a single primary instinct or emotion, but highly complex. This religious sentiment may include all, or nearly all, of the instincts and emotions of which man is capable. It would seem to be safe to conjecture that fear, tender emotion, negative self-feeling, gregariousness, and the reproductive and food-seeking instincts have probably most often served as nuclei for the development of religious sentiment; but it is possible that other instincts have sometimes so served, and that whenever religion has reached a high stage of development nearly all instincts and emotions have ultimately been included. Regarding religion as a sentiment, we are not only able to see why it is conservative but also why it does progress. If it were an instinct it would not be capable of evolution except as instincts change—which is very slowly, if at all. If the religious attitude were an artificial construction,

a mere reflex of the social order propagated by imitation and suggestion, religion would change with a rapidity comparable to that of the fashions. Since it is a sentiment which has its origin in the expression of instincts and emotions, it has roots deep in human nature and can only change slowly as customs, morals, and institutions change.—W. K. Wright, *Philosophical Review*, January, 1916. E. E. M.

**A Year of Compulsory Social Service for Women.**—The advocates of the year of compulsory service for women pursue a double object: the first result would be that the younger generation would render social service to the state, and second, that the training thus received would prepare for the duties in the home and the duties of motherhood. Of course, if it is woman's mission to care for husband and children then the state ought to guarantee a certain financial independence and must provide the future provider of the family with the necessary professional training which will increase his earning capacity. Yet apart from that, the withdrawal of over 600,000 girls over eighteen years of age from actual life, for the period of a whole year, and the tremendous expenses involved would be justified if this were the only possibility of securing the social service and the only means of preparing efficient housewives. Some propose centralization in large public institutions. It is, however, more than doubtful whether the training gained in such centralized institutions would furnish a valuable basis for the needs of future individual homes and families. Again, life and experience in such barracks, where masses of young girls would live together, surely would not be conducive to raising the moral and cultural as well as the physical level of the family life of the people—not to speak of the deplorable results which such a life would have upon the lives of girls. Others propose for that very reason decentralization and training in exemplary homes. This would also solve the problem of the house servant. Yet do we have enough model homes? If so, what need is there of state interference? Complete training would include hygiene, nursing, and child care. But what institution could afford to have a constantly changing and inexperienced staff? Some have advocated an additional school year exclusively devoted to domestic science; this is perhaps the most practical of all projects. The compulsory year of service for young women, however, whether viewed socially, hygienically, ethically, or from the point of view of home economics, is doomed to failure. Considering the interests of the state, or the interests of the girls, the benefit derived would be questionable.—Rosa Kempf, "Das weibliche Dienstjahr," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, November, 1915. Z. T. E.

**The Wage Conditions of Our Women.**—We are in a period of transition, in a time when economic independence is necessary, even for women. But the women's wages are not sufficient. Though women are often well fitted for many of their commercial positions, their pay is not equal to that of men in similar positions. Whatever may be the causes for an insufficient wage, our social interdependence demands that this become a community responsibility. Women as yet have not been able to organize themselves as well as men. Their attitude toward their work is that it is a temporary makeshift. Woman's readiness to lend a helping hand at various things when she comes home from work disqualifies her for contributing towards that solidarity which men can show by an undivided attention to their means of livelihood. Again, conventionality and inconvenience make it impossible for a woman to hurry off from her work to follow up business matters at any time of the day or evening, as a man is wont to do. Added to this, the employer determines a woman's wage on the assumption that she may stay at home without expense. Such commercial immorality makes the parents bear portions of an employer's costs of production. In the face of all this it does not seem strange that the self-sustaining woman should find celibacy preferable to a poorly paid wage.—H. E. Berner, "Vore Kvinders Lønsforhold," *Samtiden*, July, 1916. J. E. E.

**The Adjustment of Family Burdens.**—The serious danger of being outnumbered by our Eastern neighbors must be averted at all risks. Since the rising standards of living make large families nearly impossible, and since the gap between the mode of living of the unmarried or childless and the large family are the strongest reasons for a decreasing birthrate, large families must be encouraged through economic assistance.



A bachelor tax alone is inadequate, and the disadvantages of exemptions from taxation of heads of large families are greater than the advantages. Only a proper balancing of the family burdens through a general and proportional subsidy or pension will really help. These subsidies must be large enough to be effective and yet not so large as to eliminate the very principles upon which the family rests: the sense of responsibility and the willingness to sacrifice. The subsidy should be in the form of a gift for the girl who marries; annual contributions to the expenses of every home, whether there are children or not; and a grant for every child, graded according to age and education received. A tax amounting to about 3 per cent of the total income, after an absolute minimum and the proportional subsidy had been deduced, would furnish the funds. A bachelor, the head of a family without children, and the head of a family with five children and an income of 4,000 M., for example, would pay a tax of 816 M. The childless family, however, would receive a compensation of 600 M. per annum, the family with five children not over fourteen years of age, an additional sum of 712 M., while the bachelor would receive no compensation whatsoever.—A. Zeiler, "Die Ausgleichung der Familienlasten," *Die Grenzboten*, March, 1916. Z. T. E.

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# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME XXII

NOVEMBER 1916

NUMBER 3

## OBJECTIVISM IN SOCIOLOGY

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In common with all other scientific workers sociologists have always aimed at "objectivity"—that is, such a description of processes investigated that the description can be verified by any scientific investigator whatsoever.

They have always recognized the necessity of eliminating their subjectivity—their personal equation—in order to get an "impersonal," and so "objective," view of the social reality. This "impersonal" view has, indeed, alone made science possible, and until recently has been considered the adequate and secure foundation of scientific method in all fields.

But now a new school of "objectivists" in psychology and sociology has arisen which claims that the old standards of objectivity are not adequate to produce "objective" science in these fields. The adherents of this school assert that a fact for scientific purposes is not "anything in experience," but "something that can be observed," a happening in the external world, which can and should be described without reference to individual psychic processes. These are the external behaviorists in psychology, and those sociologists who would describe everything in the social life in terms of habit ("folkway" or "custom") and environment.

They find no place in social science (except perhaps provisionally) for such terms as feeling, idea, belief, value, standard, mental attitude, mental interaction, and the like. The more extreme would exclude all reference to individual psychic processes whatsoever in description professing to be scientific. Others would tolerate the use of such terms to some extent in scientific descriptions, but would recognize them as of inferior scientific value and would not use them along with objective terms in describing different phases of one complex process. A process may be described, they say, in either subjective or objective terms, but the latter description is alone scientific, and the two types of description should never be mixed. The implication, of course, is that the description in subjective, or psychic, terms is only of literary or artistic value. For illustration, the present European war may be described in objective terms as a series of collective behavior complexes dependent upon certain stimuli in the environment; or it may be described in terms of the opinions, ideas, values, standards of European peoples. The former, if properly done, would be a scientific description; the latter might have great artistic or literary value, but would fall short of true science. In no case should these two ways of looking at the European conflict be mixed. It would be scientifically wrong, for example, to trace any of the behavior complexes observed to the ideas, values, and standards of Europeans. For that would be explaining a scientific fact by something which is not a fact at all!

Now, it must be evident that this movement toward "objectivism" is of vital concern to all students of human society. It strikes at the very heart of scientific method in the social sciences. If "objectivity" in the social sciences can be realized only through "objectivism" as a method, the sooner we realize it the better. It may be that some of the "objectivists" are as confused and metaphysical in their thinking as those whom they criticize, but that should not prevent us from giving their ideas careful consideration; nor should even the ridicule concealed in the word "subjective," which they apply to those who are innocent enough to think that subjective terms can be used scientifically, interfere with a fair hearing.

The movement toward "objectivism" in the social sciences is not new. It has even been claimed that Comte was the father of the movement. A careful reading of Comte, however, will show that there is little foundation for this view. What Comte asserted was that introspection (at least as it was practiced in his day) could not be used as a method in science; for he believed that it could not give valid scientific results. But no one was ever more insistent than he upon the essentially psychic nature of human society—that it was dominated by a developing tradition, or "social mind," as we should say. In the *Positive Polity*, indeed, he goes so far as to say that sociology is "reducible to true mental science."<sup>2</sup>

Probably the earliest objectivist to win recognition in sociology was Professor Emile Durkheim. Durkheim claims to be rigidly objective in his method. Like all objectivists, he defines a fact as whatever impresses itself upon observation. If sociology is to become scientific, social facts must be treated as things<sup>3</sup>—that is, social facts must be studied apart from the conscious subjects in whose minds they exist. Sociology need not consider individual consciousness at all, and hence should not be based upon psychology.<sup>4</sup> Thus in tracing social causation one cannot appeal to the conscious individual, for the conscious innovator is determined by the social milieu in which he exists. Accordingly, if social causation is explained by appeal to individual psychic phenomena, one may be sure that the explanation is false.<sup>5</sup> The explanation of a social phenomenon must be sought in the individuality of the aggregate, not in the characteristics of its component units, according to Durkheim. The determining cause of a social fact must always be sought in an antecedent social fact, and not among the states of individual consciousness.<sup>6</sup> Thus does Durkheim dispose of psychology and individual conscious processes in the social sciences and establish in their stead the principle of "mass interpretation."

<sup>2</sup> There are expressions in the *Positive Philosophy* which, taken by themselves, would seem to imply that Comte favored a purely objective, physical statement of social processes. But his later writings show clearly enough that this was not his meaning. See the *Positive Polity*, Vol. III.

<sup>3</sup> *Les règles de la méthode sociologique*, chap. ii.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. v, pp. 120-37.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

But Durkheim is only half-hearted in his objectivism. Instead of going on to construct a sociology in terms of the behavior complexes of the aggregate and its environment, he accepts the hypothesis of a "social mind." He believes in the compounding of mental states which result in ways of thinking and feeling in the social milieu exterior to the individual, and so constrain his action. Thus arise "collective representations,"<sup>1</sup> such as public opinion, popular beliefs, social tradition, popular will, and the like. These representations of the "social mind" are manifestly not biological phenomena, neither are they psychic phenomena, since the latter are confined to individual consciousness. These collective representations and their accompanying collective actions are "social" phenomena. The "social," therefore, according to Durkheim, is something entirely distinct from the biological and psychological.<sup>2</sup> Thus sociology cannot be developed out of psychology, for a social fact is as distinct from a psychic fact as a biological fact from a physical or chemical fact.

The characteristics of social phenomena are exteriority to the individual and power of constraint over him. The causes of social phenomena are, as we have already noted, to be found in the life of the aggregate. The social milieu is the determining factor in social evolution. Accordingly, the proximate origin of all social processes of importance must be sought in the internal consciousness of the social milieu, that is, in the "social mind."<sup>3</sup>

Thus does Durkheim's objectivism end in a subjectivism of the worst sort. We say "of the worst sort," for his inference of "collective representations" transcends not only his definition of "fact," but common-sense as well. It may even justly be accused of being metaphysical, since we know of no "social," as distinct from the biological and psychological. Durkheim is no more entitled to be called an objective sociologist than Giddings or Cooley, whom he criticizes for their subjectivity.

Durkheim may be taken as an example of those so-called "objectivists" who would retain such terms as "the social mind,"

<sup>1</sup> See Gehlke's *Emile Durkheim's Contributions to Sociological Theory*, in Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Vol. LXIII, No. 1, chap. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Les règles de la méthode sociologique*, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 137-48.

"public opinion," and "tradition." It is clear that a consistent objectivism in the social sciences would have no right to use these terms except as subjective designations of something not understood;<sup>1</sup> for public opinion, for example, can after all be nothing but some organization or combination of individual opinions (which Durkheim admits), and it surely does not lose its psychic nature by becoming socially organized. The socio-psychic is as definitely psychic as the individuo-psychic, and even less amenable to the control of the investigator. The only way in which the psychic element can be got rid of in the social sciences is to interpret all social processes in terms of behavior complexes (habits) and environmental stimuli. In other words, human society would have to be explained exactly as the advanced animal psychologist of today would explain scientifically the behavior of a rat—in terms of hereditary reflexes, acquired reflexes, and environmental stimuli.<sup>2</sup>

Not a few sociologists in both Europe and America have expressed the conviction that it is only by adopting such a rigidly objective method that sociology can advance as a science.<sup>3</sup> But only one, so far as the writer knows, has had the courage to state clearly and explicitly—in a manner beyond criticism—all that is implied in such a program. This is Dr. G. P. Zeliony, a docent in physiology in the University of St. Petersburg (now Petrograd), who in 1909 read a paper before the philosophical society of that place in which he presented a truly objective viewpoint, and carried it without reserve to its ultimate conclusion. Zeliony wishes to apply the method of natural science to sociology. Natural science, he says, is the science of phenomena which are objects of investigation, and not of the conceptions which ordinarily accompany

<sup>1</sup> The more careful objectivists refuse to recognize Durkheim as an objectivist at all. The metaphysical presuppositions of his doctrines are not those of a true objectivism. See Gehlke, pp. 20-27.

<sup>2</sup> On the psychological side, see Watson's *Behavior: An Introduction to Comparative Psychology*, a book which holds to a rigidly consistent objective viewpoint.

<sup>3</sup> One of the earliest of American sociological writers to advocate "objectivism" was Bentley in his *Process of Government*, 1908; see chaps. i, ii, iii, v for his criticism of the use of such terms as "feelings" and "ideas" in the social sciences.



them.<sup>1</sup> Such analyses of phenomena give us results which can then be used for further investigation. The task of natural science is, first, the description of phenomena and the discovery of new ones, and secondly, the deduction of relations of law between them.

Many sociologists accept this attitude in theory, but not in practice, owing to their unclear conception of phenomena. Now a clear conception of phenomena compels the scientist in the examination of mankind, says Zeliony, to leave the psychic side untouched. For instance, a man with an angry face and a menacing attitude attacks another. We usually explain such incidents by what we see, namely, a man with an angry face and a menacing attitude. But I see only the sum-total of the outward phenomena which I have abstracted from the surrounding phenomena. The man's face is clouded, and from the appearance I declare it to be anger. But *the mind of another cannot be considered as a phenomenon*, nor as a fact. The conception of consciousness cannot have a place as a scientific designation of a natural phenomenon. Consciousness must be ignored by the natural scientist, as it is not available for his observation, neither can it serve as a transcendental hypothesis.

The whole of modern sociology is full of such mistaken designations. It makes such social phenomena as "marriage," "crime," and "the family" similar to natural phenomena. But crime cannot be such a phenomenon. For instance, a man strikes a knife into the breast of another. That act can be seen with the eyes; but if we characterize this act as a "crime" we involve or build on the psychic of another person which is inaccessible or unavailable for us. Again the concept "family" requires the presentation of the psychic of individuals, and thus must also be barred from scientific sociology. Crime and the family can be made objects of scientific investigation; but the concepts should only play the rôle of drawing attention to the other facts connected with these; and, when we examine phenomena, we must abandon concepts, as they are only guides to be dispensed with when the destination is reached.

<sup>1</sup> The writer is indebted for the summary of Zeliony's views which follows to a former student, Mr. Arthur S. Emig. Zeliony's original paper may be found in the *Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschafts-Biologie*, IX, 405-30.



Frequently it is granted that the mind is no phenomenon for the scientist, but it is claimed that he can take refuge in it for the explanation of certain phenomena. But such a contention also cannot be admitted. Science is founded on the principle that every overt phenomenon has a cause in another overt phenomenon; but this cause must be considered in the sense of "condition for the act." The scientist asks "how," "under what conditions," and not "why." He seeks no hidden inner cause, but only conditions or laws, according to which phenomena take place. What causes the angry man with the stick in his hand to raise his hand? In a certain sense it lies in the wish of the man to hit his opponent. But such an answer from a scientific point of view is of no avail, Zeliony says, since to explain a phenomenon signifies to designate the causal connection with other phenomena; and as the psychic of a man is unavailable for observation, the connection of it with the physical phenomena of the organism is no explanation. But when we explain the raising of the hand in connection with the physical effect on the organism, then, and only then, do we give a scientific explanation. *The scientist has no right to explain human phenomena by, or take refuge in, the mind.*

But it may be objected that the natural scientist does deal with psychic phenomena, and thus the method of natural science should permit the use of the psychic in the social sciences. But to such a contention Zeliony replies that this method does not deal with science itself but with the individual scientist, and thus he deals only with what is phenomenon for him, and not with that which is found in the mind of another. Thus he touches only what is physical for him. Again, it might be objected that science is based on metaphysical hypotheses, and proceeds from them. For instance, science, dealing with hypothetical atoms and electrons as a working basis, uses mind and consciousness. But when the scientist examines the physical side of the human body he gets no idea of the mind or consciousness; but through the investigations of physics and chemistry he knows that he is led to such concepts as atoms and electrons.

Zeliony insists that we must get rid of the presentation of man as a psycho-physical organism, and consider him as an organism

alone, and ignore the mind entirely. But such a procedure, he admits, requires a difficult mental discipline.

The world shows many changes. Some are from natural causes, as rivers and earthquakes. Others result from living organisms. Bacteria result in changing the surrounding medium. More complex organisms produce more complex changes, as ant heaps. But the largest changes, such as cities and canals, are due to the most complex organism, namely man. From the physico-chemical view there is no difference in the result on surrounding nature of the unorganized forces, such as ice, wind, or rain, and the highly organized work of the human organism. Animals affect not only nature, but also each other. A bird's-eye view of any nation shows us that some individuals go in one direction, others in other directions. This direction and the character of the movement depend on the surrounding people and other natural conditions. Again some require little, some much, food. Differences in race will also be noted in the care of the wounded and dead, and in the styles of clothing. These differences give the scientist his objects of investigation; and if these cannot be explained without reference to the mind, then natural science must be ignored. An organism produces no energy. The activity of every organism represents energy taken from outside of itself. This condition is true if the process goes on between two organisms, or one organism and nature, as both are under physico-chemical laws.

Again, there are two kinds of complicated relations between the animal organism and the environment. There is, first, the interaction of the organism and the environment which follows from reflection, through the intervention of the nervous system as the result of the outer world acting on the sense organs. In the second place, there is the non-reflective influence which is not entirely dependent on the nervous system. A reflex action of an organism is due to an exchange of excitation of an ingoing nerve with an outgoing nerve through the nervous system of the organism. Not only the laity, but many well-educated persons as well, insist that some acts are different, requiring something called consciousness to carry them to completion. It is not a reflex mechanism, they think, but a psychic process, such as words spoken in response to a question.

These together are called "behavior." It is perhaps true that these reactions really do have their cause in psychic processes; but for the scientist the cause lies in the mechanical processes of the nervous system—in other words, in the reflexes. Even if the mind does regulate the nervous processes, the work of the physico-sociologist is not changed, for he considers only process, and not mind.

A chief reason for the reaction against such an objective method, Zeliony thinks, is that until recently human action was supposed to follow no laws; but now the result of scientific investigation has given us the concept of conditional reflexes.

Unconditional reflexes require no previous conditions. They show themselves through being general. Certain excitations call forth in each individual a complete definite reaction, as, for instance, a sour substance in the mouth causes saliva to flow. But some excitations get certain reactions in one organism, but not in others. The breaking of toast causes saliva to flow in some dogs' mouths, but not in others, depending on whether they have been previously fed on toast or not. The conditional reflexes thus build themselves through combinations with unconditional. Furthermore, the conditional can disappear, as when the dog, hearing the crumbling of the toast, is never fed on it, and the reflex finally dies. And again, the conditional reflex can be modified. If the dog is scratched immediately after the crumbling of the toast, he gradually fails to react in the same way toward the crumbling alone.

Most reflexes are conditional and are the basis of habits. Words spoken or written are excitations to which we react in a certain way. Human behavior can be reduced to objective terms, as most of it is reflexive. At the rattling of dishes a man goes into the dining-room. Scholars go to classes at the ringing of the bell, and soldiers at a given command react in a given way.

Now Zeliony raises the question whether or not under these conditions a scientific order in human society can be sought, or whether sociology does not become collective physiology. There is no doubt but that the changes of society are the result of the activities of the nervous system. Excitations vary with the same animal and with the same class of animals. The problem of the

socio-physiologist is to find out what are the excitors and what the inhibitors. Physiology gives the laws of the nervous system, which exclude appeal to the psychic. Thus the duty of the socio-physiologist is to give a description of the nervous processes of groups which have resulted in changes in the environment. In the primitive stages of development the unchangeable reflexes play the most important part. An organism reacts on another by bodily movement, or by the voice, or otherwise. In cultured society, however, one organism affects another by means of definite excitations, such as letters, papers, telegrams, and other products of reflective activity.

Physiological sociology will also have to take into consideration natural selection, or the struggle for existence. In this consideration, however, the psychic side of the organism will not be considered as a factor directly, but only through its physical correlatives, that is, through the function of the nervous system. But such a physiological sociology will be possible only when the physiology of the nervous system and the reflexes have been satisfactorily developed. Great aid in the understanding of these reflexes will be gained through the close examination of the physiology of animals below man. With these we can use instruments and methods which cannot be used when dealing with man. And from such procedure we can make generalizations which can be used in the analysis of human activity. The knowledge of the above-mentioned conditional reflexes which has been gained by observation of the behavior of animals can also be used in the explanation of the behavior of the human organism.

Furthermore, a socio-physiological pathology will become necessary. Its field of observation will be the deviations from the norm which are observed either as a result of the pathological differences in the organism or as a result of other conditions, as in the insane or those addicted to the use of alcohol.

The special method of the physiological sociologist will develop as the science develops. One great help will be derived from the method found in the formation of conditional reflexes. The statistical method will also be found valuable, but not in the form in which it is used today. One will be required which will deal only



with scientifically characterized facts. It will, furthermore, need the results of all forms of knowledge, physics, chemistry, meteorology, geology, climatology, astronomy, etc. And, says Zeliony, the object of his paper is to show, not what the sociologist should do, but what he cannot do.

Furthermore, he insists that, in considering man, we must consider him in a way in which alone such a procedure is possible, that is, *physiologically*. We can leave science and use the psychological side also, and by the observation of activity deduce certain things about the individual mind, and then about society. Thus we would have a collective psychology; but *such a procedure is not scientific*. We will leave it to the philosopher to decide what it is. What the psychic activity of the other individual shall be called, the subjective sociologist must decide. "Mind" and "consciousness" cannot explain the complicated interaction of human organisms. Thus it is difficult to be a follower of the psychological sociologist. Psychic phenomena cannot be observed in their true form, as observation itself varies, and psychic phenomena are very changeable; neither can they be measured, nor made exact. Thus we are driven to admit that physiological sociology can exist without psychological sociology, but not vice versa, according to Zeliony. As psychology has strengthened itself by connection with physiology, so psychological sociology can progress on the foundation of a physiological sociology.

No one denies that our conceptions of the psychic processes are built on the behavior of the body, and external changes. Thus it follows that our psychic activity will be better understood the better we understand the physical, and only then will psychological sociology gain a high plane of development. The subjective sociologist can avail himself of the results of objective sociology on the basis of psychic parallelism. When we get the conditions of the physical phenomena, we also get the conditions of the connected psychic phenomena. To illustrate, an officer has power over his soldiers. Subjectively the claim is mental interaction. But objectively the explanation would be that certain words call forth certain responses; others call forth inhibitors. Thus the action can be accounted for reflexively, and the psychic interactions

of people have a physical correlative. We should proceed in sociology about as has been done in the study of acoustics. Auditory sensations are not measureable, and thus do not admit of exact science. The scientist, however, examined the vibrations of an elastic medium which were accompanied by auditory sensations. And as these vibrations were studied, and it was learned how to control them, control was also gained over auditory sensations. As a result acoustics have been given a solid foundation.

In conclusion, Zeliony shows the value of a physiological sociology. Science is founded on a careful analysis of facts which it takes years of time to gain, but the results are rich and irrefutable. Boats were once built without the use of physics. But when physics became a science, would it have helped any to say that it was useless because a ship could not be built at once with its principles? But when the science became systematized, it gave us the modern steamship. At present physiological sociology is valueless for social practice, as Zeliony admits, but in the future it will aid in the understanding of social interactions as easily as we now understand dead nature. Its laws will enable us to get laws of interaction.

But, regardless of its value, such a procedure gives the scientist great satisfaction. Under the monadism of Leibnitz, physiology was hemmed in by having the subjective element introduced. Pawlow especially has sought to free physiology of its subjective element, and now its only abode is in the mental interaction of individuals. When the subjective is driven from this place also, then the scientist can regard the world as a large, complicated mechanism, in which mankind represents only one part. Under such a scientific method our world-view will show that such a science is not interested in morality, nor in the value of the psychic, nor in psychic activity; and thus the basis of a practical world-view will be sought elsewhere. The practical results will be as in biology. In this field no attention was paid to the value or benefit for man, and the results have been unexpected.

I have stated Zeliony's views at length because they are, if correct, of the utmost importance to sociology, and because they

seem to be so consistent. Surely no one will deny that his conclusions are consistent with his premises. If the psychic is not available for observation or investigation, then the one safe way for sociology to develop *as a science* is as a collective or social *physiology*. In any case, the development of sociology in this direction, as far as it will go, can do no harm. Let the objectivist explain human society in terms of physiological reflexes, simple and conditional, as far as he can. The attempt to block such a development in sociology would be unscientific in the extreme. There are no sanctities in science! Let the objectivists (only let them be as consistent as Zeliony!) follow up their new clue to the social process as far as it will go.

But when the objectivists claim that their point of view is alone scientific, when they brand as unscientific any method which attempts to use psychic elements in explaining the social life, that is another matter. Then they have transformed their method into a dogmatism which can be justified only by assuming that some such metaphysical world-view as mechanism or psycho-physical parallelism has been demonstrated by science. Now, while psycho-physical parallelism has been a fruitful methodological assumption in experimental psychology, yet every scientific psychologist knows that when its universal truth is taken for granted it becomes a metaphysical doctrine beyond the pale of science. Even as a methodological assumption, there are such grave difficulties in carrying it over to human history and sociology as to forbid its free, to say nothing of its dogmatic, use in those realms. The same thing is true of the mechanistic conception of life. *Both of these are ultra-scientific doctrines* and cannot be used as truths on which to base scientific conclusions or hard-and-fast scientific methods. Yet that is the naïve assumption of many objectivists. For example, Zeliony clearly takes for granted psycho-physical parallelism and mechanism as established scientific truths. But in so doing he also as clearly gives up the "impersonal" view of science, and substitutes in its stead a "pet theory." Let no scientific sociologist thus exchange his birthright of free and open-minded inquiry for a metaphysical mess of pottage! If the sociologist does his work right, on the basis of an impersonal view of the

world, it will stand, no matter how the fashions in metaphysics may change! For it will be consistent with any reasonable world-view.

Even if a rigid psycho-physical parallelism be accepted as a proper methodological assumption for the social sciences, there are grave reasons why the objectivists' proposal to state all social processes in purely objective terms cannot be acceded to. The very proposal, indeed, seems to imply a misunderstanding of the nature of the human organism and of human society. Such a method of scientific statement will answer very well, perhaps, for the behavior of a rat, or for the interactions of the members of a colony of rats. It conceivably even would be adequate to describe the social life of a human group which lived a half-million of years ago. If so, that is because primitive man, being on a purely animal plane, lived in a *perceptual* world. | Civilized man, however, lives in an *ideational* world. For him the world of real objects is largely replaced by a world of ideas, standards, values. | These ideas, standards, values, have gradually developed and accumulated during the whole of human history from primitive man to the present. They are a set of inner, mental habits acquired in ever-increasing complexity by each succeeding generation. Human history thus presents itself as a growing tradition, or "social mind," which cannot be understood apart from its content (the particular ideas, standards, values, which make up the tradition).<sup>1</sup> The farther we get away from the purely animal plane, the less does a purely objective statement of human behavior suffice. Human culture is essentially a psychic matter, and culture has made the human societies which we know. |

Moreover, there is no necessary peripheral accompaniment of the mental habits handed down from generation to generation which we call tradition. External behaviorism fails as a method of scientific explanation for civilized human groups because there is lack of close correlation between external behavior and the habits of the cells of the human cortex. Knowledge, beliefs, standards become stored in these during the formative period of childhood

<sup>1</sup> This argument is elaborated by the writer in a new work, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, which will soon be published by D. Appleton & Co.



and adolescence, and it may be years before they express themselves in action. Moreover, between the reception of such knowledge, beliefs, standards (usually through the medium of spoken or written language), and their expression in appropriate behavior, the organizing activity of the mind, as manifest in dreams, imagination, and reasoning, may have completely transformed them, so that they issue in new behavior complexes.<sup>1</sup> How fatuous under such circumstances to attempt a simple explanation of social activities in terms of habit and environment! Evidently the complexity of the ever-active human organism in such an explanation is not sufficiently taken into account. This is not to deny that a purely physiological statement of human behavior is possible. But to substitute in our description of social processes the hypothetical activities of the cells of the central nervous system, which have not yet been observed and of which we know little, for ways of thinking and feeling, which we well understand and which are *ex hypothesi* the exact correlatives of these physiological processes, is sheer pedantry! And whatever the case with other sciences, there are the gravest practical reasons why workers in the social sciences should strive to keep them from anything like pedantry.

Again, when Zeliony says that the mind or psychic life of others is not available for scientific investigation, he simply asserts what is not true. We know the opinions and beliefs of others as clearly and as accurately as we know many physical objects. We are conscious of the conscious states of others, and that not by a process of logical inference, as some psychologists have implied, but intuitively, directly, as we know many of the qualities of physical objects. Experimental psychology has, moreover, devised methods by which individual psychic processes may be subjected to some measure of scientific control. But it is particularly true that we know the opinions, beliefs, and standards of masses of men, as well as we know anything concerning such masses. We know the economic value which men set upon diamonds, for example, better than we know the physical accompaniments and antecedents of

<sup>1</sup> On centrally initiated processes and the lack of exact correlation between central and peripheral processes, see Professor Titchener's article "On Psychology as the Behaviorist Views It," in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. LIII.

the valuing process. We know many of the ideas of the ancient Romans, Greeks, and Hebrews better probably than we can ever know the physical conditions of their existence. In the social sciences, at least, many psychic phenomena will for a long time remain better known than their infinitely complex accompanying physical phenomena, and must first be utilized by science.

The scientific sociologist, therefore, need not be afraid to make use of psychic phenomena whenever they prove amenable to scientific methods (such as the statistical, the comparative, etc.), nor need he be afraid of subjective terms to designate these (such as value, standard, belief), as there are no others that are intelligible. But the question remains, *How* shall the scientific sociologist make use of these psychic phenomena? Not surely in a causo-mechanical way, as many have done; for there is no evidence that they function in that way. The student of human society can get help here from modern biology and psychology; for the evidence from those sciences is practically complete that the brain is an adaptive organ; that consciousness and its accompanying neural processes—psychic processes, in other words—are always adaptive processes. They function as instruments of adjustment, however clumsily they may work. They are bridges between two types of activity. The scientific student of society, therefore, must begin his description with activity and end with activity. But he cannot yet explain the adaptations, the changes, in the social life without bringing in those psychic processes through which all the active adaptations of social life take place. These conscious processes are never exactly like the purely physiological processes, moreover, for they make the whole adaptive process in which they occur susceptible of intelligent guidance. They are, then, superior instruments of adaptation in the social world, and to ignore them is very much like ignoring the latest type of gasoline engine in the motor-car world. But it will be observed that these psychic processes come in an instrumental, not in a strictly causal, way. They come in, therefore, as mediatory of objective life-processes. It is apparent, then, that so far from its being unscientific to describe social processes partly in objective and partly in subjective terms, this is exactly the procedure which we must adopt in scientific



# The American Journal of Sociology

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Business correspondence should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

Communications for the editors and manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.



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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U. S. A.

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THE MISSION BOOK COMPANY, SHANGHAI

social description, being careful of course to relate the two properly; for the processes to which we give subjective names (and, I repeat, we have no other) are mediatory of purely objective processes.

In concluding this paper the writer would like to suggest that the roots of this controversy go back to the economic and the psychological ways of viewing human society, as typified respectively by Marx and Comte. Marx endeavored to show that general social development is dependent upon objective industrial developments, which also determine man's psychic life. Social life is, therefore, largely independent of man's instincts and reason, but is determined by objective economic conditions. Comte, on the other hand, endeavored to show that fundamental human institutions are determined by man's instincts and reason, and that even industrial development is dependent upon these. Hence his view, that human history is essentially a growing tradition, and that developing intellectual conceptions and emotional attitudes are the key to adaptive processes of the social life. Industry, as a phase of human adaptation, is to be understood through these, and not vice versa. It seems to me that there can be no question but that Comte was more nearly right than Marx. If this is so, sociology cannot yet afford to dispense with the consideration of tradition, the "social mind," developing intellectual conceptions and emotional attitudes, as necessary for the understanding of human society.

## THE ORGANIZATION OF THOUGHT

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EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS  
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An idea tower like Mohammedan theology, Roman law, or the *Nibelungen Lied* is no less a team product than Solomon's Temple or the Panama Canal. No pyramid or cathedral embodies the labors of so many generations of artificers as the science, let us say, of astronomy. The Common Law, the Yogi philosophy of India, or a matured branch like physics constitutes a well-knit system, and yet no one head, or even score of heads, can claim the credit of so much logic. Somehow the thinking of many men has resulted in a whole composed of congruous elements fitted together as steel beams are fitted together into a bridge span. The process of thus articulating ideas may be termed "the organization of thought."

Nor does system-building exhaust the co-operation of minds. Common opinion—class, group, or public opinion—is usually the resultant of many individual contributions, the residue left after the offerings of each have been winnowed in the minds of the rest. Behind the eighteenth-century liberal movement, the romantic movement, the Oxford movement, behind impressionism, realism, symbolism, or anarchism, lies a complex of ideas which no one man propounded. A "school" of thought, of literature, or of art starts not always with master and disciples, founder and followers; often it begins with a band of like-minded rebels against the conventional, who stimulate and influence one another until they work out a creed, a style, or a manner which can make its way. The child in us demands a hero for every great achievement; and so the public clamors to be shown the "father" of the labor movement, of industrial unionism, of scientific charity, of the new penology, or of the public-recreation movement. As likely as not, the "parent" turns out to be a group of seminal minds coming gradually into touch and finding their way to a common doctrine or program.

There is intellectual team work, too, on much smaller problems than those of society-at-large. In each subgroup—church, college, trade union, or co-operative society—there goes on a joint working out of opinion as to the special problems and policies of that group; and while opinion may reflect the counsel of some sage member, it is usually the outcome of discussion and consensus, i.e., of co-operative thinking.

Absorbing the product of others is not the same as producing. As society develops, the proportion of us who bear a hand in organizing thought becomes less. More and more our headaches come from the effort to appropriate the fruits of other men's thinking. The primitive tribesman had more influence on current ideas of right and wrong than has the common man after theologian and philosopher take part in fixing moral distinctions. Early law springs from the customs of the folk, but the time comes when judges, jurisconsults, and lawgivers have most to do with its fashioning. Poetry improvised, sung and danced to, stanza by stanza, in the primitive festal crowd, ends as the handiwork of a few gifted word-smiths. About the time of Socrates we see fruitful philosophic thinking quit street corner and market-place to hide with a circle of choice spirits in some secluded garden. In Athens, says Zimmern, "the first people to make a regular use of private gardens and to look upon them as indispensable were the philosophers."<sup>1</sup>

The reason for this concentration is near at hand. Team-thinking goes on only among persons well matched in equipment. Hence, as soon as there appear in any field men of special knowledge or training, with exceptional facilities in the way of collections, laboratories, travel, mutual access, and stimulating association, the rest of us fall silent and content ourselves with walking henceforth in trails other men have blazed. The rise of scientific medicine makes it impossible for "wise" women with their herb gardens to contribute to the art of healing. With the spread of agricultural experiment stations, the intelligent farmer with only his own experience to go on makes no further contribution to agriculture. As the tasks of government become more technical—e.g., sanitation, conservation, and regulation—the political

<sup>1</sup> *The Greek Commonwealth*, p. 56.



talk of pothouse and corner grocery is paralyzed with a sense of futility.

In a word, just as we become parasites on the experts who wire our houses and test our food, so our minds become parasites on the specialized minds engaged in rearing law, morality, literature, and science. The organizing of thought in respect to fundamentals is left to a rather small number of men. More and more we retire to the side lines and watch the star players advance the ball. The bulk of us are consumers of the mental products of the masters, mere passengers who do nothing to get the ship forward, but (sometimes!) pay the wages of those who work her.

Our growing passiveness in respect to constructive thought does not cause us to become equally passive as regards decision. Jealously we cling to our place in *will-organisation* even if we drop out of *thought-organization*. The specialist shall not steal away the layman's freedom. Although most of us no longer discuss the foundations of right and wrong for fear of getting beyond our depth, we choose freely between the traditional ethics and the new moralities. For all that the framing of religion now goes on far above his head, the ordinary man is not mentally enslaved so long as he may please himself as to the type of religion he adopts. The committing of the technical tasks of government to trained men does not, as some allege, substitute "government by experts" for "the people's government." The determining of functions and policies still rests with the citizens or their representatives. State highway engineer, food chemist, forester, or pathologist is there only as a servant to carry out effectively their purpose.

#### UNCONSCIOUS ORGANIZATION OF THOUGHT

Worn path and made road are collective products, but the makers of the former knew not what they did. Until writing or printing made it possible to fix and identify the product of the individual artist or thinker, the organizing of thought into stable forms must have gone on mainly in an unconscious way. That greatest storehouse of thought, *language*, came into being by a process which scholars describe as *growth*, rather than *production*.



Tarde gives all the credit of language to word inventors, forgetting that every word or phrase they coined had to run the gauntlet of the tribe. Only those which struck one's fellows as pat or fit survived, and they were trimmed or twisted to suit better the tongues or minds of the users.

So was it with the making of popular proverbs, saws, and riddles. Some, no doubt, were struck off perfect in an inspired moment; but others reached their terse and telling form only after many wits had helped to file and point and barb them. No end of sayings failed to "make a hit" and were forgotten; so that the ones treasured and handed down were just those which "rang a bell" in the average mind.

Nor are early myth, fairy tale, legend, folk-song, or ballad to be looked upon as the handiwork of the individual artist, like the modern poem or drama. Scholars now assure us that they were "communal" in origin, meaning, not that the "people" was their author, but that so many had a hand in fashioning them and that, being transmitted only by oral tradition, they were so easily molded to the general taste, that each embodies and expresses, not an individual mind, but the soul of the tribe or the folk. The author of the ballad, insists Professor Gummere, is "the singing, dancing, improvising crowd." Among primitives, as among old-style European peasants, nearly everyone can improvise. Says Grosse, "Every native in Australia himself provides the songs of his house." Among the Eskimos "nearly everybody has his own songs." In the festal dance songs are built up bit by bit, one after another contributing a short improvisation in the intervals of a chorus. Winnowed, handed down in tradition, and gradually perfected, these become ballad and folk-song.

Thanks to literary research, we no longer look upon the folk-epic as the creation of a single genius, but as a unified collection of song-stuffs which have long been accumulating. The epic poet is the heir to great treasures. For arranging and harmonizing the traditional materials, filling the gaps, rounding it all into an artistic whole, and writing it down, he gets the glory of the epic; but we now recognize him as, in truth, the artistic organizer of the lays of many forgotten singers.

When a folk takes to reading, it loses the knack and the courage for improvising; the communal poesy dies out, and the individual artist holds the center of the stage. Thus arises a kind of parasitism, the people at large becoming passive consumers of literature, while production shrinks to the one in ten thousand—the creative man of letters.

Early morals and custom were a snug fit because the outcome of an unconscious process. Rules arose, not from reflection upon the requisites of social order, but from the clash of egoisms. The conflicting desires of interfering individuals ground against one another until, in conceding that one must not “remove the landmark” nor “make the ephah small” nor “withhold the pledge” after the debtor had repaid the loan, they ceased to chafe. Thus folk molded law as hand molds glove. Then came the individual thinker—prophet, lawgiver, religious teacher, schoolman, canonist, moral philosopher—correcting or completing folk custom and law. Finally, in working out national codes and framing great pieces of constructive legislation, our own time has discovered how to procure the collaboration of many picked minds.

Once written down or printed, a man's work is tagged and stays as he left it. As such accumulate, the communal fount dries up. Specialists and schools arise, so that the people at large have no part in advancing thought or art. The folk being out of it, why does not the individual take the bit in his teeth and bolt? Surely there will be confusion, a riot of temperament and caprice! No, the thought of an age shows much consistency and dovetails fairly well into the past. If agreement is wanting in its metaphysics or ethics or philosophy, it is because rival systems divide the field, each of them, however, a logical structure. Most of the literary masterpieces of a period show certain common characteristics, as if the writers had been taking account of one another.

One reason is the dependence of the creative genius on other geniuses, living or dead. Few minds become pregnant with literature until they have been fructified by close acquaintance with the best that has been said or sung. Herder has this in mind when he speaks of *die Kette der Bildung*. Taine exhorts the striving artist: “Fill your spirit and your heart, however great they may be, with

the ideas and feelings of your century and the work of art will come." In explaining a writer he attaches great importance to the *moment*, i.e., the direction that art happened to be taking at the time.

Another organizing influence is the *public*, which acts as a sieve, letting some products of genius pass while others drop to the scrap heap. Since thinkers cannot give ethics or law a slant that shall bring it into constant clash with the popular sense of right, since poets and artists cannot long run counter to the popular taste, the barren public is after all a sleeping partner in the culture of the time. To the fertile spirits it might well utter the warning: "They reckon ill who leave me out." The public, however, has little to do with the rising structure of science. Unlike jurisprudence or literature, which have to suit themselves to the people, science has to conform to reality. Its line of advance is determined by its own canons of truth, not by popular favor. A music the people will not listen to, a literature they will not read, a morality they will not approve, can hardly be said to exist for them; but a science they do not comprehend may be serving them in countless ways.

#### CONSCIOUS ORGANIZATION OF THOUGHT

Of the older forms of organization, Mr. Wallas, who has shed more light than anyone else on the organizing of thought, says:

The simplest and oldest is that which is constituted by a small number of persons—from two to perhaps seven or eight—who meet together for the purpose of sustained oral discussion. This form may be studied at its finest point of development in the dialogues of Plato. It is, as the Greeks knew, extraordinarily difficult. At first sight it might appear that the main condition of its success is that it should be as little "organized" as possible, that the group should meet by accident, and that each member of the group should freely obey his casual impulses both in speaking and in remaining silent. But a closer examination shows that the full efficiency of argument, carried on even by the most informal body of friends, requires, not only that each should be master of the most delicate shades of the same language, and that each should be accustomed to make use of similar rules of Thought, but that they should have a large body of knowledge in common, that each should be familiar with the peculiar strength and weakness of each of the others, and, above all, that each should be influenced by the same desire to follow truth "whithersoever the argument may lead." All this requires that the group should consist, not

of men of average powers who have come accidentally together, but of men selected (as Socrates, for instance, selected his disciples) in some way which should secure that the worst of them should possess a rather unusual share of natural ability, acquired training, and interest in ideas. And normally, the necessary discipline and concentration cannot be secured unless some one of the party is accepted by the others as a leader, and does not abuse his position.<sup>1</sup>

The neglect of dialectic in our own time he attributes to the difficulty of modern philosophers coming together frequently, to their need of economizing time, to the rôle of the printing-press in circulating ideas, and to the fact that the modern scientist does much of his thinking while he is closely observing the concrete in the laboratory or the field. He insists, however, that we now rely too much on reading and solitary thinking, and that, in branches whose subject-matter is human action and feeling, oral dialectic "has magnificent possibilities of fertility." One advantage is "a great extension of the range of immediate mental association." The solitary thinker, having tackled a problem, "waits till some promising idea comes into his mind and then dwells on it till further ideas spring from it." But if a group is engaged upon the problem, the waits are shorter, and each gets the benefit of such happy thoughts as occur to the others.

Apart from this, many minds are keyed to their best only when exchanging ideas with other congenial minds. The conditions that rouse the subconscious self to productivity vary greatly for different people. In olden time intellectuals sought the monastic cell; today they shut out distraction by means of a soundproof sky-lit studio at the top of the house. Some are most visited by ideas in darkness, or by artificial light. The born orator, on the other hand, is never so inspired as before "a sea of faces." Some get their best thoughts on an express train, while I know of an eminent mathematician who took his hardest problems to the opera, where the lights and the stir gave his intellect a rare edge. I myself have never had such free and onward thinking as in the thronged noisy streets of far, strange cities, where I knew not a word nor a soul.

Solitude is needed, to be sure, for working out and harmonizing ideas, but usually one's mind leaps and mounts best in discussion

<sup>1</sup> *The Great Society*, pp. 242-43.

with a few kindred spirits who have like intellectual background and interest, attach the same meanings to words, and recognize the same rules of thought. The visible effort of each suggests a like effort to the rest. Challenge rouses the emulative spirit, and there is incitement in the evident zest of one's fellows in the chase of ideas.

Such dialectic is, however, rare, for it presupposes a technique which few know, or, knowing, will observe. Apart from such obvious pitfalls as lack of real mental sympathy among the participants, use of terms in different senses, neglect to define the issue, straying from lack of leadership, we see countless discussions end in nothing because there has been, in fact, no co-operation. One welcomes the chance to air his prejudices. Another loves to hear himself talk. This disputant thinks he is in a tourney, while that one knows nothing of the subject, but will display his versatility. If any one participant lacks respect for others, good manners, or a love of truth greater than love of self, the discussion turns into fireworks, a sparring match, or a monologue.

Discussion conducted through writing or print eliminates personal factors—appearance, voice, manners, etc.—which in oral discussion often prove a stumbling-block to concerted thinking. On the other hand, it is less stimulating to the minds engaged, and the participants may miss a close grapple. Sophistry, insincerity, and pose are not so promptly unmasked as in oral intercourse. Contrasting the mode of organizing thought in government departments with the oral methods of Parliament, Mr. Wallas observes:

The total effect, therefore, of a modern official organization based solely on writing is the combination of great efficiency in the handling of detail on established lines, with the existence of an "official atmosphere" which may be incompatible with some of the finer intellectual requirements of government, and has, in fact, often produced a general dislike of official methods among the outside public.<sup>1</sup>

How formal discussion has fallen into discredit as an instrument for ascertaining truth! Recall the breathless interest in theological and metaphysical disputes in Christian Alexandria, Antioch, and Byzantium. In the Middle Ages it stood in high favor, and it was

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 270.

not until well into the modern era that Sir Henry Wotton expressed his belief that "the itch of disputing makes the scab of the churches." Once scholars could think of no better feat for the budding Doctor of Philosophy than to take a position and hold it against all comers. Years ago in the University of Berlin I saw a youth qualify for his doctorate by defending his "thesis" against three friends, each attacking it in a speech prepared in advance by the candidate himself and gracefully surrendering after his objections had been neatly bowled over!

That we now see disputation as *conflict* rather than *co-operation*, with the waste that antagonistic effort always entails, is owing, no doubt, to the triumphs of science. The students of nature have got on so wonderfully, not by wielding sharper wits than the schoolmen had, but by resorting to observation, experiment, measurement, and record. Their technique for interrogating the concrete succeeds even in the attack upon the problems of mind, government, and society, so that every year sees it carried into new fields of inquiry. Research leaves, to be sure, a place for the arena, but we realize now that full knowledge of the relevant facts is a prerequisite for profitable discussion. It is just because they were unprovided with the results of impartial, well-directed investigation that the intellectual athletes of the Middle Ages did not get far with all their debates and polemics.

When men of science meet, how much time is given to presenting the results of investigation, how little to discussion! Such difference of opinion as may develop touching the correct interpretation of these results is presently traced to some flaw or ambiguity in the data, which can be removed by ascertaining certain facts not yet brought to light. Instead of running on without getting anywhere, discussion but points the way for a fresh sally into the concrete. If genealogies and herd books leave students of heredity still in doubt, they devise crucial breeding experiments which will settle the question one way or another. If geologists differ as to the number of glacial periods the deposits indicate, instead of wrangling they scatter to renewed study of moraine and drift. Let sociologists disagree as to whether fewer births mean declining fertility or limitation of the family, and someone soon

settles the matter by a questionnaire drawing out confidential information from some hundreds of married couples. The continual expansion of government statistical inquiries testifies to the demand for adequate data as a basis for the profitable discussion of proposed laws and policies.

What of forensic disputation as a means of organizing the thought of judicial bodies about a lawsuit?

Despite the glowing testimonials lawyers give it, doubt is spreading as to the value of the time-honored contentious procedure of the courtroom. The best-qualified man there, the judge, it reduces to a mere umpire. Hence a rising demand that his rôle be magnified, if not to that of a Continental judge, then at least to that of an English judge. More and more, chemists, physicians, and alienists testify *for the court*, not for one side, and some of our courts retain such experts on their staff. In the juvenile court the methods of drawing out the truth and reaching a judgment resemble those of a clinic. Before the great administrative boards that have been set up lately in some states—public utilities commissions, industrial commissions, etc.—a direct, matter-of-fact procedure borrowed from science leaves small scope for the battle between opposing lawyers. On a question of grade crossing or factory ventilation, instead of hearing advocates, the commissions have their trusty agents get the lie of the land or analyze the factory air. It seems probable, then, that in adjudication the methods of the laboratory will gain upon the methods of the forum.

There is good reason why popularly-elected representative assemblies the world over have lost prestige, so that people are coming to hearken more to intellectuals outside of public life—university presidents, inventors, scholars, philanthropists, and captains of industry—and less to parliamentary orators. Owing to the clamor of each locality to have its own man in the legislature, the lawmaking body is so large that only by courtesy can it be called “deliberative.” It is there *to register will*, and this function keeps it bigger than any thinking group should be. It includes too many who are inert, or who clog the swollen current of discussion with “buncombe,” for the “folks back home.” The thinking members themselves are vitiated. Before an assembly so large they fire



off speeches of the lamp, which so poorly focus upon the issues developed in discussion that opponents glide past each other like locomotives on parallel tracks. They are tempted to oratory, the foe of logic, and to partisan debate, the foe of reasonableness. Candor well-nigh perishes, for it is harder to recede or accept correction before hundreds than before tens. Hence the "House" limits itself to ultimate decision, while the hammering of laws into shape goes on only in committees of a dozen men or less.

The democratic-looking proposal to make all committee sessions public is a proposal to hunt frank and fruitful discussion from its last refuge in capitols. The barrenness of the average full-dress legislative debate is due to pose, the participants addressing, not their fellow-members, but a less-enlightened outside public. Instead of candid man-to-man talk, we get claptrap and sparring for party advantage. Publicity would introduce a like insincerity into committee discussions and oblige the majority representatives to talk matters over informally in advance in order to clarify their minds before the curtain went up.

The bodies charged with thinking upon the policies of business corporations, colleges, charities, associations, and clubs are small, rarely including more than a score of members. Such a group is not unwieldy, but still it is a problem how to get all the members to keep their minds taut. Thus Mr. Wallas testifies:

I have myself, during the last twenty-five years, sat through perhaps three thousand meetings of municipal committees of different sizes and for different purposes, and I am sure that at least half the men and women with whom I have sat were entirely unaware that any conscious mental effort on their part was called for. They attended in almost exactly the same mental attitude in which some of them went to church—with a vague sense, that is to say, that they were doing their duty and that good must come of it. If they became interested in the business it was an accident. Of the remaining half, perhaps two-thirds had come with one or two points which they wanted to "get through," and meanwhile let the rest of the business drift past them, unless some phrase in the discussion roused them to a more or less irrelevant interruption.<sup>1</sup>

Such persons are prone to follow the lead of dominating individuals who will spare them brain wear and tear. Not long ago

<sup>1</sup> *The Great Society*, p. 276.



the governing boards of some great American corporations had so abdicated their thinking function that directors intrusted with the interests of thousands of stockholders would in ten minutes dispose of motions involving tens of millions of dollars. The arrogant order, "Vote first and debate afterward," shows how the magnate had come to look upon the board as his private rubber stamp. Says the Interstate Commerce Commission of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Company: "A number of directors appear in many instances to have voted without knowledge and to have approved the expenditure of many millions without information. . . . They merely approved what had been done by some committee or some officers of the Company. The directors' minutes reveal that it was largely a body of ratification."

The evil and ruin that followed in the wake of such financial dictatorships show how barbarous it is in vast and complicated affairs to rely on individual judgment rather than on concerted thought.

A skilful chairman may do much to lift the intellectual torpor of which Mr. Wallas complains. By a stroke here and there a man gifted with imagination may so link the business in hand with vital persons and issues as to whet interest. By feigned skepticism or carping criticism of the good ideas put forth he may irritate the more inert members to the point of attention. Or he may dart a timely glance, a query, or a personal allusion that will rouse the flagging mind to effortful thought. The fact is that the psychology of small deliberating groups has never been properly brought to book.

Thanks to our growing dependence on the vast impersonal organization that goes on far above our heads, reading is taking the place of oral intercourse as a source of ideas. Machinery and shop supervision are squeezing spoken discussion out of the working hours of wage-earners, while the reading habit restricts it in their leisure. Most urban minds feed on newspapers as silkworms feed on mulberry leaves. Upon the consciousness of multitudes the daily sheet stamps impressions, ideas, and beliefs, just as the Hoe press prints endlessly the same thing upon miles of white paper.

Even if the wider reading of magazines and books should check the manufacture of public opinion in this wholesale way by irresponsible newspaper owners, it would still be bad for the bulk of people never to get beyond so unstimulating a way of gaining ideas. Welcome, therefore, be the newer pedagogy which encourages the pupil to self-activity and trains him to debate and the oral interchange of ideas! Even more promising is the spread of "social centers," where neighbors in their common hall consider community problems of which they have first-hand knowledge. While some public matters are passing out of the range of profitable popular discussion into the hands of specialists, many personal and family problems are coming to be in a way community problems needing to be threshed out in neighborhood gatherings.

#### THE PLANNED ORGANIZATION OF THOUGHT

In various spheres intellectual co-operation on a large scale has been worked out. Take, for example, the political party. Where, as in South America today, no machinery exists for eliciting judgment on public questions from numerous scattered persons, the formulas of a party emanate from a few leaders, who put forth the best compromise they can make between what they think and what they imagine will appeal to the voters. In our early history a political program would be worked out by the members of Congress belonging to the same party. In a later stage local party supporters choose delegates to a convention which considers the declaration of principles laid before it by a large and representative "committee on the platform." Still later an intermediate body, such as the "state convention" may not only declare itself on state questions, but may formulate its judgment as to national issues in advance of the action of the national convention of its party.

Although the delegate convention exists primarily to arrive at common *purposes* rather than at common *judgments*, i.e., to find out what the members *want*, rather than what they *think*, there is a plain tendency for the deliberating element of a party to become larger. The political "manifesto" put forth by a small influential group has had its day. Experience shows that, when the proper machinery is provided, a considerable number of persons can be

included in the party brain. That the ultimate sources of their opinions may be half a score of statesmen, editors, or philosophic writers does not qualify the statement that the political party is moving toward a more comprehensive organization of thought.

The same tendency is to be seen in government. Now that government every year touches the lives of its citizens at more points, there is need of a wider organization of thought respecting particular projects of law. Since nowadays the legislative committee is the incubator of laws, one means of getting more thought behind a law is the public committee hearing. To be sure, most of those who appear represent *desire* rather than *thought*; and the law smiths profit little from learning that exporters or coal operators or trainmen are *for* or *against* something. Nevertheless, the spokesmen for scientific and professional bodies and for public welfare organizations frequently contribute judgments which a great many first-class minds have helped to form.

One foresees not only that committees will more often sit between legislative sessions and hold hearings in different places, so as to sample thoroughly the mind of the country, but that they will more frequently resort to the principal thought foci in society. Groups of disinterested experts such as are found in the Efficiency Society, the Genetic Association, the Life Extension Institute, the Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, and many like bodies, will be invited to give an opinion as to legislative proposals within their field, or even to formulate the essentials of a sound public policy.

Nor should it be forgotten that administration presents certain intellectual apexes. In the older theory of self-government the civil servant was an inert tool, from whom the representatives of the government could learn nothing. We now see that the trained permanent official is quite as able a man as the legislator and possesses, moreover, a fund of valuable technical knowledge and experience which the legislator lacks. No doubt the official is prone to press for more money and authority than he ought to have. Nevertheless, in the interest of rational law-making, there should be nothing to hinder the head of an inspection service, the chief forester, the superintendent of insurance, or the chairman of the

farm-loan board from appearing before a legislative committee on a matter within his ken and shedding on it such light as he may have.

Unless there is this intellectual commerce between the two branches of government, the legislature must more and more confine itself to determining general policies, leaving to the administrative department a wide field of discretion. Instead of fixing the fishing season for each of several lakes, prescribing in detail the compensation for the various kinds of injury arising from industrial accidents, or specifying which railroads shall carry passengers for two cents a mile and which may charge two and one-half cents, such matters will be confided to well-paid experts gradually developing their policies out of their experience in working with the concrete.

In scientific inquiry intellectual co-operation is very old and highly developed. The Academy of Plato, who bequeathed to his followers his walled garden and appointments in the place in Athens named after the hero Hekademus, became the model for all scientific bodies and universities, just as the famous Museum of Alexandria gave its name to all our collections of scientific materials. In the words of Cicero, "It is from this Academy, as from a regular magazine of all the arts, that mathematicians, poets, musicians, aye, and physicians too, have proceeded!"

In the great research institution maintained in Alexandria by the Ptolemies, the state makes its first appearance as promoter of the arts and sciences. The brilliant contributions of the Alexandrian school were due not wholly to the observatory, library, dissecting house, laboratories, and collections provided, nor even to the endowment of productive scholars. In the Museum, as in a modern university, were gathered astronomers, geographers, mathematicians, physicists, naturalists, and historians, who not only studied and meditated, but, through converse and debate, kindled one another to a brighter incandescence, like embers laid together.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed the founding of several academies of inquirers, who examined and discussed one another's contributions to knowledge and decided which deserved to be published. Italy led the way in forming such groups, the most famous of which is the Accademia dei Lincei ("of the lynx-

eyed"), which had as one of its earliest English members the great champion of the inductive method, Lord Bacon. The Paris Academy of Sciences, instituted in 1666, has the most brilliant record of all for the sending out of scientific expeditions, the support of fruitful research undertakings and the co-ordination of inquiries. The French Institute, incorporated shortly after the Revolution, has undoubtedly done more than any other single agency to focus choice minds upon the problems of pure knowledge.

Three centuries ago, Lord Bacon in his *New Atlantis* imagined a great research institution which he called "Solomon's House," for which he outlined a very elaborate division of intellectual labor. Besides various groups of experimenters, he provided for three, poetically called "Lamps," who after considering the work of the experimenters "should take care out of them to Direct New Experiments of a Higher Light, more Penetrating into Nature than the Former." Then, besides such as "do Execute the Experiments so directed, and Report upon them," there should be yet another three, known as "Interpreters of Nature," who should "raise the former Discoveries by Experiments, into Greater Observations, Axiomes, and Aphorisms." This prophecy was in a way realized in the founding in 1662 of the Royal Society of Great Britain and influenced the vast collaboration of scientific men in the French *Encyclopédie* of the eighteenth century.

In modern science, the tendency to vaster and more sustained co-operation is pronounced. Some learned societies have embarked on undertakings which have required well-nigh a century to complete. The investigation of natural events which recur infrequently, like earthquakes and sun-spot periods, or of very slow processes like star movements, climatic alterations, land elevations or subsidences, and the evolutionary changes in organisms, call for a volume and continuity of effort far surpassing the scope and span of life of any individual inquirer. There is even an international association of academies which has helped bring about world-wide co-operation in solar research and in the anatomy of the human brain.

No doubt such teamwork is more successful in providing data than in discovering new truths. The history of science shows that

the guiding and fruitful ideas which contain the seeds of later developments spring up in the mind of the solitary investigator or thinker. Remember Wordsworth's lines on Isaac Newton's statue at Cambridge:

The marble index of a mind forever  
Wandering through strange fields of thought alone.

It is certain, however, that he who wrests new secrets from the Sphinx must watch the product of his co-workers everywhere and keep in constant and vital touch with everything that every creative mind the world over is doing in his field. Bound closely together by their special societies and journals, the attackers of the same problem in many lands form, as it were, a single band of treasure-seekers digging in neighboring spots for buried gold.

While many may join forces in working out a group of alkaloids, investigating radioactivity, or carrying out a vast experiment in heredity, it is not so in the sphere of art. Never does the work of art bear the name of a group. Normally, the book, the poem, the play, the picture, the bust, the song, is the product of an individual. Nevertheless, in art one notices a certain development of organization which is unknown in science, viz., *the profession of critic*.

Since the best critics of the product of scientific thought are other scientific workers, there is no tendency in science for production and appraisal to be segregated with different groups. In art and literature, on the other hand, there is a distinct function, that of *criticism*, discharged by men who are not necessarily poets, playwrights, composers, painters, or sculptors. Indeed, critics are rarely creative; so that the creative spirits, resenting the critic coming between them and the public, fling the sneer: "Those who can, do; those who can't, criticize." However, in view of the output clamoring for attention, the public is obliged to choose what it shall read, or listen, to or look at, and without the critic it would be at the mercy of the megaphone and the "ad" man. Those who "know what they like" naturally have less influence on the choices of the public than those who know *why* they like or dislike and can state their reasons convincingly.

The product of the investigator runs no gauntlet of professional critics because, in order to fulfil its mission, it is not obliged to attract

the attention of the public. A discovery about bacteria or enzymes may serve mankind just as well if it reaches only the physicians and sanitarians. Truth may minister to us at any number of removes and needs not, therefore, be apprehended by him whom it is to serve. A work of art, on the other hand, is intended to act upon us directly. The poem or picture is not a means to something beyond, but makes an immediate appeal to the human spirit. It is the inevitable rivalry of artists to attract the notice of the busy preoccupied public that calls into being the professional critics of literature, music, art, and drama.

## PUBLIC RANGE LANDS—A NEW POLICY NEEDED

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### I

The United States owns more than four hundred million acres of public land, exclusive of the land in Alaska and other outlying possessions, and by virtue of this ownership the nation is one of the world's greatest landlords. Nearly three-fifths of the land in the whole Intermountain Region is still in public ownership. These public lands constitute an area about four-fifths as large as that part of the United States which lies east of the Mississippi River. Some of this land possesses valuable forest and mineral resources. A limited amount will be made available for farming through the development of irrigation enterprises and dry-farming methods, but the greater part of this vast area is more valuable for grazing than for cultivation or other purposes. While these grazing lands have small value per acre, the vastness of their extent gives them sufficient importance to make their management one of the vital economic and social problems of the Intermountain West. Up to the present time the national government has been remiss in relation to its duties as a landlord.

The fundamental idea of nineteenth-century national policy in relation to the public lands was that they should be disposed of to private holders as rapidly as required by the growing population, and in such a way as to contribute to the general welfare and particularly to economic and political stability. The more important features of this policy were designed to give men of little wealth an opportunity to own their own homes and farms. Some of the land was sold at a very low price, but much more was given away to homesteaders and in encouragement of education and transportation. In nearly all cases the land laws contained provisions favoring the landless man and the actual settler. The aim was to give the worker a sufficient amount of land to enable him to apply his own labor effectively and to maintain his family according to



a reasonable standard. The laws discriminated against the land speculator and the man who wished to acquire great holdings. It was recognized that a wide distribution of land ownership was essential to the development of sound social conditions.

From this standpoint public ownership was a temporary incident preceding the settlement of the country and the utilization of the land. There was need for a policy of land disposal by sale or gift, but not for a policy of land management. Under the practical conditions presented by the great Mississippi Valley this policy worked pretty well. The land was well watered, not mountainous, and nearly all of it passed into farms of a desirable size at a comparatively early date. But the land now under consideration is, for the most part, unfit for cultivation, and the general interest will be best served by a policy of permanent public ownership with an appropriate system of management under government regulations.

Two general facts may be cited as evidence in support of the proposition that the policy of disposal by gift or sale is not working well in relation to the grazing lands of the Intermountain West. In the first place, the land of the character under consideration is not passing into private ownership in significant quantities. For example, seven-eighths of the total land area of Nevada is still included in the public domain. The other eighth is made up chiefly of land given away by the national government for the encouragement of education and railroad building. The amount of land disposed of in other ways is extremely small, although Nevada has been a state for more than a half-century. Only about 4 per cent of the area of this state was reported as in farms in 1910, and only 1 per cent was improved. A homestead and sales policy that does not result in the disposition of the land is, in so far, a failure. In the second place, the social results have not been such as were contemplated by the law. Instead of numerous small farms cultivated by their owners, we see great land holdings owned largely by corporations and managed in such a way as to create conditions unfavorable to the welfare of the laborers and the public. A policy originally conceived in the interest of social welfare now works to an opposite result. Moreover, it is highly probable that any

policy designed to increase the area of privately owned range land would only intensify the evil.

Some progress has been made in the development of a public-land policy adapted to the Intermountain States. Among the more important features of this new policy are the provisions for irrigating arid lands, for the regulation and management of forest reserves, for the control of coal and oil lands, and for the regulation and control of water-power sites. There remains, however, the problem of developing a system of management for the great area that is more valuable for range pasturage than for other purposes. In relation to these lands the national government still pursues the policy of neglect, permitting stockmen to utilize the pasturage, but not regulating such use.

In the absence of a system of legal regulation there has grown up a body of customs among the stockmen which may be called the "law of the range." This law of the range is based on an understanding among the stockmen whereby each is supposed to recognize the customary rights of the others. In general, the growth of respect for these range customs has served to lessen, but not to stop, private wars among the stockmen, and has contributed to the less destructive use of the pastures. The outcome, however, is a system which tends to destroy the value of the range.

*The main contention of this paper is that the national government should retain the ownership of those public lands which are more valuable for pasturage than for cultivation, and, in relation to such lands, should adopt a policy of regulation and control, and that this policy should be determined primarily with reference to the creation and development of sound social conditions.*

The eight states of the Intermountain Region, comprising Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, and Arizona, possess certain characteristics in common. With small exception the surface of the whole region is an elevated plateau with numerous lofty mountain ranges. There is a marked variety of temperature and precipitation in the different localities of each state due to differences of altitude. The precipitation nearly everywhere is too small to permit of ordinary agriculture, but farming by irrigation and range stock grazing are prominent

industries in every state, and in most of them important progress in agriculture by dry-farming methods has been made in favorable localities.

The population of all these states is sparse. Their combined population (1910) is less than that of the state of Indiana, while their combined area exceeds that of all the states east of the Mississippi River. This paucity of population is explained in some measure by the fact that much of the region is still in the pioneer stage of development. Doubtless there will be a considerable increase in population as the resources of the region are more fully utilized, but the outstanding fact is that, on account of the deficiency of water, the region is not adapted to the maintenance of a large agricultural population.

But too much emphasis must not be put on the common characteristics. In a region extending from Canada to Mexico and from the Sierras to the Great Plains there cannot fail to be important differences in climatic conditions, and these are sure to affect the economic and social circumstances of the various states. In general, precipitation is greater in the higher altitudes, but it is modified by other factors.<sup>1</sup> A moderate difference in rainfall may result in a radical difference in economic and social conditions. In a region with twelve inches of rainfall dry-farming is impracticable and there is little water for irrigation.<sup>2</sup> Consequently there is but

<sup>1</sup> Average annual precipitation of each of the Intermountain States for the years 1899-1914:

Nevada.....	9.30 inches	Wyoming.....	14.25 inches
Utah.....	13.02	Montana.....	15.98
Arizona.....	13.34	Colorado.....	16.80
New Mexico.....	13.94	Idaho.....	17.60

Part of the data on which these averages are based are for the mountain altitudes, where the snowfall may be two or three times as great as in the adjacent valleys. If measurements were taken only for the altitudes in which farming is practicable, the averages would be lower. Furthermore, the Weather Bureau stations are often located on farms, and, since farms are more numerous in the sections of greater precipitation, the data tend to be representative of the less arid parts of the respective states.

<sup>2</sup> These figures are not to be taken too precisely. The amount of rainfall necessary to make dry-farming successful depends on the character of the soil, the humidity of the air, the seasonal distribution of the rain, and the character of the cultivation. The significant fact is that at a certain point a small increase in precipitation works results vastly disproportionate to the amount of water. Sixteen inches of precipitation may support five times as much agriculture as ten inches.

a scanty population, and the chief occupation is cattle and sheep raising. Sixteen inches of rainfall results in a much more abundant supply of water for irrigation, and dry-farming may be feasible where irrigation is not practicable. The population, therefore, is much more dense, the land is owned in smaller holdings, and the labor conditions and general social conditions are correspondingly better.

A few examples may serve to make this point clearer. As one proceeds eastward through Nevada, Utah, and Colorado, there is an increase of precipitation, and chiefly as a result of this increase Colorado has a much larger acreage of dry farms and of irrigated land, and the pastures of that state support a larger amount of live stock.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, there are some marked variations in the system of land ownership and in social conditions which are the results of special historic circumstances. For example, the land system of New Mexico had its origin in old Spanish and Mexican grants. Consequently much of the grazing land is owned in very large, compact areas, and the irrigated land is largely in the hands of people of Mexican descent whose holdings are unusually small.

Utah also presents some features of unique interest. It was the first of the Intermountain States to be settled by an English-speaking people, and these people came mainly from religious motives. It was the policy of the Mormon church to encourage the subdivision of the cultivable land into small farms, and this has contributed greatly to the economic and social stability of that state. In marked contrast to Utah stands Nevada, where most of the irrigated land is owned by a small number of great land and live-stock corporations and where there are very few farms and

<sup>1</sup> The following table shows conditions:

	Nevada	Utah	Colorado
Average annual precipitation, in inches . . . . .	9.30	13.02	16.80
Total land area, in acres . . . . .	70,285,440	52,597,760	66,341,120
Number of acres of improved land in farms . . . . .	752,117	1,368,211	4,302,101
Acres of irrigated land in farms . . . . .	701,833	999,410	2,792,032
Acres of unirrigated improved land in farms . . . . .	50,284	368,801	1,510,069
Number of cattle on farms and ranges . . . . .	449,681	412,334	1,127,737
Number of sheep on farms and ranges . . . . .	1,154,795	1,827,180	1,426,214
Value of live stock on farms and ranges . . . . .	\$19,071,809	\$28,330,215	\$68,840,485
Value of live stock to the acre . . . . .	\$0.26	\$0.53	\$1.03

farm homes. Nevada was first settled by gold and silver miners, if, indeed, men who lead so migratory a life could be called settlers. The aleatory character of the early mining industry has influenced the whole economic and social development of the state. Other examples could be cited, but these are sufficient to show that uniform conditions do not prevail over the whole Intermountain Region. There is need for a detailed study of each section of the region under consideration, so that there may be a public-land policy sufficiently elastic to permit of local adaptations. Uniformity of procedure is not desirable where conditions are not uniform.

In view of the diversity of conditions it will simplify the treatment to confine this discussion to one state, Nevada, with the general understanding that the main conclusions apply in considerable measure to those parts of the other states in which the use of public range lands is dominated by a comparatively small number of big stockmen.<sup>1</sup>

It may be well at this point to state the thesis of this paper somewhat more precisely. *The national government should retain the ownership of those public lands which are situated in Nevada and which are more valuable for range pasturage than for agriculture or other purpose, and should regulate and control the use of such lands in such a way as to conserve and utilize their value more fully and with primary reference to the creation and maintenance of conditions favorable to social welfare.*

The entire area of Nevada lies in the arid or semi-arid region east of the Sierras. This region is, in the main, a plateau of from three to six thousand feet elevation intersected by a large number of parallel ranges of mountains whose trend is north and south. The precipitation is confined chiefly to the winter months of the year, the growing season being almost rainless. The average annual precipitation of the valleys of the northern part of the state is, in general, too small to permit of successful farming

<sup>1</sup> It is not held that Nevada is the most typical state of this group. On the contrary, it is in Nevada that certain tendencies have reached their most extreme development. This extreme development makes it possible to trace the cause-and-effect relation with the greater certainty, and is, therefore, advantageous to the investigator.

without irrigation, although there are a few small areas where dry farming may be practicable. The snowfall in the higher mountains is sufficient to give rise to perennial streams of sufficient size to irrigate a comparatively small part of the valley lands. In the southern part of the state the precipitation is nearly negligible in the valleys, and the mountain snows give rise to only a few small streams, most of which are dry in the late season.

There are four rivers of considerable size in the state. Three of these, the Truckee, the Carson, and the Walker, draw their waters from the high Sierras of California and contribute them to the irrigation of farm lands in Nevada. The Humboldt has its origin in the higher mountain ranges of northeastern Nevada and flows in a general westerly direction three-quarters of the distance across the state. These four rivers supply more than four-fifths of all water used for irrigation. Agriculture, therefore, is confined mainly to the districts watered by these rivers.

The total land area of the state is 70,285,440 acres. About seven-eighths of this is still in public ownership, there being 5,557,000 acres in forest reserves (1915) and 55,417,746 acres unappropriated and unreserved. Of the land not in public ownership, 2,714,757 acres were reported as in farms in 1910, the remainder being chiefly railroad-grant lands, most of which are still owned by the railroad companies and are valuable only for range pasturage. Most of the farm land of Nevada is land that was granted to the state for school purposes. A relatively small acreage represents the sale of railroad-grant lands, and a little of the public domain has been purchased or homesteaded.

The 2,714,757 acres reported as in farms constitute about 4 per cent of the area of the state, and of this amount only 701,833 acres, or about 1 per cent of the entire land area, were under irrigation in 1910. A man of wide knowledge of agricultural conditions in Nevada has estimated that Nevada has sufficient water, if it were fully conserved and economically applied, to irrigate two million acres, or about 3 per cent of its area. Because of the high cost of construction of the needful dams and ditches, because of some legal difficulties involved in the storage of winter waters, and because of the more or less wasteful habits of water-users, progress in

extending the irrigated area is not rapid, and it appears probable that after about a million acres shall have been placed under irrigation the rate of increase will be still slower. The important facts are that about 97 per cent of the area of the state has little or no value for agriculture, now or prospectively, except for grazing purposes, and that the national government is still the owner of nearly all of this grazing land.

The method of utilizing the range pastures depends largely on climatic conditions—chiefly on the amount of precipitation in the form of snow. In the northern half of the state, particularly in the more elevated parts, the snowfall is sufficient to provide for summer pasturage of considerable value and for drinking-water. This very abundance of snow makes the northern ranges undesirable for winter use. Farther south there is less snow—so little that sheep can pick their living in winter in the lower altitudes. The light snowfall, however, means little pasturage and no water for summer use. It is the custom, therefore, for the sheepmen to drive their herds to the north in summer, advancing into the higher mountains in the warmer season, and to return to the more southern lands in winter. Thirty years ago cattle commonly lived on the range in winter, but at present winter feeding is the more common procedure, while the cattle graze on the mountain ranges in summer. Sheep are always herded in bands, while cattle are permitted to wander at will during the summer, except that they are driven up into the higher mountains where the better summer pastures are found. Relative to need, the winter ranges are the more abundant. The limit to live-stock production is therefore set by the available summer pastures.

The privately owned farm and range lands of Nevada have two sorts of utility: (1) utility in production of farm crops, and (2) utility in the control of adjacent public range lands. More than nine-tenths of the irrigated land (1910) is devoted to pasturage and hay production. About one-twentieth is given over to the growing of grain, which is used chiefly as feed for live stock. The unirrigated privately owned land, comprising about three-fourths of all farm land, consists of range pasture land selected in such a way as to control nearly all of the water available for drinking



purposes. Through the ownership of the land with water, the use of the public range lands is, in large measure, controlled.

The control of the use of the public range lands through the ownership of sources of drinking-water is more or less common in the other states, but it is unusually important in Nevada. There is less watered land here than in the other states, and hence a given source of water controls a wider area. Moreover, nearly all of Nevada's school lands were granted under special conditions, the land being selectable. The laws of the state were such that a stockman could buy an amount of land limited only by his supply of money, and he could select just the forty-acre tracts on which water was found.<sup>1</sup> This could not be done elsewhere, for in all the other states the school lands consisted of certain numbered sections according to the United States surveys. The buyer of such school lands could not select the areas with water, and so their ownership did not confer control over adjacent districts. It may be added that the provisions of the national laws regarding homesteads and land sales were designed to prevent the acquisition of large holdings; and consequently, where the school lands could not be used for such purpose, it was rather difficult for a man to make use of the Nevada system of range control through water monopoly.

The method through which this control was secured may be illustrated by a typical case: In a certain place there was a small stream formed by the union of two branches. These branches bounded two sides of a triangular area about 30 miles on each side. Forty-acre tracts following up the main stream and up each branch to its source were purchased; also all irrigable lands, which were chiefly along the lower course of the stream. The purchase of a number of additional forty-acre tracts here and there where water was found was sufficient to give the owner practical control over all the pasturage in the adjacent mountains, for competitors could not use the pastures unless they can get drinking-water. The

<sup>1</sup> A man could purchase 640 acres directly, and then, using the names of his relatives, friends, and employees, he could get as much more as he needed. The land sold at \$1.25 per acre, but only 25 cents had to be paid at the time of purchase, and a long time was given for the balance. Consequently a man with \$10,000 could buy 40,000 acres, and through this he could control the use of, perhaps, a million acres of public land.



control of the area between the branches of the stream is the more perfect because the privately owned land practically fences this part of the public domain. In this way an owner of 40,000 acres may secure the control of the pasturage of public land of much larger area.

It should not be inferred that this control is perfect. In some localities a competitor may, by some digging, find water the presence of which is unknown to the landowner. In the earlier summer there is water in many places regarded as dry because they are dry in the late summer. Consequently there is more or less competition between the established stockman supposed to be in control and the interloping small competitor. This competition works badly in several ways. Two or more bands of sheep may feed over the same range, the first taking all the plant life that should be taken and the second and third tramping in and pulling out the roots of forage plants and preventing natural reseeding. In this way the value of the range pastures has been greatly diminished. Range conservation cannot be practiced where there is competition of this kind, for if one man should try to use right methods he would merely resign the use of the land to his more ruthless competitors. It should be perfectly clear that bad range methods and range deterioration are the natural and inevitable results of the present system where there is competition, actual or potential.<sup>2</sup>

A further bad effect of this competition is found in the controversies and private wars among the stockmen. It is not necessary here to relate the history of these conflicts, except to say that, in the absence of appropriate legal remedies, resort to violence has been frequent and that there is much to support the view that in the range live-stock industry of the early days success was to the most ruthless. The amount of violence is decreasing as competition is giving way to control through water monopoly and through an understanding among the big landowners.

It is hard to say just how far this control has been carried. The census of 1910 shows that more than 82 per cent of all farm

<sup>2</sup> The benefits of legal regulation are evident in the forest reserves where, as a result of a controlled use, the pasturage is now far more abundant than it was before this control was established.

land in the state was in 344 so-called farms. These farms or ranges varied in size from 1,000 to 175,000 acres, and the average size was 6,530 acres. (It should be remembered that these figures represent the land privately owned, and that the owners utilize the pastures of public lands of ten or twenty times greater area.) There are not, however, as many owners as there are farms reported, since many of the large owners have several ranges in widely separated parts of the state. Most of the land is in corporate ownership. Sometimes the corporation is essentially a family corporation and sometimes it represents a consolidation of the interests of several families. Furthermore, there are very close relations between the stock-raising interests and the local banks, and it is not improbable that the banks often serve to promote unity of action and to prevent predatory competition.

Taking into consideration all of these facts, and the further fact that a considerable number of the 344 farms previously mentioned are not greatly in excess of a thousand acres in size, it appears probable that less than a hundred of the larger individual and corporate owners hold approximately three-fourths of the privately owned land in the state and control a still larger proportion of the public range land.

In no other state is this concentration of ownership carried so far. In no other state are there so few farmers. In no other state is the average size of farms so large. In no other state is the average number of cattle or sheep so great for the farms reporting. In no other state are there so many migratory farm employees in proportion to the number of farms.<sup>1</sup>

I shall point out later how this big ownership is a source of some very serious social evils, but under existing circumstances it has some advantages, not only for the owners, but for the public. The

<sup>1</sup> Utah has 19,709 irrigated farms with an average of 50 acres of irrigated land each; Idaho, 16,439 irrigated farms of 87 acres of irrigated land each; Nevada, 2,406 irrigated farms of 291 acres of irrigated land each. The number of sheep to the farm reporting is, for Utah, 769; for Idaho, 1,026; for Nevada, 3,677. The number of cattle to the farm reporting is as follows: Utah, 21; Idaho, 16; Nevada, 210. The number of employed laborers to 100 farmers is as follows: Utah, 44; Idaho, 47; Nevada, 156. Had the census been taken a month or two later, during the haymaking season, the number of employed men in Nevada would have been very much larger.

larger the amount of land owned by a single corporation and the more fully it enters into understandings with the owners of other land in adjacent districts, the more perfect is the control of water sources and the less the danger from competition. The less the competition, the less violence arises out of stockmen's conflicts. The less the competition, the less destructively is the range used. Such control, if complete, would enable the stockmen to make use of conservation methods on the public land. Indeed, perfect control would make the public land, to all intents and purposes, the private property of the corporations that own the adjacent watered lands. It is probable that present tendencies, if continued, would at no distant date result in such a control, and this result would be desirable as against a continuation of the present conditions. A better arrangement, however, would be regulation and control by the national government. The chief ground for objection to a system of large ownership is that it creates bad labor conditions and prevents the multiplication of small farms and farm homes.

#### LABOR CONDITIONS

In a region of diversified and moderately intensive agriculture the demand for labor is pretty steady throughout most of the year. Where farms are small, the labor is performed mainly by the farmers and the members of their families. The employed farm laborer usually gets pretty steady employment. If married he may have his home on the farm on which he works, and if single he ordinarily lives in the home of his employer and is treated in many ways as a member of the family. Frequently the hired man is a neighbor's son, and, if so, he is a permanent member of the community, entering into the general social life of the neighborhood and living in his father's home when temporarily unemployed. Under these conditions there is no special problem of farm labor in the sense in which such a problem exists in some parts of the Inter-mountain and Pacific states. The special problems of farm labor in the West are explained by reference to two facts: (1) agriculture lacks diversification, nearly all the land in many districts being devoted to the production of a single crop; (2) in those regions where the land is owned in large holdings, nearly all of the work is

performed by hired laborers, the farmer and his family contributing but little to the total labor supply. Large-scale farming and stock raising call for large numbers of hired workers, and the seasonal demand due to the lack of diversification of crops makes the demand irregular. These conditions have called into existence a large body of migratory laborers, men who work in the hayfields, the wheatfields, and the orchards of several states, traveling about according to the season. These men may work a week or a month in one place, then travel a hundred or five hundred miles to the next job, and so on throughout the year. Sometimes they pay transportation expenses, but frequently they beat their way. In this way the West has developed a labor supply of maximum mobility. This extreme mobility of labor possesses an undoubted advantage, since it enables each district to specialize in the production of the commodity which is most profitable to the land-owners; but these advantages come at too high a cost, since the system is bad for the workers. An industrial system cannot be justified on the ground that it produces great quantities of material wealth or that it makes some men rich. It must create conditions favorable to the welfare of the people who do the work.

These migratory farm workers are nearly always homeless, since a man with a family cannot move about freely and easily.<sup>1</sup> There are some boys and young men who may be considered as temporarily absent from home, but those who follow the life for any considerable time tend to lose all connection with their former homes, and they have no home in prospect. If they have relatives,

<sup>1</sup> The fact that Nevada has a large homeless population is made evident by data found in the United States Census for 1910. To each 100 adult females there were 220 adult males, and the ratio is still more disproportionate if the Indians are not counted. The number of married women was equal to about one-third of the adult males. The number of children six to fourteen years of age was less than two-fifths as large as it should have been to approximate the usual ratio to adult males. Utah, with natural resources not greatly in excess of those of Nevada, had more than eight times as large a school population. On the basis of the census reports it appears that practically one-half of the men of Nevada were living outside of home environment. Most of these live a migratory life. The figures would have revealed even worse conditions had the census been taken a month or two later, when the ranks of the migratory workers were recruited by the haymakers. The responsibility for these conditions does not rest solely on the live-stock industry, since mining also contributes its quota of migratory men.

they do not correspond with them. They do not stay long enough in any one place to get into normal human relations with the people of the community. Ordinarily they have no social contact with the employers or the members of the employers' families. They live apart, they are boarded in gangs, and each man carries his sleeping-blankets. It is only a slight exaggeration to say that these men are wholly outside of the institutionalized life of society. No home, no church, no fraternal organization, no club, no educational agencies, no means of beneficial recreation and amusement are for them. The open doors are the doors to vice. Since work is intermittent, they have frequent intervals of idleness, and since they have only themselves to support, they may have more money than they know how to spend wisely, and they never save. The old saying, "The Devil tempts all men except the idle and the idle tempt the Devil," is too true in their case, and the more true because they are, much of the time, supplied with money beyond their realized needs. Throughout the long course of human evolution men have lived under home conditions, surrounded by relatives and fellow-clansmen or neighbors and firmly established in the institutional life of society. When they are deprived of these essential human relationships they are, in a very important sense, dehumanized. It is as certain that men living under such circumstances will go to the bad as it is that an uprooted tree will die. Normal contact with society is as essential to one as normal contact with the earth is to the other. At the worst these men have no apparent aim in life beyond the satisfaction of immediate physical needs and the gratification of degraded appetites and desires. The great majority of all migratory farm workers are at some stage of deterioration, and when this deterioration reaches a certain point they are at first very inefficient workers and finally not workers at all—just tramps, vagabonds, drunkards, drug fiends, criminals, paupers, and insane. The statistics of Nevada's prison, jails, almshouses, and hospital for the insane bear testimony to the degrading influence of the migratory life. Ordinarily crime, pauperism, and insanity are found chiefly in the great cities, while the rural regions have few of such unfortunates; but Nevada, a state with no large city, has an overflowing population in her

prison, her jails, her almshouses, and her hospital for the insane. Nevada has from two to six times as large a percentage of its population in prison, jails, almshouses, and hospital for the insane as have certain neighboring states where farms and farm homes are numerous and where migratory workers are few.<sup>1</sup> The amount of crime, pauperism, and insanity does not, of course, represent the full measure of the evils arising out of bad labor conditions. Out of the thousands of men whose lives are being undermined, only a few hundred are sent to penal and charitable institutions each year, but all share in the evils arising from the abnormal circumstances of their lives. Furthermore, the existence of so many homeless migratory workers is a menace to the welfare of the state. Let no society imagine that it can afford to be indifferent to the welfare of its workers, for they will, consciously or unconsciously, take their revenge.

The labor involved in the management of one of Nevada's great live-stock ranches may be divided into two classes according to the steadiness or irregularity of employment which they offer. The men who are in immediate charge of the cattle and sheep may secure pretty steady work. Haymakers and harvesters are employed in large numbers for a few weeks at a time. In neither

<sup>1</sup> The following table shows conditions:

	Nevada	Utah	Idaho
Percentage of all improved farm land found in farms of less than 500 acres each, census of 1910.....	29	72	82
Number of persons enumerated in almshouses to each 100,000 population, January 1, 1910.....	194	48	29
Number of persons enumerated in hospitals for the insane to each 100,000 population, January 1, 1910..	280	91	119
Number of prisoners to 100,000 population, January 1, 1910.....	353	106	88
Number of paupers, insane, and prisoners to each 100,000 population, January 1, 1910.....	827	245	236

Several years ago someone wrote an article in which it was maintained that the monotony and lonesomeness of farm homes in the West was a leading cause of insanity, and that the farmers' wives in particular were the victims of this unfortunate situation. This statement has been repeated so often that many people believe it to be true, but the statistics all point the other way. There are very few insane persons in the institutions of those western states in which farm families are numerous, and the proportion of women is particularly small. The insane are recruited from the migratory workers. The isolation of a person who has a home on a remote farm is not so profound as is the isolation of a man with a home nowhere.

case, however, is it feasible for the laborer to have a home, and, in practice, the work which might give rise to steady employment is performed largely by migratory workers. Stockmen find it difficult to secure steady men even where steady employment is offered. Except for a few farm superintendents and managers, practically all workers on these great ranges are homeless and probably nine-tenths are migratory. As a consequence the greater part of Nevada, even where there is water to irrigate the land, is deprived of a permanent population. The smallness of Nevada's population is due, not altogether to the paucity of its resources, but to the way in which these resources are used. This fact may be made more evident through a comparison of Nevada with Utah, a state of about equal natural agricultural resources, but with a better system of land ownership.<sup>1</sup>

In Utah the irrigated land is divided into a comparatively large number of small farms under a moderately intensive system of cultivation, while most of Nevada's irrigated land is in great ranches and in a comparatively low state of cultivation. Utah has (in 1910) 19,709 irrigated farms, Nevada only 2,406. Utah's irrigated farms average 50 acres of irrigated land each, those of Nevada 291 acres. Farms of less than 500 acres each include 72 per cent of the improved land in Utah and only 19 per cent of the improved land of Nevada. As a consequence Utah, with about equal natural resources, has a stable farm population of more than a hundred thousand people and a small population of migratory farm laborers, while Nevada has a stable farm population of about

<sup>1</sup> The average annual precipitation for Utah is 13.02 inches and for Nevada only 9.30 inches. As a consequence the run-off from melting snows is much greater for Utah, but this advantage is largely offset by two facts: (1) a very considerable part of the water of Utah's streams is not available for irrigation because the streams in the eastern part of the state lie in deep, narrow canyons where there is little available land; (2) much water runs to the sea unused. On the other hand, Nevada is able to utilize practically all the water falling within its own borders and it receives the waters of three considerable rivers which have their origin in the high Sierras of California. Furthermore, the area of Nevada is about one-third larger than that of Utah. All in all, the possibilities for agriculture are about equal for the two states, and the same is true as to range pastures. The actual amount of land irrigated in Nevada (1910) is about 30 per cent less than Utah's irrigated area, the latter state having developed its resources more fully.

ten thousand people and a very large population of migratory laborers. This difference in the size and ownership of farms and in the situation of the men who do the farm work accounts in large measure for many other differences between these two states of similar and approximately equal natural resources. Table I reveals some of these differences.

TABLE I

	Nevada	Utah
Area of land, square miles . . . . .	109,821	82,184
Population . . . . .	81,875	373,351
Population to the square mile . . . . .	0.7	4.5
Males over twenty-one years of age . . . . .	40,026	104,115
Females over twenty-one years of age . . . . .	18,140	85,729
Married women . . . . .	14,109	66,255
Number of married women to each 1,000 males over twenty-one years of age . . . . .	352	636
Number of children six to fourteen years of age . . . . .	9,412	76,152
Number of children six to fourteen years of age to each 1,000 males over twenty-one years of age . . . . .	235	731
Inmates of almshouses, prisons, and hospitals for the in- sane to each 100,000 population . . . . .	827	245

From such data as I have been able to obtain I have estimated that the farms and ranges of Nevada support directly a home-dwelling population of about ten thousand people, and of this number about eight thousand live on the farms, the other two thousand, chiefly the families of the larger landowners, living in cities and towns. If the land were subdivided and properly used—as similar land is used in Utah—it would support a farm population of a hundred thousand people, and this stable farm population would support numerous villages and towns. Anyone who is at all familiar with practical conditions will readily see that the securing of so large a stable population is a matter of vital importance to the state.

## II

In the previous chapter certain facts relative to the land situation and labor conditions in Nevada were set forth. They may be summarized briefly as follows:



1. About seven-eighths of the land of Nevada is still in the ownership of the national government and, in relation to most of this land, the government fails to perform its duty as landlord.

2. By far the greater part of the privately owned land, including most of the irrigated land, is in the hands of a few great corporations which, through this ownership, secure the control of the public pasture lands of the state.

3. Most of the irrigable land on these great ranches is in a comparatively low state of cultivation, since it is used almost exclusively for pasturage and hay production—most of the hay land being given over to the growth of wild hay which is watered by the natural overflow of streams.

4. The work on these ranches is done under conditions which make it impracticable for the workers to have homes, and a great class of homeless, migratory farm laborers has been called into existence.

5. The circumstances of the life and labor of these migratory, homeless workers effectively prevent them from realizing a reasonable degree of human welfare, and the presence of such large numbers of men suffering from the evils to which they are exposed is a social menace. These evils are matters of common observation, and the statistics of crime, pauperism, and insanity furnish evidence as to their extent.

6. The existence of these great holdings of irrigated land effectively prevents the growth of a farm population to which the natural resources of the state entitle it and which is needed to give economic and social stability.

What to do is the question now. It is a useless and ungracious task to point out the economic and social ills of a state unless one looks forward to some procedure aimed at their eradication or diminution. What, then, can be done to improve the conditions of farm labor in Nevada so that such labor will contribute, not to the degradation of the worker, but to the development of a worthy citizenship? The answer is easily found: The great holdings of irrigated land must be cut up into small farms, farms of such size that most of the work will be done by the farmers and the members of their families. This would result in a tenfold increase in the

number of farm homes, and the circumstances that produce homeless, migratory farm workers would no longer exist.

It is quite generally conceded that Nevada needs a larger population and that it has resources sufficient to support a much larger number of people than are now living within its borders. There has been some effort directed to the securing of such population, but it has been, in the main, futile. The problem is to find a practicable working device—a plan that will accomplish the purpose with due regard to all interests. Any plan of public control of range lands must conserve two interests, the just interests of the present range users, including all rights established by custom, and the interests of the future small farmers, whose interests are practically identical with those of the state and of society generally. The customary rights acquired by the stockmen during a half-century of national neglect should not be disregarded, neither should these rights be held to extend to what would amount practically to an ownership of the public land. The rights of stockmen should be recognized in the sense that the owners should be compensated for them, but this recognition should not extend to the point of permitting such vested rights to fasten a bad industrial system upon the state for all time to come. The following plan is offered for consideration. Only the broad outlines are given, since the details would depend upon a more complete investigation than has been made.

1. Let the government retain the ownership of all public lands which are more valuable for range pastures than for other purposes. The government should secure gradually by purchase certain tracts of land which have water necessary for the use of animals using range pastures.

2. All such public range lands should be placed under legal control, and the management should be intrusted to a public-lands commission under the Department of Agriculture or the Department of the Interior.

3. The system of management should be sufficiently elastic to permit of adaptation to various types of local conditions, but the general aim should be to encourage the multiplication of small farms and small live-stock owners and range users. To this end some such devices as the following could be used:

a) The state should be divided into districts of such size and with such boundaries as to facilitate an economic use of the range pastures.

b) There should be established a system of control designed to conserve and increase the value of the pastures.

c) Provision should be made for the organization of co-operative live-stock associations, one association for each district—such associations to be open to all owners of cultivated land in the district and to include all users of public range land. These associations should co-operate in the management of live stock on the range, and the management should be such that a farmer with 40 acres and a few cattle and sheep would find it practicable to pasture his stock upon the public range.

d) All members of such associations should pay a rental for the use of the public range lands in the form of fees for pasturage. These fees should be more than merely nominal and should be less than the full rental value of the land.

e) Part of the income derived from such fees should be devoted to the administration and improvement of the range lands and to the purchase of lands on which drinking-water is found. The remainder should be turned over to the state to be used for the construction and maintenance of roads and for the maintenance of schools and other educational agencies.

f) The number of animals pastured for any one owner should bear some relation to the amount of land owned and under cultivation, but there should be a certain degree of discrimination in favor of the small farmer. Within certain limits the small farmer should be permitted to pasture as many cattle as he could grow winter feed for and a proportionate number of sheep. As the small farmers would avail themselves of this privilege, it would necessitate some reduction in the number of animals pastured by the big stockmen. This would result in a subdivision of the great holdings of irrigated land and the creation of numerous small farms.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The general policy of range management of the forest reserves is somewhat favorable to the use of the range by small farmers, and, where the previous system of land ownership was right, forest reserves are being used in about the way all the public range lands should be used. The Manti Forest Reserve in Utah, where more than two thousand small farmers pasture their cattle and sheep, is an excellent example of a wise use of the range pastures—a use which tends to create sound social conditions.

A reduction in the number of animals pastured on the public range by the large landowners would diminish the value of the watered land to such owners. The collection of a pasturage fee would have a similar effect. This, of course, would tend to decrease the selling price of such privately owned land. On the other hand, the creation of a system of legal control with conservation methods would more than double the actual value of the public range pastures, and this would tend to increase the value of the adjacent privately owned land. By a proper adjustment of the rental fees it would be possible to make one tendency counterbalance the other and thus to maintain land values at about the existing point.

But during a period of years, while stable land values could be maintained at, or a little above, their present point, three important developments would result from an application of the plan I have proposed:

1. The value of land due to its proximity to public range lands would attach to the small farm as well as to the large, since the use of the range would be even more advantageously open to the small farmer.

2. The special value of a small tract of watered land to a large landholder, so far as such value arises out of the danger of unregulated competition and annoyance from a new owner, would disappear. The big landholder could sell 80 acres without endangering his whole system. He would decrease the amount of his land and his live stock somewhat, but he would not endanger the whole enterprise, for control would now be exercised by administrative procedure, not by a water monopoly.

3. As a result of the two developments mentioned above, the ordinary rule would apply, and the irrigated and irrigable land would have a greater value for the more intensive and diversified cultivation of the small farmer than for the less intensive use of the large farmer. As a consequence, the large landowners would be able to dispose of their lands gradually and at a price that would be advantageous. In this way would the great ranch with its migratory laborers be transformed into a large number of small

farms, and the state would secure a higher degree of economic and political stability and of social welfare.<sup>1</sup>

The plan here set forth is sure to meet with certain objections, and it will be well to consider then in detail. In the first place, any effort to reverse a tendency which has characterized nearly the whole history of the state will raise suspicion among conservative men familiar with the situation. They will hold that the present situation is the normal outcome of an effort to utilize the natural resources of a region with the special climatic conditions prevailing in Nevada. It will be contended that the practical stockmen of Nevada have worked out a system which is best adapted to this state. From this point of view it would be reasonable to ask the national government for legislation of a character to aid development along existing lines, but not otherwise.<sup>2</sup>

The second objection is directly opposed to the first and will be made by men familiar with certain economic doctrines, but not with the practical situation. It will be held that any effort to

<sup>1</sup> The practical outcome may appear more clearly from an illustrative case. There is a certain tract of irrigated land 8 miles long and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles wide. This land is all owned by a corporation, and the stock of the corporation is practically all owned by two men. This corporation also owns all the watered land over the adjacent mountainous region, and thus it secures a monopoly of pasturage sufficient to maintain 20,000 head of cattle. The irrigated land furnishes sufficient wild hay for winter use. This great area supports a very few families and a large number of migratory farm workers varying according to the season. Under the plan above proposed the irrigable land, which is adapted to diversified farming, could be divided into two or three hundred farms, and if the two or three hundred small owners were to have the use of the adjacent public range lands, they would be able to secure an annual income sufficient to maintain themselves according to a reasonable American standard of living. A farm population of such size would support a village of sufficient size to serve as a social center for the whole community. There could be a church or two, a good school, and reasonable opportunities for beneficial sorts of recreation and amusement. In short, this great ranch which is now conducted in such a way as to contribute to the degradation of some hundreds of homeless migratory workers could be made to support in comfort, and under favorable moral conditions, a home population of 1,500 people. There are scores of ranches of essentially similar possibilities.

<sup>2</sup> The Pittman Land Grant bill which passed the United States Senate February 8, 1916, may be considered a practical effort in harmony with this viewpoint, since its practical effect would be a further development of water monopoly and large-scale live-stock production. Such a development would cut off the state's best opportunity for securing a population of a character to give it economic and social stability.

bring about a subdivision of the great land holdings is needless, because such subdivision is sure to come about at no distant date as a result of the working of natural economic laws. It is very generally true that the big farm is a mere incident of pioneer conditions. Witness the gradual subdivision of the great farms of California, Texas, and the Dakotas. There are, however, some exceptions to this general rule, and the lands of Nevada constitute an exception.

Then there will be the objections arising out of the special interests of present landowners. Although governmental action designed to bring about a subdivision of the large ranches should be of such a character as to conserve the rights of the present owners or to recompense them fairly for such rights, it is pretty certain that some owners would be alarmed in the beginning and would feel it necessary to contend for the maintenance of existing conditions in order to maintain their rights. And finally there is good reason to believe that the men who dominate the use of the public range lands are not satisfied with the rights now theirs, but that they desire to increase and strengthen such rights.<sup>1</sup> A policy designed to compensate them for existing rights, but not for rights hoped for, might meet as much opposition as if it were to deprive them of rights already owned.

For convenience I will restate these four objections more briefly and then consider each in turn.

*Objection 1.—The present system of large land holdings is the normal outcome of an effort to make an economic use of the land under the special topographic and climatic conditions prevailing in Nevada.*

<sup>1</sup> The rights of the present landowners to the use of the public range lands are subject to some pretty serious limitations. In the first place, their rights are merely customary not legal, rights. The stockmen are permitted trespassers on the public land. They cannot enforce their rights by legal procedure. In the second place, there is no assurance that the status of permitted trespassers will be a permanent one. The possibility and even probability that the national government will assume control of the public grazing lands is ever present. And finally, the customary rights at present enjoyed are not sufficient to permit of an economic use of the range. There is abundant reason for believing that the present landowners would welcome legislation of a character to give them a legal status as users of the public range and to increase the economic value of the range lands, provided such legislation were to leave them in full possession of the benefits accruing therefrom.



This objection is met by the statement that the system of large ownership is not the result of physical conditions merely, but of physical conditions plus certain legal conditions. If the legal conditions had been right, there would have been a system of land ownership characterized by the existence of numerous small farms, and under such a system the farm lands and the range lands would have been utilized more advantageously. What was needed was a system of control of public range land which would secure for the small farmer a peaceful use of the public range by administrative procedure. The big stockmen bought more than two million acres of land mainly in order to secure control of public range land which the owner (the public) should have controlled. Had the government controlled this land appropriately, most of the privately owned range land would have had small value to the owners, since its ownership would not have given a control over adjacent public land.

This point may be made a little clearer by reference to the situation in a certain valley and its adjacent mountain ranges. There were several farms, each with an individual owner. Each farmer owned irrigable land and water for irrigation. Some of the water was used for irrigation, and there was a prospect for a gradual extension of the irrigated area. Furthermore, each farmer had sheep or cattle or both pasturing on the adjacent public lands in the mountains. To these pastures no one had any legal right and each tried to get all he could. A typical case of trouble might arise as follows: Mr. A. had pastured his sheep on a certain range for a few years and had come to regard it as his own by custom and to depend on it. Some new landless sheepman drove his sheep over Mr. A's. range, taking much of the pasturage. This forced Mr. A. to drive his sheep into a new section, perhaps into Mr. B.'s cattle range. This made the range practically worthless for cattle, and Mr. B. was up in arms. He wanted revenge on Mr. A. and probably got it, but he was in urgent need of pastures for his cattle, and so he invaded the preserves of Mr. C., thus extending the area of private warfare. Such a war among stockmen was exceedingly expensive in the lives of sheep and cattle and sometimes in the lives of men. Now these stockmen began to buy up the land which

had water sufficient for drinking purposes. In this way they were able to protect their customary ranges to some extent. But the process took place gradually, and the land purchased by each was scattered around not very systematically, so that no one of them owned an exclusive control of his range, and the trouble continued. In the course of time Mr. A., a man of considerable enterprise, succeeded in getting enough land here and there all over the district to annoy his neighbors very greatly. He then began to buy of the other landowners, one by one, and finally secured a complete monopoly of the water supply and more or less perfect control of the pasturage of the whole region. This control was further perfected by the growth of understandings between Mr. A. and other big stockmen who had secured similar control of the pastures of adjacent districts. Legislation designed to discourage the landless sheepman served to reduce the competition still further. After this there was comparatively little trouble in the use of the range, and the business became more profitable. This control is not, however, sufficiently perfect to encourage the use of adequate methods of range management designed to conserve the pasturage.

Now two things are to be noted here. The consolidation of several ranches into one was economic; it made the business more profitable. In this sense the consolidation represents a natural economic development. But this advantage was not the result of superior cultivation or better management, using that word in its ordinary sense. The balance of advantage lay solely in the fact that *peace* was secured. Had the national government managed the public lands in such a way as to make it possible for the small farmers to utilize the public range lands peaceably the great land holdings would not have come into existence. The lack of such policy is the cause of the growth of the great corporate land holdings. When the government establishes an appropriate system of range land management these great holdings will be subdivided.

*Objection 2.—There is no need of any effort to bring about a subdivision of the large land holdings, because they are sure to be subdivided in the near future as a result of the working of natural economic laws.*



The privately owned land of the big ranges derives its value from two different sources: (1) it is valuable for the production of crops, and (2) it is valuable for the control of the adjacent range lands. It is important to keep this distinction clearly in mind. Here is a quarter-section of watered land, a part of a great ranch, worth to its owner—a big stockman—\$50 an acre for purposes of hay production. It would be worth \$100 an acre for more intensive use by a small farmer. Under these circumstances we should expect ordinarily that the land would be sold so that it could be applied to the production of those crops for which it is most valuable. But such is not the case. The big stockman cannot afford to sell this quarter-section because it would break his system of control over the district. A new owner might contend for the use of ten or twenty thousand acres of public land and he would be in a position to get it or to make unlimited trouble, since he would own a supply of water.<sup>1</sup> The big stockman could not afford to sell this land for twice what it would be worth to a small farmer. Why not, then, sell the entire ranch after subdividing it into small farms of appropriate size? For this reason: So long as all of the land is in a single ownership it has the value arising from its monopoly control over the adjacent public range lands. If it is subdivided, it loses this value. The buyers of a hundred small farms could afford to pay only what the land would be worth for production and possibly for the privilege of entering into a scramble for the use of some part of the range—a privilege of little or no

<sup>1</sup> The ability of a small landowner to annoy the big stockman has, in some places, resulted in a curious sort of enterprise which the big stockmen consider somewhat in the nature of blackmail. Some man goes out into the mountains and finds some public land with a little water on it—enough for drinking purposes and possibly enough to irrigate a garden or a few acres of hay land. He homesteads the land, builds some sort of a shelter, and establishes a home. He makes his living in two ways—by stealing cattle and sheep and by the collection of trespass damages when the live stock of the big proprietor gets on his homestead. After annoying the stockman in these ways for a time, he may be able to sell his little "farm" to the stockman for a price measured, not by its value for production, but by its importance as a nuisance. A different situation is presented in the case of a man who, lacking in business sagacity and aggressiveness and influenced by the rosy prospects held out by land advertisements, buys a little land, believing that he will be able to make a farm out of it. Lacking the means of self-defense, he may be driven out with little or no compensation by a ruthless stockman who wants the water for his stock.

value to a man of moderate means. But this value for production would be much less than the value for range control. Consequently, if the owner of a great range containing several thousand acres of irrigated land were to subdivide and sell the land for what he could get, he would suffer serious loss. In view of these facts we are not justified in expecting a subdivision of the great land holdings so long as the present legal situation exists. So long as a peaceful use of the range pastures can be secured only through water monopoly, this system will continue. There is no present tendency toward a subdivision of the large stock ranches. In fact, there is evidence of further consolidation of ownership. In 1900 the large ranches had 66.7 per cent of the total area of improved land in the state and in 1910 they had 70.2 per cent. And this is true in face of the fact that, in one county, a subdivision of a few large ranches came about through the operation of the reclamation act.

By way of exception there are a few valleys in the state where the conditions are such that the ownership of watered land does not confer control over public range pastures. In these valleys much of the land is found in farms of small or moderate size, and there is a tendency toward a subdivision of the larger holdings. These exceptions tend to prove that the ordinary rule as to the subdivision of large land holdings would apply in Nevada were it not for the relation of water monopoly to range control.

*Objection 3.—A policy designed to work in the interest of a subdivision of the large ranches would endanger the just rights of the present owners.*

This objection should be met by a plan that would enable the present landowners to sell their holdings at a fair price, so that they would not suffer injustice. They should not be held as blameworthy for the present system. They have done as well as could be expected under the circumstances. The responsibility rests upon the negligent landlord—the national government—and any effort to remedy the situation should be based on a recognition of the customary range rights enjoyed by the present range users. A wise system of management of public range land would make it possible for the owners of great tracts of irrigated land to sell such land advantageously.

*Objection 4.—A policy designed to secure a subdivision of the great ranches would arouse the opposition of the present owners because it would preclude the acquisition of further valuable rights by such owners.*

The ambition of the great landowners to control vast areas should not take precedence over the demand for a higher state of welfare for the workers nor over the public interest. The future increments of range value which will arise as a result of a system of control of public range and through conservation methods hereby made possible should not be given to the present range users, but should be devoted to financing sound social conditions, and this policy should be insisted on most firmly despite all objections.

The management of the public range lands of the United States presents problems worthy of serious and statesmanlike consideration. The problems relate to the conservation and development of the pastures of these great areas and to their economic utilization. But even more important is the problem of creating right labor conditions and conditions of social soundness. In closing, I wish to make a plea for a careful study of the whole situation—a more complete study than has been made, a study of the social, as well as of the purely economic, aspects of the question. Such a study might be made under the authority of Congress or through the instrumentality of one of the great private foundations for research. Until such a study is made, the national government should retain the ownership of all public lands more valuable for pasturage than for cultivation.

# REDIRECTION OF EDUCATION IN SMALL CITIES AND TOWNS OF WASHINGTON

## VOCATIONAL INSTRUCTION THE ENTERING WEDGE OF REDIRECTION

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In general there are two classes of small cities and towns: (1) rural-community centers; (2) industrial centers built up around some one or a small group of industries. Typical of the latter in this state are the mining towns, lumbering and wood-products towns, and seaport and fishing towns. By far the larger number of small cities and towns in this state, as elsewhere, are essentially rural-community centers. Of course, some of the industrial towns are also centers for rural communities.

Both classes of towns present educational problems quite different from those of the larger city. In the first place, the latter has a large number of persons employed in each of a large number of industries and occupations which are represented in other cities—the so-called constant industries and occupations. Again, the large city industries are usually more highly specialized than those of the small city or town; and again, a large number of its industries are owned and controlled by corporations. Thus the laborers and employers represent relatively more distinct social classes in a large city than in a smaller place. The third difference applies to the rural-community town rather than to the industrial town.

So far as these generalizations hold true, they serve as guides in establishing vocational guidance and instruction. Without preliminary survey the large city may assume the presence of the so-called constant occupations, and may begin making provision for them in its educational program. To what extent provision should be made for the constant occupations will always, of course, be a

question for each city to settle. Besides the constant industries, the large city will usually have several others, especially the large industry, for which provision should also be made. Generally considered, the large city is vocationally self-sufficient, i.e., the schools will not ordinarily need to provide instruction for vocations outside of the city. The possible exception to this is instruction in agriculture for city boys who ought to go on the farm. On the other hand, the small city or town is likely not to be vocationally self-sufficient, and therefore instruction for vocations outside of the community should also be provided. This condition is especially true of the industrial town not having adjacent agricultural territory. Again, the small city or town which is the center of an agricultural district, and is dependent for its existence upon the products of the soil, should first of all, of course, provide instruction in the various agricultural lines, actual and prospective, of the tributary agricultural lands. Rural towns must cease regarding themselves, industrially and socially, as anything more than agricultural centers before they can make much progress in the redirection of education. I say this advisedly, because it is very common for the people of rural towns to regard themselves as inhabitants of an urbanized community.

However, within these broad general notions each community has its own peculiar vocational education problems which must be met on the home grounds.

Much is being said and written on the introduction and administration of various forms of vocational instruction, vocational curricula, vocational guidance, part-time plans, etc. We are coming to see that vocational education means much more than the introduction of vocational schools and departments, paralleling the present academic departments of the high school. In its broadest sense it means also a redirection of much of the instruction now given in the schools. By redirection is meant the application of the view that the school is primarily an institution designed to render social service rather than to carry forward the traditional individualistic disciplines. In schools undergoing processes of redirection the merely traditional elements of instruction lose their former prestige. Whether a given branch can survive will depend

upon its revaluation in terms of present social needs. The purpose of this paper is to show the influence of vocational instruction as a factor in redirection.

The school will be engaged in redirecting its activities, (1) by including in its organization the community's educational activities for which there are no existing corresponding school branches; (2) by socializing certain traditional branches which may be made effective instruments for vocational, economic, and civic training; (3) by reorganizing certain other branches leading primarily to college; (4) by offering a wide range of studies and activities for avocational and cultural purposes; (5) by working out the appropriate methods for the pupils' participation in the various activities of a reorganized school; (6) by introducing certain educational activities for the adult population of the community; and (7) by reorganizing the administration of the district and county units to meet the needs of the reorganized school.

Again, the present movement of redirection of education under the lead of the vocational motive is bringing other than vocational needs into prominence. Play appropriate to the various ages of pupils, even the play life of the whole community, will be developed and conserved by the schools. The social activities of the pupils will no longer be considered as necessary evils, or, at best, as the accessories of the school, but rather as essential features of the program. The physical well-being of the pupils and the health of the community at large will require a larger share of the school's attention. Much more emphasis will be placed upon civic intelligence and civic virtues.

As examples of schools which are developing rapidly in some of the directions indicated above let us consider first those of a rural community, and, secondly, those of a mining community.

#### EXAMPLES OF HIGH SCHOOLS IN THE PROCESS OF REDIRECTION

*High-school problems of rural towns: Snohomish as a type.* Snohomish has a population of between 5,000 and 5,500 persons. It is the center of an agricultural, horticultural, and dairying region. With the exception of a few sawmills, the important industries of the city are directly connected with some phase of agriculture.



horticulture, or dairying. Of course, the usual mercantile establishments of a small city are represented.

The population is chiefly American, with a small percentage of Germans and Scandinavians. Skilled workmen and scientific farmers form a very small percentage of the population. The population may be considered fairly permanent for a western community, rather than shifting.

The intellectual interests of the community are fairly well shown by the activities of the churches, libraries, lodges, men's clubs, women's clubs, grange, etc.

Facilities for amusements consist of three moving-picture houses, a skating rink, dancing halls, and a gymnasium; also good athletic grounds at the high school.

Snohomish is well supplied with natural resources. Power is derived from the Snoqualmie Falls. There are several undeveloped water-power sites on the Skykomish River about twenty miles above the city. Forests have been largely cut away from the adjoining territory. There is a large proportion of highly productive alluvial bottom land in the valleys of the Snohomish and Pilchuck rivers. The "logged-off" lands vary widely in fertility.

Having the comparatively simple conditions of life as above described, what should the schools do to satisfy the community's needs? Under the leadership of Superintendent of Schools C. W. Hodge, Snohomish has gone a long way toward solving its educational problems.

Superintendent Hodge has adopted the fundamental principle in building up the work of the schools which he calls "human salvation." If the pupil's interests lie in part outside of the academic lines on the one hand, or even outside of the vocational activities of the community on the other, then the school activities corresponding to such interests are introduced, if possible. The aim is to make the high school as cosmopolitan as the needs of the community require. The fundamental need is that the boys and girls shall find themselves. With this working idea of the school, no subject as such has a "corner on the educational market," for its values depend upon its efficiency in satisfying felt needs. The curriculum of the school and the content and method of each

branch therefore become flexible and pliant to the needs of the pupils.

The high school has become the object of co-operation for a number of community organizations. Clubs, lodges, associations, business firms, and individuals have become voluntary co-operative agencies in working for the school in many influential ways, and in making substantial money contributions. The Cosmopolitan Club has been active for several years in advancing the vocational education in the high school, and has raised considerable sums in its support. The local grange is a strong co-operative agency for the school. The Farmers' Educational Association joins with the school in holding local institutes.

Among the new developments attempted which have not been fully accomplished are the following: (1) a system of physical and mental examination of every pupil and a provision for the proper treatment of all cases of defects; (2) a system of part-time or extension work in the home; (3) the evolution of a body of school activities based upon the needs of the children in all stages of their development.

#### THE CURRICULUM

Four-year high-school courses are in full operation in the following subjects: agriculture, manual training, home economics, commerce, art, and vocal music. Following are brief descriptions of the courses as submitted by Superintendent Hodge.

*Agriculture.*—This is a full four-year elective course in the high school. The instructor is employed for the entire year. His services extend to the whole community as an expert adviser. To carry out the work of this department there is an agricultural laboratory equipped with a complete line of apparatus for all necessary analytical work and testing; a dairy laboratory with separators, Babcock testers, and other utensils; greenhouse and hotbeds; extensive library of standard works on agriculture and a large assortment of publications; farm-mechanics building with machinery for demonstration; model chicken house, incubators, and brooders; also four flocks of chickens; about two acres of ground for experimental purposes. Results may be cited as follows:



Forty-two high-school students are now (1914-15) majoring in the subjects. Four graduated from this department last year, all of whom are now attending the state college. Among the already apparent results of this department may be mentioned the marked awakening among the young people of a deep interest in the subject.

*Home economics.*—Very few girls pass through the high school without taking from one to four years of this work. To carry out the work this department is provided with a kitchen equipped with ten gas ranges, a coal range, and a good general equipment of kitchen utensils; a dining-room with linen, cutlery, and china for twenty-five guests; laundry and sewing-rooms, ten sewing machines. During the past nine years this department has paid its own grocery bills, thus insuring rigid economy. The girls who graduate from this department are able to make their own wearing apparel, even to a tailored suit and winter coat.

*Commercial.*—This department also offers a four-year course which includes bookkeeping, business arithmetic, penmanship, stenography, typewriting, commercial law, and multigraphing. To meet these needs the department is equipped with sixteen typewriters, duplicators, multigraph, and all other needed equipment for thorough and complete work. The enrolment of this department is always large, though the work is conceded to be heavy.

*Music.*—This is a four-year elective course, is well patronized, and the result is satisfactory as far as financial limitations will permit the work to be carried on. As a matter of justice to every pupil this department should be equipped to give instrumental training as well as vocal training.

*Art.*—This is also a four-year course in the high school and includes a wide range of activities. This course offers all phases of freehand drawing, including illustrating, designing, water-color-work, work in oils, leather-work, etc. The department is well patronized.

The high-school enrolment for the state of Washington is approximately 14 per cent of the entire public-school enrolment. During the past three years the high-school enrolment in Snohomish

has been approximately 30 per cent of its entire public-school enrolment. During the three years previous to this period it was over 26 per cent. No doubt this result is largely attributable to the introduction of the wider range of natural activities as the basis of the various courses. A large proportion of the students who have majored in these activities are either following them as their life-work or are taking further preparation in the same lines in higher institutions.

The superintendent has adopted the plan of meeting community needs as rapidly as possible. Rather than wait for substantial buildings and good equipment for home economics, agriculture, and manual training, these studies have been carried on in mere shacks, which the district has been able to purchase or borrow, or which the superintendent and the students themselves have built. A great deal of the equipment has been made by the superintendent, teachers, and students, some of it has been donated by individuals and associations, and some has been purchased by the district. The district has provided excellent teachers in all lines, vocational and academic. The superintendent's policy has led the people of the district to be more generous in school expenditures through both tax and donation sources.

Neither the population nor the property value of the district is increasing. The tax limit has been nearly reached, hence there can be little more material expansion of the schools until considerable adjacent territory is added to the district. For several years the school district of Snohomish has been educating the children of high-school age as well as many of the children of grammar-school age from this territory. There ought to be some way found for compelling consolidation.

At least two large new buildings are needed to carry on the present activities of the school, and a substantial increase in the maintenance fund to strengthen the prevocational activities in the upper grades of the elementary schools. There is also need of an evening school for adults and for a few pupils of high-school age who are unable to attend the day high school. An open-air gymnasium is also needed. In the Puget Sound climate this inexpensive form of gymnasium is becoming popular. At certain

seasons of the year it serves as an exhibit building for the county fair and sometimes as a voting place for school or municipal elections.

Contrary to what one would expect in a school of this sort, there is an almost complete absence of recreational activities, no athletics of any kind, although good tennis courts, race tracks, baseball and football grounds were constructed several years ago, no interclass or interscholastic debating, no dancing, no literary societies, and no high-school band or orchestra are provided. There are apparently three reasons why this condition exists: (1) a large number of students are so interested in the industrial activities that they prefer to spend their extra time in the shops; (2) a large number of students coming from the farm have never learned to play collectively or individually; and (3) the school authorities and teachers do not actively promote student activities, although they would allow such activities should the students demand them.

Rural communities generally lack greatly in co-operative and recreational social activities. Farmers are seldom able to organize associations and keep them intact to enable them to market their produce advantageously. They are quite generally at the mercy of the commission merchants and transportation corporations because of their inability to organize effectually. Again, the lack of the recreational spirit and habit in rural life needs to be corrected. A variety of social activities is essential in developing a higher grade of citizenship. The school of the rural community should promote this side of education.

Each teacher is given a great deal of freedom in developing his own branches and methods of instruction, and on the whole the instruction in the various departments is excellent. However, each department is too much an independent unit in itself. The instruction in physics, chemistry, history and civics, general science, biology, mathematics, commercial branches, and English is only incidentally and accidentally related to the home economics, agricultural, and manual-training courses of the high school. By this statement is meant that the sciences are not applied to practical problems arising in the vocational courses. Neither do the sciences as they are taught aim to give breadth and outlook to the vocational

branches. The work in mathematics proceeds along traditional lines. Bookkeeping is not applied to home and farm problems. English composition does not use the very interesting content of the vocational courses; there is no attempt to form word design for the various articles made in the manual-training shop, or for the experiments in agriculture and home economics. History and civics are treated along the usual lines. One exception was found in the literature classes, where considerable emphasis was laid upon current literature dealing with important social questions of the day.

Again, a strong social core of history, economics, civics, hygiene and sanitation is lacking. Searching work in this group of subjects dealing with present civic, economic, and health problems must be prescribed for all students if we are ever to approach the realization of the ideal American citizenship.

The school is in good condition to reorganize its instruction along the lines indicated in the foregoing paragraphs. Each teacher has charge of four eighty-minute periods a day. Each period is divided approximately into halves, one half for recitation and the other for study under the supervision of the same teacher who conducts the recitation. This plan breaks up the formality of the work; gives the teacher an opportunity to find out the needs of the individual pupils, and to provide materials and conditions for effective study; makes unnecessary much of the former formal quiz-master tactics in the recitations; and finally it gives the teacher an opportunity to effect correlations between her branch and other branches of the school. For example, an opportunity is thus afforded for the English-composition teacher and the manual-training teacher to confer on compositions about shop projects worked out or to be worked out by the pupils. The English teacher should judge primarily of the form side of such a composition and the manual-training teacher should judge primarily of the accuracy of its content. Such theme work would be equally valuable in the work of both teachers.

*High-school problems of a mining town: Roslyn as a type.*—Roslyn is a coal-mining camp with no agricultural lands in the vicinity, located in a canyon at the foot of the Cascade Mountains.



on a branch of the Northern Pacific Railway. It is a compact community of about 4,000 persons.

The population is more or less shifting, although about 50 per cent of the families own their own homes. The sole cause for the existence and growth of the town is the development of the coal mines. The town will not grow, therefore, except as the mines need an increase in the number of miners. It is estimated that the coal veins are sufficient to keep the company operating at the present rate for fifty years. It appears unlikely that the company will greatly increase its present output, so that very little increase in the total population may be expected. On the other hand, the birth-rate is very much larger than the death-rate. This means that an increasing number of children must grow up either to take the places of those who come from other mining regions in the United States and Europe or to leave the community and find employment elsewhere. The latter seems to be the tendency for the great majority of young men at the present time. There is a strong tendency for the sons of miners to enter other occupations outside of the town, and, of course, many of the daughters go with them.

About 75 per cent of the population is foreign-born. The population is composed of a large number of different nationalities, some 25 or 30 in number. Of the males 95 per cent are coal miners, or, stated in another way, there are 1,490 men working in and around the mines. Other employments of the town require about 300 men.

The eight-hour day is established. The minimum wage is \$3.80 a day, and helpers receive \$2.40 and up. Many miners working by the piece system make \$5 to \$7 a day. However, the work is not steady at all times. At present there are very few accidents. The miners have formed an association which employs physicians and nurses. This association also provides training for the miners in the first-aid and mine-rescue work. The town is fairly free from disease, although there is a strong tendency toward tuberculosis. In case of accident or sickness of the miners, aid may be secured under the state industrial insurance law.

The usual home of the miner is a rough board house, much too small for his family, poorly ventilated, but usually fitted with a sanitary toilet and bath.

Among the institutions of leisure time are 19 saloons. The question arises, What will take their place if the new prohibition law should be enforced? There is a very good Young Men's Christian Association, adapted to the miners' use, (1) by omitting all religious exercises; (2) by furnishing a well-equipped gymnasium with swimming pool and shower baths in connection; and (3) by a rather poorly equipped library and reading-room of 1,000 poorly selected books. The Hvarteka Sokal has a clubroom and gymnasium. Each nationality has a lodge, and most of them have women's lodges accompanying them. The union organizations have built an opera house and dance hall. This contains quarters for union meetings. All labor is organized locally and nationally. The Moose and Eagles have clubrooms. The following lodges have strong membership: Masons, Knights of Pythias, Knights of Columbus, Foresters, Woodmen of the World, Odd Fellows, Moose, and Eagles. There are about 30 secret societies in the town. The churches of the Catholics, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians serve the people in a social as well as a religious way. Besides these, there are the Baptists (colored), Free Methodists, Latter Day Saints, and Lutherans represented. None of these latter support a local minister.

In view of the data given above, what local adjustments should be made by the Roslyn high school? In the first place, it is clear that many things could be taught which are not directly vocational in character, but which, nevertheless, grow out of the vocations of the community. Perhaps one of the most important needs is that of a strong evening school for the adult miners and their wives. Under the direction of Superintendent Linden McCullough, considerable progress in this line is being made. An evening school was started this year with an average attendance of 200. The chief aims of the evening school in Roslyn are to give instruction in the English language and in personal and social hygiene. As the work develops, emphasis will be placed upon the hygiene of the home. The women will be taught the various phases of home

management. Civics will also become important, and will begin with the miners' occupation, his union, and his community. In connection with the day and evening school wholesome entertainment and other social features will be provided to take the place of the 19 (social centers) saloons. The superintendent writes that the high-school building will soon be used every night for some social purpose. The board of education has recently given permission for the use of the high-school building twice each month for dancing purposes, with a provision for restricting the hours of beginning and ending the dances, and with the additional restriction that the high-school boys and girls refrain from dancing in other places.

The small enrolment of the high school shows a need for continuation school work. Of the total enrolment of 747 pupils in 1913, only 51 were enrolled in the high-school grades. The high-school enrolment was less than 7 per cent of the total, while the high-school enrolment of the state was 14 per cent of its total enrolment.

A very few boys and girls of high-school age are employed in the mines and other occupations. If they are not in the industries or in the high school, where are they? In the first place, in a town of cosmopolitan population, we may expect to find a large number of boys and girls of high-school age still attending in the grades; in the second place, many of the girls are helping their mothers take care of large families, and, lastly, there are a number of boys doing nothing.

While the boys of high-school age in this place should be given the last word concerning the mining industry, their vocational training should not be confined to that industry or even to all the industries of the town. The industrial outlook of such a town is altogether too limited to warrant such a procedure. Observation leads us to believe that the inside work of the mines should be done only by strong men. Occasionally a strong boy may thrive digging coal alongside of his father. On the other hand, the machine-shop would offer an excellent opportunity to a few high-school boys for part-time instruction. The machine-shops of the mines carry on a great variety of operations which would give the boys an excellent training. Other opportunities for part-time instruction would be

afforded by the various stores and small industries of the town. Yet there is no doubt that the vocational opportunities are far too limited for all the boys of the community. To overcome this condition, substantial courses designed to exploit a wide range of vocations should be organized. In other words, prevocational instruction, with much emphasis upon vocational guidance, should be made an important aim of the school.

After all, the most important redirection of education in this community will not consist so much in developing vocational instruction, *per se*, as in teaching the rising generation, as well as the adult population, how to live in their vocations, in their homes, and in their community.

English, civics, hygiene, applied science, industrial history, industrial art, and music adapted to the needs of the pupils, should be emphasized. Agriculture should also be emphasized, (1) as a possible vocation for a large number of miners' sons and daughters; and (2) as related to the development of flower and vegetable gardens, which are so sadly needed in this plantless town.

Again, the school has a tremendous responsibility as well as an excellent opportunity in this place to develop recreations and recreational facilities. The school's social-center possibilities are numerous. The school's influence upon happy, clean, wholesome living in this community should go beyond that of all other local institutions not excepting the churches. It could become the veritable "melting-pot" of the races.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF VOCATIONAL UPON ACADEMIC INSTRUCTION

Along with the schools' responses to the social and individual needs of the community, new problems arise in the simplification of the existing courses and methods of instruction. The entering wedge of vocational instruction is teaching us the futility of arranging courses under the traditional captions of "English course," "classical course," "Latin-scientific course," "scientific course," etc. These old disciplinary and cultural classifications are coming to have little meaning for students and teachers alike. There is nothing in such groupings that indicates definite purposes in selection of branches or in treatment of subject-matter. We are all



agreed that secondary instruction should meet the three fundamental needs of citizenship, vocation, and culture. Again, we are agreed that the active, purposeful participation of the student in instruction is essential. How would it do, then, to formulate the instruction based upon the following principles: (1) the need for every high-school student to become independent and efficient in his school work; (2) the need of all students for a common knowledge (hygienic and citizenship knowledge); (3) the need of preparing each student for his vocational or professional destination; and (4) the need of preparation and participation in recreational, avocational, and aesthetic activities and appreciations, and of a general cultural knowledge of world significance. What do these principles mean when applied?

Rarely do high-school students become investigators while in school, or even have the attitude of investigators. The curiosity exhibited by pupils of the primary grades either no longer exists or is no longer concerned with school work. The stint method combined with the ordinary schoolroom catechistic method tends to prevent such an acquisition by the student. The rate of speed in pursuing a subject in the ninth grade seems to be about the same as that of the twelfth. The main facts of the outline of the subject are learned, discussed, and reproduced upon formal examination. The class is usually led by the teacher, textbook, or outline. The student is task-performer and the teacher is taskmaster. The amount of real reflective thinking done by high-school students is probably very small. No doubt there is value in the loose association of facts, in the formation of opinions on the basis of imagination, feeling, suggestion, but knowledge thus acquired never gives mastery of the subject.

The primary duty of the teacher ought to be to attempt to arrange study and recitation conditions in such a way as to stimulate the maximum of independent activity and to make the student conscious of his methods of study. How can a student learn to use effective methods of study without much waste of time and energy, unless he knows his methods and realizes the necessity for improvement? To assist the student in problem-finding, in problem-solving, and in becoming problem-minded should be the

first duty of the teacher. In this connection, the supervised study-period, if well conducted, promises good results. If the teacher has really been active in supervising the study-period, she knows before the class comes to recitation what each one has accomplished, thus making the usual type of recitation, "pumping for what is not," unnecessary. The teacher supervises the study-period, not to do the work for the students, but to see that they have facilities, books, maps, and other materials needed. In the study-period the students should be free to move about and work in groups, as the nature of the study requires. The teacher may require a clear statement of the students' problem, and the main steps proposed for its solution. Then by such stimulating suggestions as "What has point '3' to do with the problem? or, "What relation has point '4' to point '3'?" she will secure reflective thinking. The recitation, which should usually come immediately before the study-period, should be of the nature of an intellectual clearing-house, where comparison of results, discussion, expositions, and demonstration is given by the members of the class in a spirit of mutual co-operation. Again, the recitation should be conducted in such a way as to assist in setting new problems for the study-period. In a very real sense, the recitation should become a preparation for the study to follow, rather than a period of mere testing.

The problem of method is intimately connected with that of the arrangement of courses of study. When we squarely face the problem of method, we must conclude that the particular amount of any subject to be covered in a given time becomes relatively unimportant. Is the student improving his study methods, and in this improvement is he becoming aware of the instruments necessary for a still better control of the subject?

In the next place, the curriculum should be sufficiently elastic to be interpreted and arranged in terms of the students' common and divergent needs. The time has nearly arrived when the constants of the high-school curriculum will no longer consist of a corps of subjects for disciplinary purposes, for general cultural purposes, vocational purposes, or professional purposes. The constants of the curriculum should be only those lines of work that are so

important for all that every high-school student should be required to pursue them. When we come to view the question in this way, the number of branches and the amount of each will be greatly reduced.

No doubt we should all agree that at least three years of English should be included, since English is so important as the medium of communication and understanding. For citizenship purposes we should probably agree that every student should have one year of United States history, also at least one year of civics, which should include a great deal more than a study of governmental machinery. It should include a study of many social, economic, and civic problems. The time is not far distant when the United States history and civics group will be given throughout the four years of the high school. As the civic, social, and economic problems of society become more insistent in our thinking, we shall have to stop toying with this field of knowledge of first importance. The instruction in this social corps should be closely correlated with all the various student activities of the high school. We should agree that at least one-half year of personal and public hygiene should be given. The writer would prefer one year of instruction in this branch. So far, the foregoing list of constants seems undebatable. It still may be debatable whether all girls should have at least one year in home economics. Personally, the writer is in favor of such a course. Then there are two other branches of doubtful value as constants, viz., mathematics and science. Unless mathematics can be made to come out of its seclusion, and can be made a real instrument for solving important social and economic problems in the life of the student and the community, then it will undoubtedly come to be omitted from the prescribed branches. The prescription of physics is giving way to the prescription of any science. This is the beginning of a movement for no prescribed science, unless a general-science course of high practical value is provided.

All other subjects should be placed in the elective list, not to be selected by a "helter-skelter" method, but with one or more life purposes in mind. They should be put in the curriculum to assist in realizing vocational, professional, avocational, recreational, and

various cultural interests. These subjects are not to be excluded from the prescribed list because they are less important, but because they are not of universal importance. Indeed, as instruments in realizing particular purposes, they are of highest importance, but they should be evaluated and taught with the appropriate purposes in mind.

The provision for the subjects for election should be made as far as possible to meet the demands of the community for training in the fields mentioned above. No high-school student, of course, should be graduated without some training in the so-called cultural branches, but it is not necessary that he be required to pursue a particular foreign language, or indeed any foreign language. Of course, the same branches may often be taken for vocational or professional reasons, and when so pursued they may have a high cultural value also. On the other hand, there are a large number of non-vocational or non-professional branches which should always be included in the curriculum for various liberal culture purposes. Students desire to do some things just because they are interested in them, or because they enjoy them.

Again, the branches to be pursued for vocational and professional purposes should be elective only in the sense that their purposes demand a different grouping and treatment to meet the needs of a variety of vocations and professions. The constant endeavor should be to give continual vocational and professional guidance. The determination of the purposes best fitted for each student's development will in turn determine the branches and the character of the work to be done in them.

Thus the introduction of vocational instruction will bring with it a régime of purposeful activity which will result in the redirection of instruction in all departments of the high school.

## SOCIAL PROGRESS AND THE PURPOSEFUL UTILIZATION OF THE SURPLUS

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There are certain fundamental factors of social progress whose relation one to another and whose modes of operation are by no means so well determined as to preclude further discussion. Pressure, surplus, purposeful action, and crisis concern us here.

Progress is frequently assumed to be the result of pressure exerted upon a social group by untoward conditions such as poverty, lack, calamity, or necessity of any sort; and to this assumption much foundation has been given by economic science. Ever since Thomas Malthus attributed improvement to the vice and misery arising from the tendency of the population to press ahead of the means of subsistence, the theory of pressure as a factor in progress has played an important rôle in our thinking. But an opposing theory maintains that progress is due to a surplus, to the energy that abundance gives. The latter theory has found verification in biology, and apparently holds good in society as being more true to the facts than the former. For if there remains no energy unconsumed in the struggle for existence, if it is just possible to live and nothing more, the possibility of any change at all for the better is out of the question. There must be an overplus of energy available, a margin unused in the struggle, if any organism or any social group is to be more than static. However, this does not mean that the rôle of pressure is excluded from the process of change nor even from progress itself; but only that without some surplus the pressure cannot operate beneficially at all. Given a modicum of surplus energy sufficient for pressure of any sort to play upon without bringing existence itself to an end, there will result such emotional disturbances in an organism and such crises in a social group as may lead to new adaptations or adjustments of an advantageous nature. In the case of society, the change to

another environment or a change of the existing environment may be the result. The fact that the pressure thus operating is commonly observed, rather than the energy back of it upon which it plays, makes plausible the theory that progress is due primarily to pressure instead of surplus. While in human society progressive change often comes as indicated through the play of pressure upon a group with a surplus, in advanced societies it may and usually does come without it from that conscious and purposeful directing of marginal energy of which such societies are capable.

The purposeful utilization of its surplus by any society is a matter of vital importance, for energy may be directed to social advance or it may be dissipated to no good end. How it is being used by present-day society in America is a question that has received and still merits consideration. But before attempting to arrive at the answer, let us take an inventory of the social surplus itself.

Scientists are pretty generally agreed that the amount of energy in society is limited; that at any given time there exists only a definite fund of it that can be expended in effort. However, it is not merely a definite amount such as an organism has at its disposal, for social energy is more than the total energy of the human organisms that compose society. There is, in addition, energy stored up in the form of knowledge, achievement, and accumulated wealth. "The force accumulated through personal effort in training, education, and discipline is similar to capital" says G. T. Fairchild. These forces represent effort; and the superiority of one society over another is reckoned very largely in terms of such forces. The organic energy of an African tribe may equal or exceed that of an American community of like size, but the social energy of the latter is far greater on account of the extra-organic store it commands. Professor J. M. Gillette has estimated that production "consumes some 95 per cent of the energy at the disposal of collective man." He has reached this interesting conclusion on the basis of the numbers employed in the various occupational groups in the United States. It is a meaningless and erroneous deduction, because only organic energy is considered. But even if this figure had any real significance, it would not help



much in determining the amount of social surplus. We certainly should not be justified in inferring that the surplus was only the remaining 5 per cent of the collective energy, since clearly not all of the productive effort exerted is demanded for mere existence nor even for comfortable existence. A considerable share of it is supererogatory. This means a surplus, both organic and otherwise; how great cannot be said. There is no real measure of this quantity; there is not even any means of approximating it. We can, therefore, speak only in crude generalities based on common observation. Yet even such observation leaves the impression that our surplus is enormous, that we are indeed living under what Professor Patten has so aptly termed "a pleasure or surplus economy" in contradistinction to a "pain or a deficit economy."

Consider our society by classes from the top well down into the lower strata, and everywhere there is evidence that surplus energy abounds. The wealthy class has tens of millions in money, much talent, and much leisure. It is estimated that forty-four families possess incomes that amount in the aggregate to at least fifty millions per year. The middle class is endowed with fortunes. For instance, it has been estimated by a rather careful manufacturer that there are not less than one million families in the United States that can afford automobiles. This number, moreover, includes only those whose incomes range from \$3,000 to \$60,000 per annum. As a matter of fact, 600,000 people bought some 703,000 automobiles at the price of \$500,000,000 in 1915. On January 1, 1916, nearly two million automobiles were registered. These figures probably give a much fairer index to the surplus wealth of the middle class than do those of the personal incomes compiled by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue on the basis of the federal income tax. The first published report of the Commissioner indicates that 352,384 persons have incomes ranging from \$2,500 to \$50,000, and that 5,214 persons have incomes above the latter amount. The report for the year ending June 30, 1915, gave the total amount as \$41,046,162. The number of persons paying this tax was 357,515, and of these 210,202 had incomes ranging from \$2,500 to \$5,000. W. I. King attempts to estimate our annual capital savings or "national dividend," and for the year

1910 puts it at \$2,000,000,000. Though this is only a rough guess, it is as nearly accurate as any yet made of the extent to which surplus wealth is accumulating.

The developed talent also of the middle class, which is not, of course, exhausted in bread-winning, is almost immeasurable. In addition, the amount of leisure, despite the much emphasized strenuousness of the times in the commercial world, is very large. Labor-saving devices in our industries, business, and homes, quick means of communication, and rapid transportation are in virtually every walk of life continually adding to the store of leisure either actually or potentially. By this development and other tendencies of the age, the women of the middle class, in addition to those of the upper, have become in a large measure a leisure class. Before the industrial era was so far advanced, the burdens of the household fully consumed woman's time. The preparation of foods and clothing from the raw materials was a task never finished. But under the present order foods of every kind are brought into the house ready to eat, and garments are purchased ready to wear. The household arts of curing, preserving, spinning, weaving, knitting, sewing, and, in a measure, even laundrying and cooking have passed out. This is true of the town and in only a slighter degree of the country. Nothing has come to take the place of these arts. Moreover, the modern house, or the house of the modern day, requires less labor to keep than did the house of days gone by. It is not overstating the facts to say that woman's task is now easy and her burden light. In addition, fewer children are being born and reared. The number is not half that of a generation ago. There has consequently been a great piling up of leisure in woman's sphere. It has become so abundant that it palls upon multitudes. Among the laboring class, of course, surplusage of any kind is found to be greatly curtailed; yet it is not altogether eliminated. In the better-skilled and more organized trades there is a fair margin of time not employed in bread-winning and at the laborer's disposal. The well-organized and well-paid workers, at least, have a surplus of energy in this form, if not in the form of wealth or developed talent. When it is all totaled, there is a vast amount of surplus energy in America; and it is being continually augmented.



Compared with societies such as China and India afford, where energy is consumed in the struggle of a teeming population to live and reproduce itself till the marginal surplus is kept at a minimum, our society has marvelous possibilities of advancement before it. But the mere fact that an enormous social surplus exists is no guaranty that social progress is taking place. All depends upon the use to which it is being put. Let us then turn to the question raised above, How is the marginal energy being employed?

Normally, according to cosmic laws, all energy flows in channels of least resistance or greatest traction or the resultant of the two. The animal's surplus is therefore expended in play, and out of the abundance of a social group spontaneous activities of a pleasurable nature arise. Even purposive employment of surplusage in human society tends to conform to the cosmic law. Consequently, accumulated wealth is directed, as we should naturally expect, very largely to the gratification of pleasurable instincts. Very much of it is consumed in satisfying the appetite, the desire for luxury, and the taste for futile display. It is said that at least fifteen millions of dollars are spent in New York alone for New Year's dinners. Some headlines from the dailies showing into what courses money flows were recently exhibited in a current periodical. They run in the following vein: "Gilded Room for Toy Spaniel at Waldorf-Astoria"; "Baroness' Dog Wears Ruby"; "Mrs. S., of New York, Loses \$15,000 Muff"; "Ex-Senator Buys \$120,000 Dinner Set for \$7,000,000 Home"; "\$250,000 Tennis Building Opens in New York"; "Half-Million in Gems on Mrs. L. at Ball"; "Countess Spends \$50,000 to Have German Emperor One Day." Thus it is evident that fortunes are lavished on social functions. And just as freely are they spent for the "purchase of the past," to buy its broken urns and statues, musty scrolls and manuscripts, rotten tapestries and grimy pictures, rusty armor and bent sabers, unstrung lutes and broken pillars, decaying mummies and their desecrated tombs. One has only to consult again the headlines for proof of this: "\$28,000 for a Salt Cellar at Christie's"; "\$42,800 for a Book at Hoe Sale"; "\$28,000 for Eight Chairs"; "\$80,000 for a Helmet"; "\$14,000 for an Antique Soup Plate,"; "\$500,000 for a Picture"; millions upon millions for this

junk of the past, multimillions for art collections, for the trappings of fallen nobility, for the faded glamors and sullied lusters of heraldic creations, for ancient castles, for everything that is musty with age or classed with art. There is absolutely no way of telling what incalculable sums of the surplus wealth are annually locked up in these things. Nor does this reckoning take account of all. It is estimated that in normal times two hundred millions are spent annually by Americans in globe-trotting. What hoards are squandered on amusements no one can say. But into this last channel a constant stream of surplus flows from the upper and middle reaches of society, until the stream rolls down like a flood over the plains of life. Besides, lavish gifts are devoted, generally with good intent, to charity, missions, endowments, and other benefactions. Three hundred millions, chiefly from American coffers, is reported to have been the aggregate amount of public benevolence for 1914. Of this something like thirty millions went to religious missionary enterprises alone. The benefactions of two American billionaires in recent years are put by themselves at a figure exceeding five hundred and seventy-five millions of dollars. Above all this, wealth that no one can begin to estimate is sequestered from any social use at all by those who possess it. Professor C. H. Cooley has summed up the situation very well in the following:

While there are some cheerful givers on a large scale among us and many on a small one, I am not sure that there was ever, on the whole, a commercial society that contributed a smaller part of its gains to general causes. We have done much in this way; but then we are enormously rich; and the most that has been done has been done by taxation, which falls most heavily upon small property owners. The more communal use of wealth is rather a matter of general probability and of faith in democratic sentiment, than of demonstrable fact.

The surplus energy represented by leisure is enormous in amount but what of its utilization? Much is expended in mere slothfulness, and more on the empty rounds of futile amusements. In this way especially the women of the upper and middle classes dispose of it. The leisure of the men of these classes is employed to a considerable extent in the effort to increase their surplus wealth. What remains is directed to the pursuit of fads and pleasures. The leisure surplus of the laboring classes is not large, but it is put to

fairly creditable use. Apart from the time given to recreation, this class consumes much of its time in self-improvement. A study was recently made of a typical group of about a thousand working men in New York to determine how they use their spare time. It was found, as one might suppose, that the longer the working day, the greater the percentage of available leisure spent for recreation. It was discovered, also, that those having shorter hours for work, i.e., eight to nine and nine to ten, spent a greater percentage of the leisure allotted them in seeking to improve their minds. The agencies of which they availed themselves for this purpose were public lectures, libraries, private study, night schools, magazines, books, and newspapers. Arranged by hour groups, according to the percentage of choices of these agencies out of the total choices for expenditure of leisure, the figures in Table I are extracted from the date of the study.

TABLE I

8 to 9 Hours	9 to 10 Hours	10 to 11 Hours	11 Hours and Over
30.6 per cent	31 per cent	28 per cent	24.8 per cent

Arranged again in like manner with respect to the percentage of spare time in each week that was devoted to educational matters, Table II is compiled from the data furnished by the study.

TABLE II

8 to 9 Hours	9 to 10 Hours	10 to 11 Hours	11 Hours and Over
26.2 per cent	26.3 per cent	23.2 per cent	21.8 per cent

The author of the investigation says that the shorter-hour groups considered reading the most profitable expenditure of spare time, while the longer-hour groups put "staying at home" first. From the facts revealed by this study, if they be reliable and really typical, it is clear that the laboring classes are making good use of such surplus leisure as remains over and above that which must be expended in necessary rest and recreation. They are utilizing it for their own mental and social development.

If, then, the foregoing analysis be fair, and if it at all approximate the truth, it is not evident that the channels in which surplus energy is naturally flowing are those that lead to social advancement. Giving full credit to that part of wealth, leisure, and talent which is purposely dedicated to the ends of progress, we must admit that it is, after all, but a small portion of the whole surplus. The wealth that is devoted to the advancement of education, research, and discovery is in the main well employed, but not even all of this really contributes to social betterment. Except for the fact that useful information is often a by-product of the best-directed charitable endeavors, the large sums laid out in benevolence do not get us far, since little or nothing fundamental is aimed at or achieved. Society is made but little better, and ultimate democracy is brought no nearer by the mere financing of charities that, perpetuating the underlying causes of poverty, create the necessity for their existence. What fields for social experimentation lie open to wealth, if wealth would but enter them! It might subsidize new ventures in industry and husbandry, such as co-operative management, profit sharing, better wage-paying enterprises, etc. It might establish laboratories of various kinds to test theories. It might finance new schemes of municipal and state government and taxation in the same. It might make possible accurate knowledge on many social and economic problems and disseminate the information gathered. It might make possible useful propagandas for the elimination of disease, for the breeding of better men, and for scores of other things. In a word, it might seek out the ways and means of democratic progress. But as a matter of fact, the wealth surplus in the main avoids such channels. Likewise does the leisure surplus. There is, to be sure, an effort to utilize it wisely on the part of the women who are engaged in the feminist movement. This is good, for it is operating to the advancement of democracy. Labor too, as we have seen, is devoting a fair share of its leisure surplus to its own improvement; and this also is good. But the leisure of the great majority is little utilized for their own development or for any object that furthers the social well-being. A corrective example for our consideration may be cited in the citizens of ancient Greece. Those having leisure as a rule gave attention to art, literature,

philosophy, and statesmanship. They sought self-improvement and through it social betterment. Our leisure is reabsorbed in most instances to economic profit or to no profit at all. The average American spends little or none of his time or money or talent in seeking a broad and intelligent outlook upon the social world of which he is a part. Someone very aptly said of the last Congress and the people it represented that the majority "are enjoying that immunity from mental action, that separation from intellectual effort, and that absence of brain-filling which makes life, after all, just what it is, in Congress as well as out." E. L. Godken has pointedly remarked:

The number of persons who have something to say about political affairs has increased a thousand fold, but the practice of reading books has not increased, and it is in books that experience is recorded. In the past the governing class, in part at least, was a reading class. One of the reasons which are generally said to have given the Southern members special influence in Congress before the war is that they read books, had libraries, and had wide knowledge of the experiments tried by earlier generations of mankind. Their successors rarely read anything but the newspapers. . . . In fact, I may venture the assertion that the influence of history on politics was never smaller than it is today, although history was never before cultivated with so much acumen and industry. So that authority and experience may fairly be ruled out of the list of forces which seriously influence the government of democratic societies. In the formation of public opinion they do not greatly count.

Enjoying ignorance and being unwilling to invest anything of his accumulated surplus for a deeper comprehension of things as they are and for a knowledge of how to make them better, the middle-class American withholds from progress its rightful due. At least he does not strive to meet the demands of a "pleasure or surplus economy," which Professor Patton says are "to utilize the surplus for common good, not to undermine energy and productive ability or create parasitic classes, but to distribute the surplus in ways that will promote general welfare and secure better preparation for the future."

Not that progress in many lines is by any means wanting, especially in technical, mechanical, industrial, and scientific spheres. But real social progress, which the people of the western world associate directly or indirectly with the furtherance of democracy,

is not commensurate with that achieved in other realms. The present utilization of the social surplus is not conducive to the promoting of democracy. It is not so much positively as negatively anti-democratic in its effects. For when devoted to other ends, whether good, bad, or indifferent, the surplus is not available for anything else. It cannot be applied to movements of a democratic nature; and the other ends to which it is directed are inclined to foster undemocratic conditions.

There are numerous ways of social advance. Until trial is made, no one can say whither they will lead, and until more of our social surplus is focused upon them, they will remain untried, and the democratization of society will continue unrealized.

When the purposeful direction of social surplus fails to promote it, progress may come through the pressure of critical conditions which serve to turn the energy into new channels. Crises often bring this about. A typical instance of their operation may be cited in the experience of a certain rural village. A crisis was precipitated by the proposed removal of its leading institution and the necessity of competing for a projected railway with a rival community. The loss of the institution would clearly mean cutting off of incomes, reduction of wages, curtailment of business, depreciation of property values, and loss of community prestige. But in order to keep the institution a large amount of accumulate wealth would have to be given up by the community as a whole. The projected railway promised many advantages either to this town or to its rival, with a corresponding handicap to the loser in the contest. It asked, however, in return for its benefits large subsidies from the wealth of the chosen village. The pressure was so great and the exigencies of the situation so imperative that the community yielded up its surplus to meet the demands. This new utilization of its energy under pressure led to a further purposive direction of its surplus into new channels. A radical program of public improvement was immediately inaugurated. Once started, it has gone on from stage to stage gathering momentum as it has advanced.

What is found true of a single community often holds good of a society as a whole. In its life crises not infrequently bring about

progress by causing a redirection of energy. Such calamities as fire, drought, flood, plague, and war may turn the streams of power into new courses. Many a burned or shattered city has fallen ingloriously in heaps of brick to rise magnificently in piles of marble to honor its age. The Black Death of 1349, which left Europe weak and impoverished, greatly affected the status of the working classes. It gave rise to a long series of legal enactments aiming to reattach the laborers to the soil. The Thirty Years' War was followed by the freeing of the serfs throughout Europe. Our Civil War gave rise to unprecedented mechanical invention. During that period were patented those machines which have given America such prestige in the agricultural world. After the Napoleonic wars the democratic movement began in England. Brought to the verge of ruin by the disastrous war of 1864, Denmark had to seek a new course. Co-operative action in agriculture, unequalled anywhere, was the result. These changes just enumerated were all correlated with crises. The two things seem related as cause and effect on the principle under consideration. The present European war is beginning to turn the social surplusage to new enterprises and causes, industrial, political, moral, and intellectual. If the belligerents are not completely exhausted and the surplus of every kind not wholly consumed at the end of the conflict, radical changes will follow in the several countries concerned, new ways will be discovered in many fields, and an era of progress will probably be entered upon.

This redirection of energy following upon crises is due to the stimulating effect that is produced by a limited curtailment of the surplus.

Of course we are not forgetting that crises cause change only—merely redirection, not necessarily progressive change. Retrogressive movements often result from them. Sometimes, when too severe, they leave little or no energy above what is actually required for existence; then there is stagnation.

Although we are not here concerned with the origin of crises, it may be pointed out incidentally that areas of unequal social surplus and of unlike usage of the same can give rise to them. For a situation then obtains not unlike that in the physical atmosphere

when unequal-pressure areas produce storms. If certain classes consume vast stores of wealth, talent, and leisure futilely and foolishly, and reabsorb their surplus for themselves alone, while other classes employ their meager supply for the enhancement of ability and for the acquisition of knowledge directed toward social advancement, crises are in preparation. The existence of such inharmonious areas in present-day society is evident. Where the surplusage is large and employed without respect to the present or future good of the group as a group, there is a static or low-pressure area. Where the surplus is small and consciously put to good use, there is a dynamic or high-pressure area. If now two such areas reach a state where the differential becomes too great, a storm follows till the pressure is equalized; or, in other words, till energy is turned into new courses. The American Civil War was thus precipitated. The North and the South were areas of unequal surplus differently utilized. The stress became too great, and conflict followed. The French Revolution came about in the same way. Crises of greater or less moment are, on the grounds pointed out, always gathering. Storms may break at any time. In fact, they are of frequent occurrence on a small scale in the form of strikes, riots, and raids of unemployed groups and of clashes between reform and reactionary classes. These are just little eddying gusts, but they may grow until whole sections of society are swept into the whirlwind of revolutions.

These little crises should serve to call attention to the need of a different utilization of the social surplus in much of our society. Total and future interests must prevail over class, individual, and present interests. Social equalization must take place, if not in a purposeful manner, then by the operation of the law of crises; and the "fierce beating of blind rebellion against blind obstruction" come into play. It may be, however, that these little crises will so continually stir the static areas of our social life that the undemocratic utilization of surplus energy will be transmuted into an employment of the same for progressive purposes; and thus will great crises be avoided. In fact, there is evidence that this is precisely what they are doing, to the end that the making of ultimate democracy is not wholly thwarted.



## RATING THE NATIONS: A STUDY IN THE STATISTICS OF OPINION

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In these troublous times, when apostles of *Kultur* assail disciples of *Liberté*, and hordes of *Mushiks* slaughter swarms of *Bauern*, a neutral often wonders what is the relative worth of these men. Americans especially are interested in the character of the immigrants who flood into the melting-pot of our national life. How can we tell which will make the most desirable citizens? How shall we rate the nations?

Of course there are comparative statistics of foreign countries and the figures of our own immigration, census, and police authorities, showing the proportion of illiteracy, naturalization, and crime assigned to each national group. These data are of greatest significance. But there are also important personal qualities, such as sympathy and adaptability, which are difficult to determine statistically. Nevertheless, we are convinced that the typical Celt surpasses the average Anglo-Saxon in certain traits. We might arrange representatives of different nations in order according to their relative excellence or deficiency in a given quality, just as we rate orators without any fixed scale of measurement.<sup>1</sup> If we could be sure that our exemplars were fair samples of their people and that no personal bias influenced the estimates, we might even assign them numerical values and standardize them as inspectors grade produce.

One way to avoid the danger of restricted or biased selection is to consider the arrangement of samples offered by many observers and to offset their aberrancies by striking an average. Obviously the resultant rating is no better than the mean judgment of these observers. But if we should select the most expert students to

<sup>1</sup> See Mill, *Logic* (8th ed.), Book VI, chap. v, pp. 599-601.

give an opinion and if we found these statements, with slight variations, in agreement, we might assume that our findings correspond closely with the facts.<sup>1</sup>

Some time ago the writer attempted to apply this method to the rating of the most important ethnic varieties in the population of the United States. For this purpose ten significant qualities were chosen, and twenty-five persons throughout the country were requested to arrange the nationalities according to their relative superiority in these traits. Only ten complete schedules were returned, but the small number is offset by the experience and quality of the observers. They are sociologists, psychologists, journalists, and social workers who have studied various groups among our people. It is true that personal limitations and prejudices affect their results. Still the outcome of such a composite expression of opinion may be regarded as a significant indication of how trained students value the principal strains in our population. It may be added, also, that not all the correspondents were born and educated in America, so that some correction for national bias is implied.

It should also be remarked that the observers were asked to consider these people as they appear in this country at present. Historical differences and distinctions in environment are not thereby eliminated, but a relatively uniform setting for the manifestation of inherent and acquired traits is assumed. Consequently no presumption of international superiority or inferiority can properly be made from these data. All that is attempted is the presentation of a definite judgment as to the relative position of representative stocks in our own population.

Table I shows the sequence of the groups in the qualities indicated. Most of them display a striking uniformity of grade in all traits save that of sympathy. The Irish, Jews, and native Americans appear to vary considerably in excellence, but the repeated low ranking of Negroes, Italians, Slavs, and French Canadians is remarkable. It may be said that Anglo-Saxon prejudice here prevails, and it must be admitted that Negroes, Slavs, or Latins

<sup>1</sup> See Cattell, "Rating American Men of Science," *Science*, Vols. ~~XXV~~ VII and XXIV.

were not represented in our list of observers. However, since American standards of judgment have been derived mainly from English and Teutonic sources, this order probably represents the relative conformity of other peoples to our notions of excellence.

TABLE I

CONSECUTIVE ORDER OF TEN ETHNIC VARIETIES IN THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES ACCORDING TO THEIR MEAN RATING IN TEN SELECTED TRAITS

	Order of Na- tive White Americans	Order of Germans	Order of English	Order of Polish and Russian Hebrews	Order of Scandi- navians	Order of Irish	Order of French Canadians	Order of Austrian Slavs	Order of South Italians	Order of Negroes
Physical vigor.....	3	2	5	8	1	4	6	7	9	10
Intellectual ability....	1	2	4	3	5	6	8	7	9	10
Self-control.....	3	1	2	5	4	7	6	8	9	10
Moral integrity.....	4	1	2	5	3	8	7	6	9	10
Sympathy.....	6	4	10	5	9	1	8	7	3	2
Co-operation.....	1	2	3	5	6	4	8	7	9	10
Leadership.....	1	4	2	6	5	3	7	8	9	10
Perseverance.....	4	1	3	2	5	8	7	6	9	10
Efficiency.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Aspiration.....	2	4	3	1	6	5	7	8	9	10
All qualities.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

It will be noted that Germans appear to have higher grades than native Americans, although their rank in all qualities is given as second. This is due to the fact that the actual positions assigned in each case are not given in Table I, but only their relative order. It sometimes happened that an observer was unable to grade all varieties in each trait, and so left a position unfilled or placed two groups in the same rank. It also occurred that their averages for several ratings brought two groups into the same position. So there may be no variety filling the first grade and there may be several in second and third positions, like a graduating class without any honor men, but with a host of mediocre students. Table II, which gives the mean positions—i.e., the calculated medians—for each class, makes their relative standing clearer.

This table shows the amount of divergency of the mean ratings. But absolute position is here less important than consistency in the ranking. Scattering returns would shake our confidence in the

value of the judgments, but close agreement would indicate some degree of certainty. It is of interest, therefore, to see how widely individual opinions vary from their common result. For this purpose the limits of probable error have been used, and where

TABLE II

MEDIAN POSITIONS OF POPULATION GROUPS IN GIVEN TRAITS FROM TEN GRADINGS

	Native White Americans	Germans	English	Polish and Russian Hebrews	Scandinavians	Irish	French Canadians	Austrian Slavs	South Italians	Negroes
Physical vigor.....	3.84	3.18	4.70	7.50	3.00	4.00	4.84	7.12	8.50	9.00
Intellectual ability....	2.00	2.84	3.17	3.00	5.00	6.50	7.50	7.18	8.71	9.88
Self-control.....	3.00	1.50	2.25	4.61	4.18	7.10	7.00	7.84	9.00	9.50
Moral integrity.....	3.50	1.33	2.84	5.18	3.00	7.00	6.00	5.84	8.50	9.80
Sympathy.....	6.00	4.50	8.50	5.53	8.00	1.50	7.00	6.50	3.00	3.00
Co-operation.....	2.00	2.84	3.50	5.50	6.00	4.00	6.50	6.00	8.00	8.50
Leadership.....	1.40	4.13	2.75	6.00	5.48	3.00	7.00	7.64	8.25	9.75
Perseverance.....	4.25	1.75	3.80	2.25	5.00	7.50	7.34	6.75	8.38	9.86
Efficiency.....	1.22	2.17	3.17	4.17	4.84	6.50	7.00	7.50	7.84	9.87
Aspiration.....	2.50	4.84	3.84	1.50	5.50	5.50	7.17	7.67	8.25	9.84
All qualities.....	2.77	2.89	3.56	4.36	5.07	6.00	6.84	7.03	8.22	9.65

these are not the same above and below the median (as when judgments are bunched at one end of the scale and tail off toward the other), the wider divergence is given to make discrepancies plain. Table III presents this evidence of unanimity and disagreement in the rating.

The average deviation of all judgments from the standards established by the collective opinion of the observers is about one place and a sixth. That is, any individual rating is likely to be a little over a point above or below the mean position fixed by the whole number. This shows only moderate dispersion. But particular judgments display considerable variation in this respect. For instance, our observers were more unanimous about moral and intellectual qualities than about physical and social traits. On the whole, they placed Italians and white Americans more exactly than Negroes and Irish. Of course, this may have been due to differences in personal experience and point of view, or it may even reflect mere ignorance and prejudice. But certainly the ratings

for Negroes in intellect, aspiration, perseverance, and efficiency are definite and consistent, whereas opinions about German sympathy, Slavic aspiration, and Hebrew vigor are so divergent as to be practically worthless.

TABLE III  
DIVERGENCE OF RATINGS  
(LIMITS OF PROBABLE ERROR FROM MEDIAN POSITIONS)

	South Italians	Native White Americans	English	Germans	Austrian Slavs	Scandinavians	French Canadians	Polish and Russian Hebrews	Negroes	Irish	Average Error for All
Moral Integrity...	1.50	.84	1.09	.67	1.16	1.25	1.68	2.57	.55	1.00	.98
Intellectual ability	.96	.76	1.58	1.50	1.18	1.00	2.25	1.34	.31	1.25	1.01
Efficiency.....	.84	1.53	1.08	1.08	2.16	1.84	1.25	1.17	.37	1.50	1.04
Self-control.....	.75	.75	1.75	2.50	1.84	1.58	1.00	.85	3.16	.58	1.09
Aspiration.....	1.25	1.00	.84	1.34	5.67	1.00	1.67	1.00	.34	1.50	1.12
Leadership.....	1.25	.60	1.25	1.37	1.47	2.02	1.50	2.00	.75	1.50	1.13
Perseverance.....	1.13	1.25	1.89	1.09	1.75	2.50	1.66	1.75	.36	2.00	1.17
Physical vigor....	.83	.91	.96	2.07	1.50	1.66	2.84	4.50	2.00	2.25	1.54
Sympathy.....	1.84	3.50	2.00	5.00	1.50	1.84	2.50	3.00	1.50	2.00	1.78
Co-operation.....	1.50	3.00	4.00	3.16	1.84	1.00	1.50	4.00	3.50	2.00	1.94
All qualities.....	.84	1.43	1.49	1.53	1.53	1.57	1.64	2.14	2.15	2.50	1.16

It may be said that the whole exhibit is worthless because so few persons determined such complex relations. But by combining the ratings in all qualities for each ethnic group, we have a hundred judgments on every one. It will probably be granted that the distribution of a thousand different choices is a valid basis for a significant array of ten specimens. It would be a rash student of probabilities who in the face of Chart I would assert that its skyscraper arrangement is the result of pure chance. Were its steps smoothed off, it would resemble the side elevation of a mountain range whose spreading bases overlap, but whose high peaks stand up sharp against the horizon. Such peaks, or modes, fix the positions of most biological varieties in the scale of comparative anatomy.

This arrangement of ten composite judgments does not necessarily yield a correct result; but, giving equal weight to each opinion, it does show a definite order of choice, which may be made

the basis of interesting calculations. For instance, taking the positions in Table II as indexes and weighting them by the numbers of each group in the population, we may compute how much intermingling has affected the standing of the composite people.

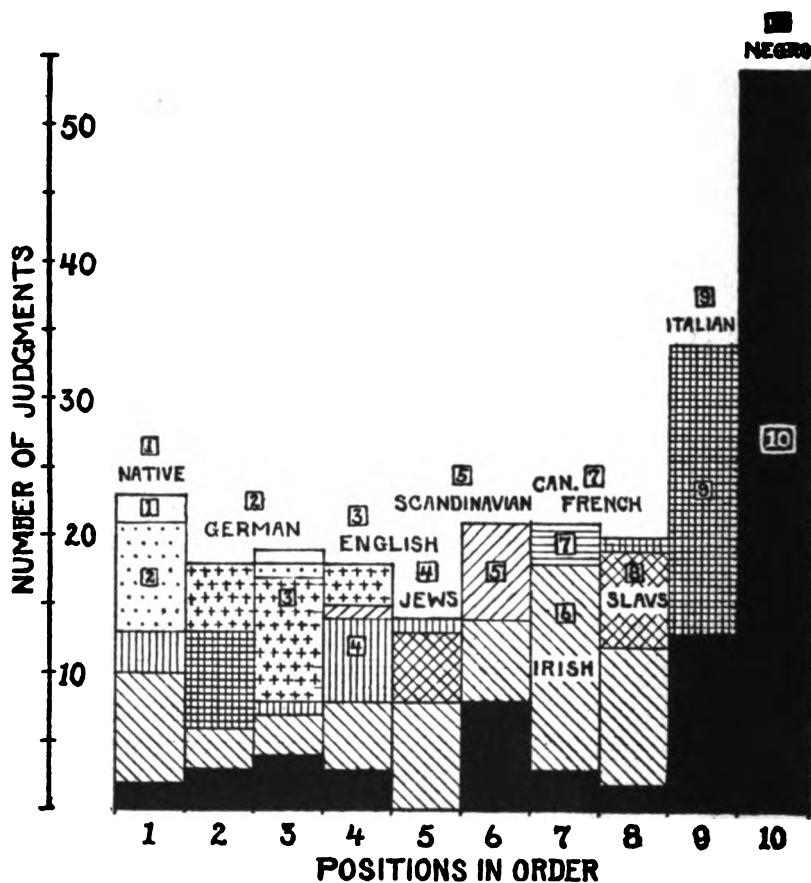


CHART I.—Showing Modal Judgments

Obviously, since most varieties are ranked below natives in practically all traits, we should expect to find that mixture lowers the American level. The important question is, How far? Table IV shows the result in all qualities.

It must be admitted that statistical difficulties appear in this method of comparison. The purpose of this study is not to develop a refined technique, however, but to suggest practical results that may be derived from such treatment. For instance, it is useful to know that according to these ratings the social potential of the population of New York City in 1910 was lower than that of Chicago, the mean positions being 3.85 and 3.60 respectively; and that both were lower than they were ten years previously, when they were 3.67 and 3.46. These statements indicate the effects of recent immigration.

TABLE IV  
RELATIVE POSITION AND RANK OF NATIVE AND MIXED POPULATION

	NATIVE WHITE POPULATION		COMPOSITE POPULATION		SHIFT BY INTERMIXTURE	
	Position	Rank	Position	Rank	Position	Rank
Efficiency.....	1.22	1	2.62	3	-1.40	-2
Leadership.....	1.40	1	2.74	2	-1.34	-1
Co-operation.....	2.00	1	3.04	3	-1.04	-2
Intellect.....	2.00	1	3.23	5	-1.23	-4
Aspiration.....	2.50	2	3.63	3	-1.13	-1
Self-control.....	3.00	3	4.01	4	-1.01	-1
Integrity.....	3.50	4	4.36	5	-.86	-1
Vigor.....	3.84	3	4.57	5	-.73	-2
Perseverance.....	4.25	4	5.08	6	-.83	-2
Sympathy.....	6.00	6	5.58	6	+.42	0
All qualities.....	2.77	1	3.77	4	-1.00	-3

It is also interesting to consider the relative standing of immigrant stocks compared with the position of native Americans as a standard. Chart II illustrates this comparison by two broken lines which show for Germans and Negroes respectively how their ratings in each quality diverge from the fixed level of reference. The ingenious statistician will find many correlations to elaborate, but the average student will probably require a broader basis of facts before plunging into extensive calculations of quantitative results.

In order to test by more numerous if less expert judgments the value of these ratings here presented, the writer asked the students

in an undergraduate course in sociology and those of a graduate group to arrange in order six foreign nationalities in two qualities. Table V shows the results. The first point that strikes one is the close agreement between these independent series. In only three

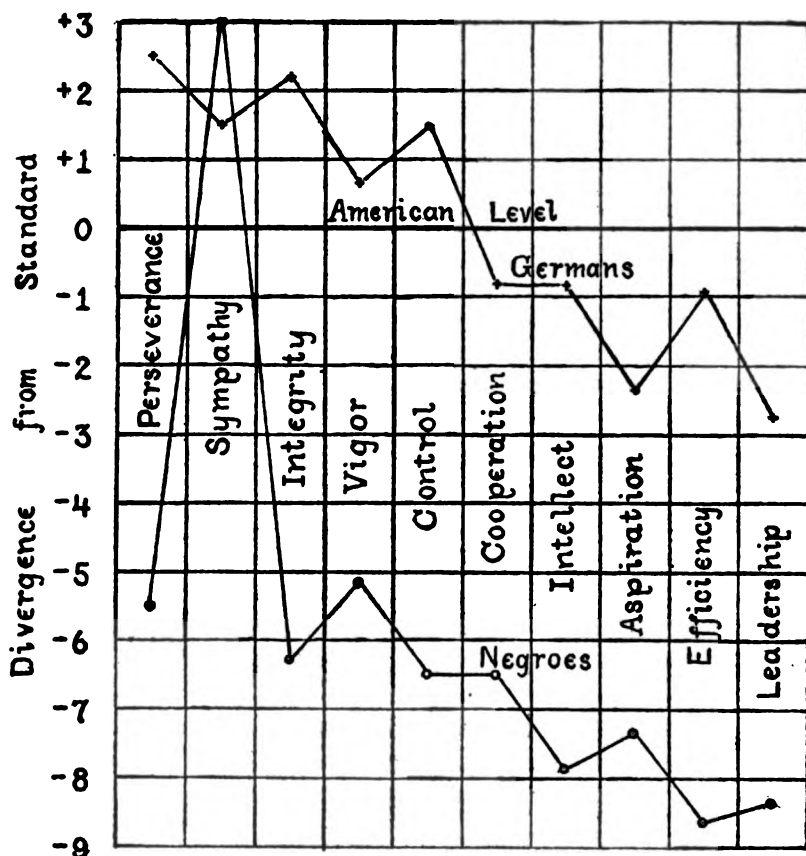


CHART II.—Comparison of High and Low Varieties with American Standard

instances does the order fail of complete agreement, and there by less than one position. In the next place it will be noted that, although grading six nationalities is a different problem from that of rating ten immigrant stocks, the rank assigned to Germans, English, Irish, and Slavs is almost identical with their sequence



in intellect and sympathy as given in Table I. It may be added that several of the students were foreign by birth and early education. Perhaps so much is sufficient to indicate a kind of *consensus gentium* in such estimates.

TABLE V  
COMPARATIVE POSITIONS OF SIX ETHNIC VARIETIES  
FROM INDEPENDENT RATINGS IN TWO QUALITIES

	SCIENTIFIC ABILITY		
	30 Under- graduates	25 Graduates	Both Combined
German.....	1.50	1.30	1.40
English.....	2.60	1.89	2.03
French.....	1.94	2.76	2.34
Italian.....	4.20	4.25	4.24
Irish.....	5.17	5.32	5.25
Slav.....	5.68	5.25	5.50
	EMOTIONALISM		
	Under- graduates	Graduates	Both Combined
Italian.....	1.50	1.17	1.29
French.....	2.10	2.13	2.12
Irish.....	3.17	2.87	2.98
Slav.....	5.00	4.33	4.45
German.....	4.72	4.75	4.74
English.....	5.10	5.06	5.07

Unquestionably the most important problem here presented is that of the validity of the judgments upon which the calculations are based. Lacking objective tests of their accuracy, we may regard the ratings by our observers merely as approximations. But their returns give us a basis for measuring exactly the opinion of the group and the divergence of any member from the common standard. Without raising the question of their correctness, we can analyze these results precisely. For instance, Table VI shows the conformity of such opinions among the graduate students and grades individuals by their variations.

The statistical student will recognize the approximation of this array to a skewed curve of probability, and can readily transform

the positions in order into units of amount. From our data we might also calculate the correlation of judgments regarding different qualities and so estimate the relative accuracy of our observers. Thus the method here employed may be shown to have its own

TABLE VI

## DISPERSION OF JUDGMENTS FROM MEDIAN OF GROUP

Average Deviation	Number of Individuals
.41- .45 of a position . . . . .	1
.46- .50 of a position . . . . .	0
.51- .55 of a position . . . . .	2
.56- .60 of a position . . . . .	3
.61- .65 of a position . . . . .	3
.66- .70 of a position . . . . .	2
.71- .75 of a position . . . . .	3
.76- .80 of a position . . . . .	4
.81- .85 of a position . . . . .	3
.86- .90 of a position . . . . .	1
.91- .95 of a position . . . . .	1
.96-1.00 of a position . . . . .	1
.....	.....
1.31-1.35 of a position . . . . .	1
Standard deviation = .66+.	Total individuals = 25

measure of reliability. But such manipulation of data may be left for those mathematically inclined. The object of this study is to urge upon sociologists the wider collection of data and its precise arrangement, so that expressions of personal opinion may yield to widely accepted statements of fact, and that general affirmations may give place to quantitative estimates.

# THE HOUSE-COURT PROBLEM

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## I

A phase of the housing problem in the United States that is almost as old as the nation, but that has not heretofore been discussed, as far as the writer is aware, is that known as the house-court problem. A study of the house-court is of social value for at least two reasons. First, the house-court has given rise on a large scale to as unsanitary and anti-social living conditions, according to Jacob Riis, as have existed anywhere in the United States, not even excepting the New York tenements. Secondly, the house-court offers for the industrial classes, under given conditions, a type of housing which is of superior character for actual living purposes and for homes.

The writer has made an analysis of the facts concerning 1,202 house-courts in which over 16,000 men, women, and children live in Los Angeles. The main facts were secured by the municipal housing inspectors. Other sources are special studies made of particular house-courts. Before the results of this study are given, it may be well to define the house-court and to explain briefly the nature of the leading types.

## II

A house-court is legally defined by the city of Los Angeles in an ordinance applying thereto as "a parcel or area of land on which are grouped three or more habitations used or designed to be used for occupancy by families and upon which parcel or area the vacant or unoccupied portion thereof surrounding or abutting on said habitations is used or intended to be used in common by the inhabitants thereof. A habitation is defined to be a room or combination of rooms used or designed to be used for the occupancy of human beings."

The house-court is a modification of a type of Spanish architecture. The description and classification as given by Mr. Earle Dexter of the University of Southern California may be followed here. The antecedent of the house-court was a style of building constructed upon three sides of a square plot of ground. The square plot was used for a garden and as a place for social gatherings. A wide porch extended around the three sides of the house that faced the inner court. Most of these early dwellings were constructed of adobe, this being the cheapest and most available building material at that time. The houses were one story in height and the walls were from one to two feet in thickness.

As the house-court is more common in Los Angeles than in other cities in the United States, its development will be followed in that city. As the city grew, the adobe type of building, described in the preceding paragraph, persisted and multiplied. At first the large building lots did not necessitate the crowding of buildings upon small spaces of ground. But cheap labor increased in the city and the demand for cheap rents increased. In order to maintain cheap rents in spite of rise in land values the custom became common of building several cheap houses after the house-court pattern upon the same lot. It became customary also to lease land to the Mexicans and others upon which they were free to build whatever dwellings they chose.

In these "shacks," as they have been called, developed the worst forms of housing conditions. The statement made by Jacob Riis that he had seen slums of greater area but never any which were worse than those in Los Angeles came as a shock to the people of the city. The Housing Commission was appointed in 1906 and under the direction of Mr. John Kienle, the chief inspector, and his corps of associates the "shacks" have nearly all been abolished.

As Mr. Dexter states, the house-courts may be classified under several headings according to the form of the buildings making up the court. The classification is of course more or less arbitrary.

1. *Old Spanish adobe.*—These are essentially relics of earlier days. The walls are a foot and a half in thickness; the inside

walls are whitewashed; the floors are frequently some inches below ground-level.

2. *Shacks*.—These constitute the worst type of dwelling, but are being eliminated as fast as possible.

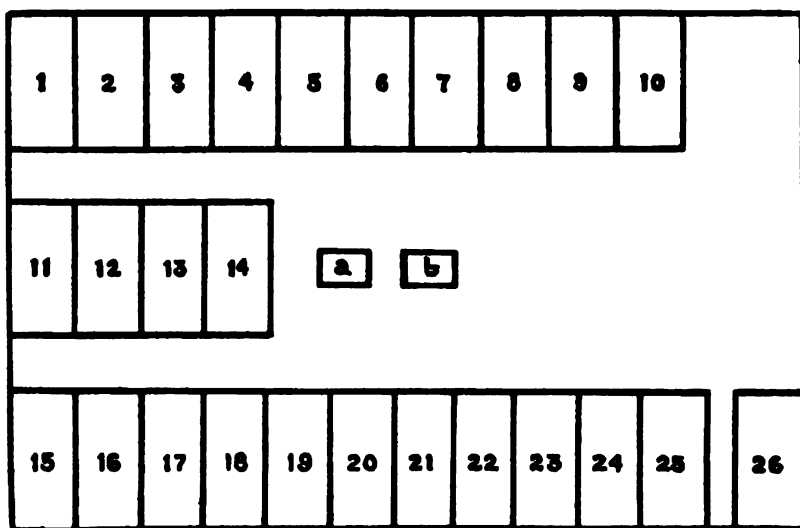
3. *Barrack style of structure*.—These, usually, have been built of "board and batted with the rough exterior of the boards stained and the interior side painted." The long, barrack-like structure is subdivided by partitions into habitations of one, two, three rooms, or more. In the better class of these courts there is a double wall with deadening felt, separating the habitations. In the remaining house-courts of this kind sounds can be heard through the thin partitions separating the habitations, but cracks are not permitted in the partitions. The housing inspectors see to it that the cracks are carefully battened so as to secure privacy. Practically no plumbing is found in any of the habitations, but almost entirely in buildings erected in the house-court and conveniently placed for the inhabitants of the whole court.

The courts frequently are constructed with three long rows of barrack-like structures on the three sides of an open lot. Faucets and hoppers are located in the open court and the family washings, children's playground, toilets, woodyards, garbage cans, and so forth take up any vacant space that is to spare. After rains the common yard is often in bad condition. Where the drainage is bad, the yards may be ordered paved. But experience has shown that where a yard is paved it is more dangerous and injurious to the children living in the house-court, because of injuries sustained from falls upon the pavement, than where the court is not paved.

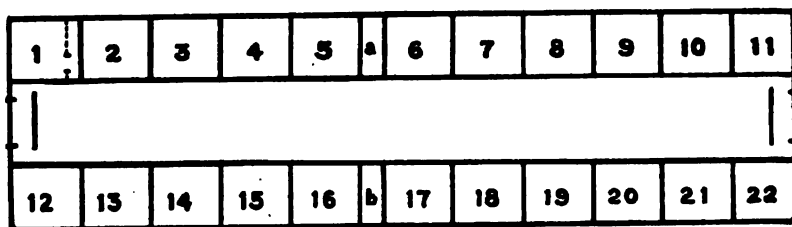
The accompanying chart gives the plans of two house-courts which may be considered more or less typical of the barrack type of house-courts. House-court A is built upon a lot 80 feet wide by 145 feet deep. Upon the lot are built 26 two-room habitations. On either side are two long rows of habitations, between which at one end is a shorter row. The habitations are constructed of rough 1×12-inch pine boards placed perpendicularly, with battened cracks. A thin board partition with battened cracks separates one habitation from the next.

The plumbing facilities in the court consist of six hydrants with hoppers connected with the sewer, one hydrant without a hopper, and four double flush toilets (*a* and *b* in the figure representing

## HOUSE-COURT A



## HOUSE-COURT B



house-court A). The yard is kept fairly clean. Some attempt is made to raise a few vegetables and a few flowers.

Each habitation consists of two rooms and rents for \$6.00 per month. There are two windows and a door to each habitation; these are screened. One room, the kitchen, is 6×10 feet and has

a permanent fixture, a small cook-stove in one corner, which is ordinarily in fair condition. The rest of the furniture in the kitchen usually consists of some sort of a table and a dry-goods box nailed up in one corner for a cupboard.

The other room, which serves as a sleeping- and living-room, is ordinarily furnished with one bed and one or two chairs. Many of the houses are ill-kept, although a few are neat and clean.

TABLE I

Court	No. Habitations	No. Rooms	Rooms per Habitation	No. Persons	Average per Room	Rent per Habitation	Nationality	Wage
A.....	24	48	2	93	1.93	\$6.00	Mexican	\$2.00
B.....	16	32	2	71	2.22	\$6.00	Mexican	\$2.00
C.....	6	15	2	26	1.73	\$5.00	Mexican	\$2.00
D.....	18	32	2	66	2.06	\$4.00	Mexican	\$2.00

Table I is prepared from the studies of Mr. Earle Dexter, to whose work reference has already been made, and of Mr. Wilson McEuen, who has made a thoroughgoing survey of the Mexicans in Los Angeles. From this table can be secured an idea as to the number of habitations per given house-court, the number of rooms per habitation, the population of given house-courts with the tendency to overcrowding, the average rent paid by the Mexican occupants, who are the leading race living in the house-courts.

4. *Separate two-room houses.*—These are generally of recent construction. They are built in the “board and batten” style similar to that of the barrack houses. They are stained on the exterior and painted on the interior. They allow a greater degree of family privacy and more yard space per habitation than does the barrack style of house-court. The houses rent for \$5, \$6, and \$8 per month, generally.

5. *Concrete houses.*—House-courts on which the houses are single habitations and are built of concrete are forerunners of a new type. The cottages usually have three rooms with several “built-in” features. Permanence and sanitary possibilities are good qualities, but the more expensive cost is a difficulty. Only a few house-courts are occupied as yet by concrete houses.

6. *Bungalow court*.—The bungalow court at present is quite model. Attention is given to light and sanitation. It is of far higher type than the first four forms mentioned. Many are quite attractive. The rentals range from \$14 to \$25 per month. The open court is frequently covered by a lawn.

### III

This paper includes a study of the 1,202 house-courts in Los Angeles (January 1, 1915). The data for this study, as already stated, were gathered by the municipal housing inspectors. The facts shown by the analysis of these data, together with resultant conclusions, were as follows:

Upon 868 house-courts there is an average of 3.2 houses or buildings per house-court. Upon this average it may be computed that there are 3,846 houses located upon the 1,202 house-courts of the city. The range is from one building to fourteen separate buildings per house-court. Practically all are one story in height.

Upon 1,200 of the house-courts there are 5,934 habitations. The average number of habitations per house-court is 4.94, or practically five. The smallest number of habitations per house-court is three and the largest number runs up to 35, 40, or even 50.

Of the 5,934 habitations on the house-courts in Los Angeles, this investigation shows that there are 730 one-room habitations, 1,271 two-room habitations, 1,808 three-room habitations, 1,435 four-room habitations, 526 five-room habitations, 135 six-room habitations, and 22 unclassified. Many of the six-room habitations and some of the five-room habitations are occupied by two family groups; hence they really become three-room or two-room habitations. It will be noted that the most frequent size of habitation is three rooms. The absolute figure of 730 one-room habitations should not be overlooked.

The percentage of the court that is occupied by houses is on the average (1,164 house-courts) 66 per cent—or 44 per cent unoccupied. Since the houses are one-story, this average percentage is not excessive. Many courts, however, have but 30 per cent unoccupied, which is the legal minimum. Mr. John Kienle, the chief inspector,



reports that while the ordinance specifies that 30 per cent of the ground area must be left unoccupied, it does not state how much space must be given between the houses. This omission in the law is a weakness. Many of the landowners, however, allow considerable space of their own accord to each habitation. As a result they are able to rent the habitations sooner and receive better financial returns than those landowners who build with no spaces between the houses and rent to Mexicans with low standards.

TABLE II  
HABITATIONS AND RENT

	1 Room	2 Rooms	3 Rooms	4 Rooms	5 Rooms	6 Rooms
Numbers.....	730	1,278	1,808	1,435	526	135
Average rent.....	\$3.52	\$6.08	\$12.15	\$14.88	\$17.45	\$20.10

Table II gives the average rent according to the number of rooms per habitation. The average rents given in this table are those that were found for 3,513 habitations. It will be noted that the average rent per room is highest for the three-room habitations, or \$4.05 per room. It will also be noted that there is apparently the greatest demand for three-room habitations.

On the basis of 870 house-courts for which the population figures are available, it may be stated that the population of the 1,202 house-courts was 16,510 (1913). Thus the house-court population would in itself form a city of no mean size. The population on the basis of the available figures is distributed approximately as follows: men, 6,490; women, 4,920; boys, 2,640; girls, 2,460. Large numbers are immigrants, especially Mexicans who are unmarried men or married men without their families.

Overcrowding exists in such intermittent fashion in Los Angeles that the data referring thereto and covering a large percentage of the house-courts are unreliable. Reference to Table I will show that for the four house-courts mentioned overcrowding is present. In those courts an average of two persons per room is shown. Mr. Kienle reports, however, that wherever overcrowding is found, it is abated as quickly as possible. In a two-room habitation where the family is large, arrangements are made so as to permit some of

the members of the same family to occupy the kitchen. It is better to permit this than to allow overcrowding or to break up the family. Occasionally eight persons are found sleeping in one room, but it is usually an extreme case of poverty which forces men to huddle together. As soon as relief can be obtained, the overcrowding is stopped. "No work" causes "overcrowding."

TABLE III  
NATIONALITIES

American	Mexican	Italian	Russian	Negro	Jewish	Slavonic	Japanese	Chinese	Greek	Others
383	298	141	73	68	56	31	24	24	17	87

Table III gives a classification of the nationalities, and is computed on the basis of the figures given for 854 house-courts. Of the foreign races, it will be seen that the leading race, occupying 298 house-courts, was found to be Mexican. The economic status of the Mexican is lowest on the whole of any race in the city. The Mexican lives, as a rule, in the worst of the house-courts. The Italian ranks second; in 141 house-courts the leading race was found to be Italian. Table III may be accepted as approximately correct for January 1, 1913.

TABLE IV  
OCCUPATIONS

Unskilled	Skilled	Clerks	Merchants	Professional
447	213	76	54	61

Occupations taken at random in 851 cases were found upon classification to be distributed as shown in Table IV. The house-court inhabitants are thus seen to be largely unskilled laborers.

The average wage taken in 1,103 cases was found to be approximately \$2.00 per day, but there was such variation in the number of working-days in a given year that no figure can be given as an average yearly income that would be of great value. Two hundred actual working-days would be a generous estimate upon the basis

of the figures at hand. The annual income is therefore low and explains in part the low standards of living.

Of the seven housing inspectors in the city, three devote their time to the inspection of house-courts, according to the bulletin of the Los Angeles Health Department (January, 1915). During the calendar year of 1914, these inspectors made 4,062 inspections of the 1,202 house-courts. During the same year, 310 plans for new house-courts were presented to the chief housing inspector for inspection and of this number 224 were approved. Most of the new house-courts consist of three- and four-room habitations, and cost on an average of \$650 per house. Seventy-five per cent of the new house-courts are of the best type. The chief housing inspector and his corps of associates have been able to secure the construction of better house-courts than the housing ordinances require. By a constant and persistent policy of education, they have been able to secure for the new house-courts more plumbing facilities, more window space, more yard area, and higher ceilings than are required in the ordinances. They have been successful in pointing out to the landlords who are building, that it pays in the long run to build houses out of substantial building material and to furnish much that will make for comfortable living conditions.

While the housing commission has no legal power to tear down poor houses and to have new ones built, it has exerted, successfully, an influence that has been for the good of all concerned.

The house-court has many splendid possibilities in the way of housing the people. The ventilation and sunshine possibilities are excellent. In a well-constructed court the danger from fire is small. The garden-city idea is possible with the house-court type of dwellings. The inner court upon which the dwellings face offers unlimited opportunities for wholesome social contact and group development.

If land values could be kept low so that rents could be kept reasonable, the house-court would offer in many ways ideal housing facilities. The best class of house-court, namely the bungalow court, is more attractive than the ordinary flat or apartment and in most ways is superior for actual living purposes and for homes for the people.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

The eleventh annual meeting of the American Sociological Society will be held in Columbus, Ohio, December 27-29, 1916. At the same time and place the American Economic Association, the American Association for Labor Legislation, and the American Statistical Association will hold their annual meetings. The headquarters for these associations will be the Deshler Hotel, which is located at the corner of Broad and High streets. Members are advised to make their reservations early. Reservations should be sent direct to the manager of the hotel.

So far as arranged, the program is as follows:

### GENERAL SUBJECT: "THE SOCIOLOGY OF RURAL LIFE"

#### WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 27

8:00 P.M. Joint Session with the American Economic Association and the American Statistical Association.

##### Presidential Addresses:

PRESIDENT T. N. CARVER, American Economic Association.

PRESIDENT CHARLES P. NEILL, American Statistical Association.

PRESIDENT GEORGE E. VINCENT, American Sociological Society.

#### THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28

9:00 A.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee.

10:00 A.M. Paper: "City v. Country," REV. WARREN H. WILSON, Presbyterian Board of Home Missions.

Paper: "Folk Depletion as a Cause of Rural Decline," PROFESSOR E. A. ROSS, University of Wisconsin.

Paper: "The Organization of the Farmers."

Discussion.

2:00 P.M. Paper: "The Mind of the Farmer," PROFESSOR E. R. GROVES, New Hampshire College.

Paper: "Social Control: Personal Ideals of Country Boys and Girls," PROFESSOR MARY E. SWEENEY, University of Kentucky.

Paper: "The Development of Rural Leadership," PROFESSOR G. WALTER FISKE, Oberlin College.

Discussion.

- 8:00 P.M.** Joint Session with the American Economic Association and the American Statistical Association.  
Paper: "Social Aspects of American Land Problems," **PROFESSOR PAUL L. VOGT**, Ohio State University.  
Paper: "Rural Credits," **DR. C. W. THOMPSON**, specialist on rural organization, United States Department of Agriculture.  
Discussion.

**FRIDAY, DECEMBER 29**

- 9:00 A.M.** Annual Business Meeting of the American Sociological Society.  
**10:00 A.M.** Paper: "The Consolidated School as a Community Center."  
Paper: "Social Control: Rural Religion," **REV. C. O. GILL**, secretary of the Commission on Church and Country Life of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.  
Paper: "Co-operation and the Community Spirit," **PROFESSOR A. D. WILSON**, director of agricultural extension, University of Minnesota.  
Discussion.  
**2:00 P.M.** Paper: "Rural Surveys," **DR. C. W. THOMPSON**.  
Paper: "The Scope and Methods of Instruction in Rural Sociology," **PROFESSOR JOHN M. GILLETTE**, University of North Dakota.  
Discussion.

## REVIEWS

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*Social Freedom. A Study of the Conflicts between Social Classifications and Personality.* By ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS. New York: Putnam, 1915. Pp. iv+106. \$1.00.

A spirited plea for the rights of "personality" as against the irrationality, wastefulness, and repressiveness of such traditional social categories as age, sex, kin, and caste fills the pages of this thin volume. Friendship, freed from merely conventional valuations, should apparently supplant the less free criteria of association (pp. 83-93). "The freest possible contact between personalities will be recognized as the *raison d'être* for society, and to the developing personal relationships will be turned the energies spent in the past upon blocking and hindering them" (p. 105). The attitude of the book may be clearly illustrated from the discussion of the traditional category to which the author gives most attention—sex. She says: "Recognizing its limitations, will not society begin to regard sex relations as purely private relations, no more its business than friendships? . . . Time will be, one ventures to predict, when the sex relationship likewise will come into its rights of privacy, to freedom from direct community control" (pp. 34, 35). "Since mating and parenthood are seen to be theoretically distinguishable, is not any relation of sex, we are asking, to be self-determining, arising and developing according to the natures of the lovers themselves, not to be determined by or in the interests of others, the only test of the relationship, the effect of the one personality upon the other?" (p. 32). The hope of the family, she holds, is not in restraint, but in the recognition of a greater freedom for its members. ". . . Within the family circle none must be kept reluctant or unwilling, none who would leave it either once and for all or merely from time to time" (p. 49).

To the reviewer the standpoint of the book appears as extreme as the one it criticizes. All the author says against the irrational traditional categories is abundantly true. What, then, is the remedy? Her proposal is in effect to go over to the opposite pole of complete individualism. Does not the truth lie outside these two extremes, in a third method, in the substitution of rational and scientific social controls for the old traditional ones? It is striking that in an age of science we so long

hesitate to apply it to the control of human conduct. Do not, in part at least, the old traditional controls represent a more or less blind, prescientific struggle for collective protection against those types of "personality" which have objected to recognizing the limitations imposed upon action by the presence of other personalities which also claim rights?

While much space is given to the analysis of the objectional categories, data being drawn from various anthropological sources, nowhere does the author define her substitute criterion, "personality." Which does she mean by personality—action without constraint, or action under a new scientifically organized control as distinct from the old controls of status? The context appears to indicate the former rather than the latter. Such vagueness of definition is baffling to the student who seeks a method which he can test.

L. L. BERNARD

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

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*Poverty the Challenge to the Church.* By JOHN SIMPSON PENMAN.  
Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1915. Pp. xii+138. \$1.00.

The aim of this brief treatment of poverty is to focus the reader's attention on those preventable causes found in social and economic maladjustment rather than on those inhering in personal and character defect, and, further, to show that a solution of poverty is possible within the present economic system as contrasted with that offered by socialism. The remedies are found in the minimum wage, profit-sharing, and in social legislation covering workmen's compensation, industrial insurance, etc. In discussing these reforms, and in all his treatment of the distribution of wealth, the author recognizes the time element involved, as well as the more sinister fact that their adoption waits upon the good-will of the capitalist and the captain of industry. In the event of the masters proving to be uneducable and unsocial, socialism is the outcome to be expected.

The chapter dealing with the relation of the church to the problem is frankly critical, but not, therefore, without constructive suggestions. In applying the method of the Consumers' League to the purchase of stocks and bonds, and in insistence upon those physical conditions necessary to right living, the author sets a higher standard than now prevails among church people. His counsels are: turn on the light, put justice above philanthropy, support social legislation, buy white securities only, relate the ethics of Jesus to economic life, keep the pulpit

free. That this last counsel is very difficult to realize the author candidly recognizes. He might possibly have added the value of the forum idea as a church method for the sympathetic discussion of all the problems involved. The book is valuable alike for its array of statistics and for its sanity.

ALLAN HOBEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Fundamentals of Sociology.* By EDWIN A. KIRKPATRICK. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916. Pp. x+291. \$1.25.

The author is primarily a psychologist, and has made contributions to the literature of psychology with special reference to education. After more than a quarter of a century of interest in education, psychology, and sociology, he has become convinced that "sociology may be of as much value to education as psychology." He affirms that "the science of education constitutes one division of sociology," and that out of its "immense literature of facts, researches, theories, and speculations there is just emerging the new science of sociology that must be the basis of all successful reforms."

The present work is intended as a brief text for classes, particularly in normal schools. "No attempt has been made at completeness of treatment of any topic." But the materials chosen are clearly conceived and excellently presented. Although "no effort has been spared to reveal the fundamental influences affecting group life and action," one cannot help wishing that teachers who go into sociology at all might go into it a little more deeply. Simplicity is secured by turning attention to the overt activities of society and away from the prevalent ideas and sentiments of which overt activities are the expression. This is like making astronomy easy by teaching the Ptolemaic system, which is simpler than the facts. Explanation of social activities and of the differences between different societies and different stages of social evolution is possible only through study of the modes of variation in prevalent ideas and sentiments and of the types of causation by which prevalent ideas and sentiments are molded. It is the study of this inner essence of social life that affords the basis for social control and renders the most significant service of sociology to education. The author classifies the social activities according to the needs which these activities aim to supply, namely, economic, protective, recreative, cultural, social, moral and religious, and educational needs. The space devoted to educational needs lacks only two pages of being one-fourth of the text. Three



chapters are devoted to "community studies" designed to prepare the student to become acquainted with his own environment. Each chapter is followed by skilful questions.

It is an excellent book with marked limitations.

EDWARD C. HAYES

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

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*Sociology.* By JOHN M. GILLETTE. [The National Social Science Series.] Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1916. Pp. 159. \$0.50.

This little primer aims to give simple explanations of the main topics usually discussed in formal works on sociology. It is intended for the general reader who has neither time nor perhaps inclination for the study of standard works. To use the words of the author, "There is nothing original in it except that it is the formulation and views of a teacher and student of the vast field of sociology." Perhaps the popular character of the volume affected somewhat the author's interest, for his English is frequently slipshod and crude, and many little inaccuracies of statement or conclusion presumably would have been avoided, had he written for a more scholarly circle of readers. On the whole, however, the book satisfies the author's purpose, and presents in twelve brief, readable chapters such topics as the origin and nature of society, social institutions, social order, evolution and progress, and a rather poor closing chapter on "The Elimination of the Unfit." The first five chapters, explaining the results of historical studies, are much better in quality than the later chapters devoted to topics of a somewhat theoretical nature. Chap. vi, especially, on "The Nature of Society," is weak, as, for example, in the discussion of the social-contract theory.

The concluding pages contain some references for each of the chapters, and a good index completes the volume.

J. Q. DEALEY

BROWN UNIVERSITY

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*An Introduction to the Study of Organized Labor in America.* By GEORGE GORHAM GROAT. New York: Macmillan, 1916. Pp. xv+494. \$1.75.

The importance of this book is attributable to the fact that it is the first book of the textbook type confined entirely to the problems of organized labor in America. It is an organization of the material which

has been appearing in magazine articles and other special studies, or in general books in connection with other labor problems. It represents, therefore, a tendency to standardize the study. In view of that, and also because this book is likely to become a textbook or general reference work on trade unionism in this country, it is important to inquire whether it has laid down the lines that ought to be followed in such a study and whether it ought to be accepted as such a general reference work.

The book is undoubtedly of scientific rank. The author has detailed information regarding unionism, and he writes carefully and accurately. The book will be accepted as good authority. The only exception to an impartial and fair attitude is merely a case of exaggerated fairness, when the statement is made regarding the unions, "There is no danger at present of their cause being presented too favorably or of readers being too much prejudiced in their favor" (p. vi).

The general plan of organization of the book is desirable. It is divided into six parts, as follows: background, structure, collective bargaining, political activity, transitional stages (dealing with jurisdictional disputes and industrial unionism), and conclusions. Though this is a desirable outline, the author finds apparent difficulty in confining his materials in it. For instance, Part II, on "Structure," contains such extraneous material as the policies of the Knights of Labor, the attitude of union members toward women in industry, and the estimate of the present numerical strength of unions in the United States. But it excludes the discussion of the industrial form of unionism. The result is that the author fails to give a general view of union structures or to develop any general conclusions regarding the nature, classes, determinants, or other characteristics of structure, though he presents an admirable analysis of the structure of the American Federation of Labor. But the organization of Part I, on "Background," is the least satisfactory. There is no apparent reason for including in that part a chapter on the wage theories of the political economists, of having a chapter on industrial history unless specific connections are to be traced between industrial events and trade-union characteristics, or of dividing the trade-union history into periods by means of wars.

But the important question concerning such a book is, What should it do and what should it contain? This problem has been attacked by Hoxie and, to some extent, by Commons. In view of their studies, the best answer to the question seems to be that the purpose of such a book should be to give an understanding of trade unionism, and in order to

understand trade unionism the thing of primary importance is to understand trade unionists. This means that it is essential to understand their ideals, aims, policies, attitudes, dispositions, theories, and philosophy—to understand these both as a more or less consistent body of thought and as an adjustment to certain conditions and problems of life. In other words, it should be primarily a social psychology of the trade unionists.

Groat cannot be accused of having no material of that kind, but he has pushed most of it into a short chapter of conclusions, and the general plan of the book is based on other designs. For instance, in Part III, on "Collective Bargaining," he makes practically no effort to present reasons why the trade unionists demand or defend collective bargaining, but discusses these points: strikes, arbitration, boycott, closed shop, trade agreement, restriction of membership, and output and trade-union benefits. Those points have to do entirely with the technique of collective bargaining or with the means of enforcing collective bargaining. A detailed study of the several chapters in that part shows that the author is interested primarily in definitions, statistics, methods, and technique. Those points are undoubtedly important, but they do not furnish all that is necessary in order to understand the spirit of organized labor or the social psychology of the trade unionist.

In general, the strength of the book lies in its impartial attitude, in the excellent description of the structure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the extensive discussion of the legal aspects of unionism. Its weakness is that it does not give the reader an acquaintance with the trade unionists as people or with the spirit of organized labor; also, one wonders why no analysis of the railway brotherhoods was included, in view of their pre-eminent success and significant characteristics.

E. H. SUTHERLAND

WILLIAM JEWELL COLLEGE

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*Industrial Arbitration. A World-wide Survey of Natural and Political Agencies for Social Justice and Industrial Peace.* By CARL H. MOTE. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1916. Pp. 351+xlv. \$1.50.

The thesis of this book is that "neither voluntary nor compulsory arbitration will work with any conspicuous degree of success in this country until the worker has been set free economically; until he is given a compelling voice against his employer as to his wages, hours, and working

conditions" (p. 349), and that after such "primary justice" is secured, arbitration will be largely unnecessary (p. 11). Thus his thesis is that arbitration is characteristically either unsuccessful or else unnecessary, and in either case is largely without value.

This interesting thesis is drawn as a conclusion from a survey of the systems of industrial arbitration in England, Germany, France, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, and the United States. Whatever importance can be attributed to this book lies in the statement of this thesis and in the massing of information that can be used to prove it rather than in the rigor of the proof. In fact, his material is scattered and jumbled, his argument is scrappy, and the conglomerate mass of interesting information regarding industrial conditions, designed to throw light on the systems of arbitration, is of slight value because of the lack of organization. From the evidence which is submitted, his conclusion that the failure of arbitration is inherent in the principle of arbitration is not justified; the evidence could have been used to prove that the failure was due to the low ideals of the administrative officers. The thesis is important and well deserves the careful work necessary to verify it. But the book, as it stands, is one of those that deal vaguely with "social justice."

It is evident, also, that the author fails to appreciate many of the important industrial facts and movements in this country. He states that the Knights of Labor was an organization based on the principle of industrial unionism (p. 195), he misinterprets the socialist argument (pp. 4-6), and he admires the recent Industrial Relations Commission.

E. H. SUTHERLAND

WILLIAM JEWELL COLLEGE

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*The Next Step in Democracy.* By R. W. SELLARS, PH.D. New York: Macmillan, 1916. Pp. v+275.

It is refreshing to read a book on democracy so penetrating, so sensible, and so constructive as this. The author would characterize his viewpoint as that of philosophic socialism, but in his treatment there is little or nothing to suggest the traditional socialist dogmas. Half of the book is concerned with an interpretation of socialism as the great democratic movement of the nineteenth century. In this part error and accuracy of thinking are characterized impartially. Considerable space is given to the consideration of, and reply to, the current objections to socialism as a democratic movement. It is significant of the growth

of socialism that the old theological and ethical objections are not even mentioned. The major terms in the author's democratic-socialistic program are really co-operation in industry and reformed taxation as a means to better distribution of wealth (pp. 118, 127).

The second group of chapters deals with justice in democracy with chief emphasis upon the relative rights of labor and capital. The dissection of the self-complacent capitalistic claims to excessive recognition privilege, and profits under the present order is merciless. "The time may come—in spite of what our business men say—when the average hard-headed employer may demand not much more than twice as much as the genius in science, to whom most of our modern inventions are at least indirectly due. . . . Society babied and flattered its business type during the nineteenth century" (p. 101). Again, "A society which toils overhard to give fools wherewith to disport themselves is a foolish society. But a society which does this while those who work have not a satisfactory standard of living and the children of ability have not the means to develop their gifts for the good of all is criminal as well as foolish" (p. 191). He would place the minimum reward for the workers at an efficiency standard of living (p. 190). Part of the virtue of this book lies in the fact that it proffers a constructive disillusionment regarding our traditionally revered social order: "Let us not fool ourselves: the society of today in the United States is not democracy, it is plutocratic commercialism dominated by pecuniary values. Democracy is as yet largely a matter of vague sentiment and of perplexed wishing" (p. 150).

The author insists that the bases of society are fundamentally psychological, though his constructive suggestions are largely in the field of industry, as indicated above. He seems anxious to disarm the criticism that socialism will destroy personal liberty through strict regimentation of the members of the state, and apparently falls into the error of describing a voluntary social order (pp. 133, 198, 211-13) which would probably be ineffective because of the lack of machinery of social control.

In the last two chapters, entitled "Reflections on the War" and "Can We Universalize Democracy?" he regards the "preparedness" propaganda as an expression of our one-sided industrialism rather than of any real need for national protection, and urges a domestic preparedness for social welfare (p. 245), and he favors a league to enforce peace (p. 238) as a substitute for national aggressiveness. In an unrestricted immigration and an uncontrolled growth of population he perceives two significant obstacles to the early realization of democracy because of their

unfavorable effect upon the standard of living (p. 268). He attempts, in fact, to demonstrate that democracy can come only as a slow growth, primarily through industrial education (p. 221), the democratic dissemination of knowledge (p. 260), and the gradual unification of the world through commerce and industry (p. 263).

L. L. BERNARD

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

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*Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War.* By W. TROTTER. New York: Macmillan, 1916. 8vo, pp. 213.

This is another war book, but with a difference. Instead of an attempt to mobilize the resources of society in order to make war, especially the present European war, more intelligible to a startled and disconcerted world, it is rather an attempt to use the fact of this war to illustrate and make persuasive certain interesting speculations about the nature of society and of the human beings who compose it.

The book consists of two parts. The first is an essay, published in 1908 and 1909 in the *Sociological Review*. The second part is an expansion of the earlier paper, with the fruits of ten years of later reflection, in special application to the present war.

On the whole, this may be characterized as the revival of an old quest, the search for a biological basis for the fact of the social existence of man. The author finds it in the herd instinct. Man is a creature such that he not only wants and demands the society of other men, but he is so made that, instinctively and without reflection, he tends to bow to the conventions of society and to accept without question the decrees of the mores and of public opinion. This is the herd instinct.

It will inevitably occur to some readers that this is merely stating an old problem in a new form. It is already quite clear that man is made for society, that, in fact, human nature in the narrower and more specific sense of that term is just the product of natural man moving and bumping around in his human environment. The important question is rather: What are the specific responses to the specific stimulations that tend to develop this human nature in the natural man, and what sort of human nature do these different stimulations develop? To put the matter in sociological terms, the question is: How does man respond to the different social situations in which he finds himself? How differently do different kinds of men react to the same situations? How many kinds of men and how many kinds of social situations are there, and what are the responses of different types of men to each?

This instinct of the herd in its primary form as it appears in the lower animals, is like other instincts so far as it impels man to do what he likes to do. That is what we expect of instinct. It is, in fact, in its very nature that the creature should want to do what its instinct impels it to do, and that it should feel restless and unhappy when the instinctive impulse is inhibited. The herd instinct, as defined by the present author differs from the other instincts in that it indirectly impels the animals who possess it to do things that they do not want to do. The herd instinct achieves this novel and paradoxical result because of its alliance with the conventions and public opinion of the herd. This is the instinct in its secondary form as it appears in man.

The herd instinct does not determine what the conventions or public opinion shall be; it merely insures that whatever they are they will tend to dominate the other natural impulses and dispositions. "With the social animal controlled by herd instinct, it is not the actual deed which is instinctively done, but the order to do it which is instinctively obeyed. The deed, being ordained from without, may actually be unpleasant, and so be resisted from the individual side, and yet be forced instinctively into execution. The instinctive act seems to have been too much associated in current thought with the idea of yielding to an impulse irresistibly pleasant to the body, yet it is very obvious that herd instinct at once introduces a mechanism by which the sanctions of instinct are conferred upon acts by no means necessarily acceptable to the body or mind" (p. 48).

This, it must be admitted, is a queer instinct, and few persons will be disposed to agree to the definition of instinct on which it is based. But then, few people will agree to any definition of an instinct.

Interesting, however, is the suggestion of the author as to the sociological effects of the conflicts that arise between the natural man and the inhibitions imposed by social convention, re-enforced as they are by the herd instinct. The existence of these conflicts produces a condition of mental instability, crime, insanity, in certain portions of the population.

The part of the population in which conflicts arise is just that which diverges from the normal or statistical average. The divergent types are suppressed by the herd instinct. This in the past has been, we may suppose, a function valuable to society. At present it is injurious because it suppresses the sports and variants in the population, whose disposition, if organized into, and accepted as part of, the existing social organism, would make for change and progress.

We may, however, look forward to a possibly sudden expansion of social life consequent upon the application of reason and rational control, in place of instinct and tradition, to the affairs and problems of social life. Germany illustrates such an application of reason and science to the problems of communal existence. But Germany, although it represents, after a manner of speaking, a higher social species of gregariousness than the rest of the world, is, unfortunately for her and for the rest of the world, organized upon the aggressive or lupine model rather than upon that of the industrial hive, like England, for example, which represents what the author calls "social gregariousness." And the wolf form of government, like all other predacious forms of life, is destined to disappear. This is the application and the moral.

The worst and the best that can be said about a book of this kind is that it is suggestive. It entertains, it enlivens, it starts a flock of ideas, but it settles nothing. It offers no firm and safe abiding-place for the thoughts it starts in motion. The future student who travels this way will note that others have preceded him, but he will find little to guide him to his destination. Mr. Trotter, like so many of the rest of us, is still an explorer.

ROBERT E. PARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Care and Training of Orphan and Fatherless Girls.* [Proceedings of a Conference on the Prospective Work of Carson College for Girls and Charles E. Ellis College.] Philadelphia: William F. Fell Co., 1915. Pp. xi+236.

This volume is a report of the proceedings of a conference of social, educational, and vocational experts called by the trustees of Carson College for Orphan Girls and Ellis College for Fatherless Girls at the suggestion of the Child-Helping Department of the Russell Sage Foundation to consider the wisest administering of these large foundations, which, together, represent \$8,000,000. Each is benevolently designed, but based upon no actual knowledge of either the number or the real needs of their intended beneficiaries, who reduce themselves, upon investigation, to slightly over three hundred girls, some of them already cared for in other institutions.

The discussion centers around the problem of vocational training for these girls, and opens up most of the moot points in connection with what woman's work shall be. The administrative side of the vocational training of these girls offers serious problems also. Shall the



trustees of these colleges utilize the schools and equipment of Philadelphia, using some of their funds to develop and perfect them, or shall a special plant and equipment be established by these colleges for their own exclusive use? Finally, shall the strict letter of the wills of the founders be carried out and institutions (although of the most modern types) be established, or shall these colleges co-operate with, and aid in, the placing-out system for girls in Pennsylvania?

The size of these endowments and their consequent power for good or evil in the whole system of care of dependent children in Pennsylvania and in the United States itself brings into the discussion of these plans a wide view of their possibilities and a broad interpretation of their powers and responsibilities that makes these proceedings of constructive value apart from their particular bearing upon Carson and Ellis colleges.

FRANCES FENTON BERNARD

COLUMBIA, MO.

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*Papers and Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Academy of Social Sciences.* Edited by J. F. EBERSOLE. Minneapolis: Free Press Printing Co., 1915. Pp. v+203.

The general topic of these proceedings is "Woman and the State." The president's address, however, has for its subject "Minimum Wage Legislation to Date," by Rev. John A. Ryan, and is a valuable historical statement of the matter for all countries. The majority of the papers, with the exception of those in the last session on "Equal Suffrage," are largely concerned with bringing out facts in regard to the operation and administration of Minnesota institutions and of the mother's pension law in Minnesota. They make no particular contribution to social theory. The discussion of mothers' pensions as practiced in Minnesota and other cities and states is a very good survey of the subject. However, two important points in this connection receive little or no emphasis: first, a mother's pension, not based, in amount, upon a carefully worked-out standard of living for the community in which it is to operate, is relatively ineffective for the purpose for which it is designed; secondly, unless the recipients have had some training in the spending of this pension, or unless there is instruction of the mothers in this spending at the time of receiving it, it will not bring in its full value in balanced food, proper shelter, etc., for the family.

FRANCES FENTON BERNARD

COLUMBIA, MO.

*The Socialism of New Zealand.* By ROBERT H. HUTCHINSON.  
New York: New Review Publishing Association, 1916.  
Pp. x+155. \$1.10.

After discussing the "historical evolution" of New Zealand, the author takes up the different governmental industries. While admitting that the managing policy of the railroads was development rather than profit, he severely criticizes their unbusiness-like management and political control. The post-office, which includes telephone, telegraph, express, savings bank, the agency for the insurance and pension offices, and tax collector, as well as acting as a polling-place for absent voters, is ranked as wonderfully efficient, giving low rates and splendid service. The insurance department has survived the severe competition of private companies and is succeeding. Other governmental enterprises are briefly treated.

The chapter on "Public Debt and Land Administration" shows that through its borrowing the government is dependent upon the capitalist class. The land problem has been to break up or prevent large estates, and the land legislation has consisted of acts selling or leasing public lands on easy terms.

In treating "Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration" the author asserts that this feature has been overemphasized in the past; that New Zealand is an agricultural, not an industrial, country. While this met with universal favor at first, it is little used now, and in fact he contends that compulsory arbitration has run its course and that no longer can New Zealand be called the "land without strikes."

Woman's suffrage did not bring the expected reforms, but received the support of the women, 82 per cent of them using the ballot as against 84 per cent of the men. It has also elevated woman's position and has won for her greater respect.

The chapter on "Social Legislation and Social Conditions" is probably the best-written one in the book, giving clear presentation of the systems of old-age and widows' pensions, workmen's compensation, accident insurance, factory acts, shop laws, and sweating, also a description of the Labor Department and National Provident Fund.

Chapters are added on the "Recent Strike and Present Situation" and "State Socialism and the War," of which the latter seems to be outside the general subject.

While pointing out the healthy condition of the laboring population, the author denies the absence of social classes. He claims that graft plays a small part in New Zealand politics. While claiming success for

the system, the author repeatedly points out that it is not "state socialism" but "state capitalism" which New Zealand enjoys. He also claims that New Zealand is no longer initiating new legislation, but seems content to rest with what she has.

The book is not a technical treatise, but a brief simple work for the general reader, and is both readable and instructive.

G. S. Dow

OLIVET COLLEGE

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*Economic Aspects of the War. Neutral Rights, Belligerent Claims and American Commerce in the Years 1914 and 1915.* By EDWIN J. CLAPP. New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. xiv+329. \$1.50.

This timely and readable volume treats of a most absorbing topic. The author gives as his reason for writing the book "that we Americans were paying too much attention to the affairs of the belligerents and too little to our own. After all, we are by no means untouched by the war. It imperils not only our present material interests but also neutral rights upon which the material interests of peaceful nations in the future depend. The neutral world is waiting for us to realize and assert its rights and ours. Hence this statement of what those rights are and this record of what seems to have occurred to threaten them."

The book begins with a discussion of international law, taking as a basis the London Declaration. The orders in Council of August and October are treated and their effect upon neutral shipping is discussed. He shows that by these orders the British government so modified the conditions of the London Declaration as seriously to impair the rights of neutral shippers. He cites specifically the "Wilhelmina" case and the circumstances governing foodstuffs, copper, and cotton.

The author devotes a chapter to a consideration of the practicability of starving Germany out, but expresses doubt as to the possibility of ending the war by "economic pressure." The book would seem to be partisan, since a large amount of specific criticism is directed against Great Britain. This attitude, however, is explained in these words: "When both belligerents are breaking the law, and each is claiming the acts of the other as justification, the pressure of neutrals must be applied to the one which refuses to join in a return to law and order. Our problem is to compel that joint acceptance of a compromise which we proposed in our note to the belligerents in February. Germany is ready for acceptance; the pressure must be applied to England" (p. 309).

In the appendix are found all the most important notes and orders affecting the question of international trade. The book is well written and is interesting to the business man, the student, the statesman, and the general reader.

A. W. TAYLOR

WASHINGTON STATE COLLEGE

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*The Work of Our Hands. A Study of Occupations for Invalids.* By HERBERT J. HALL, M.D., and MERTICE M. C. BUCK. New York: Moffat, Yard & Co. Pp. xxvii+211.

The magnitude of the need now felt in Europe of fitting work to the limited physical capacities of war cripples lends emphasis to the analogous needs of the victims of accidents and diseases of peace. As the authors of this useful little book point out, "If the discharged and handicapped patients from hospitals all over the country could be given legitimate work which would secure them even half of the usual wage, a very great load would be lifted from charity, and a still greater load from the minds and hearts of the workers. . . . The thousands who are now idle, not from choice but because they no longer fit the regular industries, represent a source of power and of wealth that has been curiously overlooked. These men and women are the waste human product of the industrial world, a product so valuable that its use would mean a revolution in industrial and in charitable affairs" (pp. xviii-xix).

The beginnings of effort in this country have been with the insane, for whom an interest in suitable work has proved the one avenue of release in many cases; the blind, the crippled, and those suffering from heart disease have also profited in a similar way.

Among the most serviceable types of work are hand weaving, pottery, cement working, farming, and gardening. The essence of the work cure consists probably in the substitution of a constructive and objective state of mind for the brooding subjectivism of the ordinary invalid. Work of the sort just outlined may be provided both in workshops maintained in connection with hospitals and similar institutions, or in outside workshops "where under special observation chronic patients discharged from the hospitals may find opportunity for remunerative work."

The book is divided into two parts, the first of which presents a general discussion of the subject, while the second consists of a specialized account of methods suitable in the case of various disorders mainly nervous and mental.

ERVILLE B. WOODS

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

*Painless Childbirth, Eutocia, and Nitrous Oxid-Oxygen Analgesia.*

By CARL HENRY DAVIS, M.D. Chicago: Forbes & Co., 1916. 1 vol. Pp. 134. \$1.00.

Two or three years ago, the American public was informed—unfortunately by lay writers in popular magazines—of the use of scopolamine and morphine in obstetrics under the suggestive and illusionary title “Twilight Sleep” or *Dämmerschlaf*. A number of years previous, this method had been found wanting by reputable physicians, but nevertheless it was received and exploited as a *new* boon to motherhood, discovered at Freiburg, Germany!

As a contrast to such deprecatory agitation, it is pleasing to read the book by Dr. Carl Henry Davis, in which he discusses the “painless childbirth” propaganda from a scientific medical viewpoint, but in such language that a non-medical person can understand the subject and form a fairly accurate opinion. The book contains a brief history of the management of labor from primitive times up to the present, and explains the various methods that have been employed in the attempt to secure easy childbirth. Dr. Davis is a strong advocate—as is every well-informed humanitarian—of reducing pain during labor, provided there are no deleterious effects. The advantages and greater disadvantages of the so-called “twilight sleep” are clearly brought forth. The analgesic use of nitrous oxid and oxygen is enthusiastically advocated to produce *eutocia*, which Davis defines as “an easy natural delivery.” Much clinical evidence is incorporated in the book, and the technique is also described. So much that is vague, popular, and faddish has been written on “painless childbirth” that those who are interested—laymen or physicians—will appreciate this well-written booklet.

PAUL NICHOLAS LEECH

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION  
CHICAGO

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*America and Her Problems.* By PAUL H. B. d'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT. New York: Macmillan, 1915. Pp. xxii+545.

This volume seeks to give a faithful presentment of the present of the United States, together with the author's vision of its future. It is based upon several visits to America, particularly an elaborate tour made in 1911, and upon a large and intimate acquaintance with men and women prominently identified with all phases of American life.

The observations and criticisms are made in a frank spirit of admiration for American initiative, courage, and optimism. They reflect in an interesting and instructive way the reactions of an eminent French statesman, possessed of a broad, international outlook on life, to the salient facts of the New World. The writer's confidence in its future and mission is boundless. In America's political experience, in its fine idealism and splendid courage, in its history of unexampled prosperity due, as he believes, to a policy of peace and conciliation, he finds a basis for the hope that America may show the Old World the danger and futility of imperialism and the profit and wisdom of peace. "The Americans are not free from all obligations toward Europe. Let them apply their national enthusiasm to international life. As they call upon children to regenerate parents, so let them act as good sons to the countries from which they sprang, and let the renovation of Europe be their work" (p. 521).

ARNOLD BENNETT HALL

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

*The Japanese Crisis.* By JAMES A. B. SCHERER. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1916. Pp. 148. \$0.75.

The author has had five years' personal knowledge of the Japanese in their home country and several years' acquaintance with their behavior under normal and abnormal conditions in California.

He believes that Japan will not have a militant attitude toward the United States, provided we, as individuals and as a nation, manifest the spirit of a gentleman and a true statesman. He holds that both governments should enact laws against intermarriage—not on biological grounds, but as a matter of prudential policy. He argues against the agricultural competition of the Japanese, but opposes the California alien land law of 1913. He advocates, however, a non-discriminatory alien land law and a constitutional amendment, if necessary, for taking the settling of international questions out of the hands of the respective states and putting them under the direct control of the nation.

The value of the book is increased by the inclusion of the Japanese law relating to the foreigner's right to own land in Japan, the California alien land law of 1913, and the American-Japanese treaty of 1911. While the volume is an incomplete discussion of "the Japanese crisis," it is a distinct contribution to the growing body of literature on the Japanese question.

E. S. BOGARDUS

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

*Select Discussions of Race Problems. A Collection of Papers of Especial Use in the Study of Negro American Problems.* [The Atlanta University Publications, No. 20.] Edited by J. A. BIGHAM. Atlanta, Ga.: Atlanta University Press, 1916. Pp. 108.

Most of the eight papers here collected are already familiar to students of race problems, but it is convenient to have them brought together in usable form. Professor von Luschan's discussion of the "Anthropological View of Race" was presented at the London Races Congress in 1911, and Boas' "Race Problems in the United States" appeared first in his book, *The Mind of Primitive Man*. Papers by Dr. Mall on "Anatomical Characters of the Human Brain" and by Professor Woodworth on "Racial Differences in Mental Traits" present the results of research in more technical fields. In addition to the formal papers there is a review of the work of the Atlanta University Conferences and Social Studies during the past twenty years.

ULYSSES G. WEATHERLY

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

## RECENT LITERATURE

### NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

**Japan and North America.**—The clash of interests in the Pacific has strained the relations between the two countries for quite a number of years. The Philippines would not only be a very important outpost to guard Japan's interests in China against foreign powers, but also a very important station on her way to South China, Burma, Borneo, and India, as well as on her way West. The native press has therefore never hesitated openly to create sentiment for the conquest of the islands. The fact that warlike operations against North America at present are not advisable does not condemn her to inactivity. The Philippines, as well as Hawaii and Ceylon, are flooded with emissaries who incite the natives to revolutions. The distrust of the Latin-American republics toward the United States is utilized in every possible way. Treaties are made, and large Japanese colonies are established in the Central States on the border of the Republic of Panama. The South Sea Islands, formerly German possessions, are now in Japanese hands. Japan wisely refused to be dragged deeper into the European struggle, and instead of becoming a customer of North America, she turned around and became a very undesirable competitor in the sale of war materials. The accident to the cruiser, "Azuma," in one of Mexico's best harbors, was very significant, since it kept a man-of-war in Mexican waters during a very critical time. Even more significant is her unscrupulous violation of China's integrity in spite of North America's protest. North America, through its shortsighted policy, is condemned to play the part of a passive spectator; Japan, already mindful of the serious breaks in the ring of the entente, carefully guards her independence, and is preparing for a new alliance more profitable for her coming struggle with North America and England.—Alfredo Hartwig, "Japan und Nordamerika," *Deutsche Rundschau*, March, 1916. Z. T. E.

**The Boy Scout Movement.**—This movement owes its origin to the genius of Lieutenant General Sir Robert Baden Powell. The idea of training boys in scouting dates from 1884, when he applied it to recruits in his regiment, and, in revised form, from 1897, to young soldiers in the 5th Dragoon Guards. He had found that it was necessary to develop a man's character before putting upon him the routine training of drill. To put the whole thing in a nutshell, scouting is a moral force—a game perhaps, but a serious game, a matter (as Lord Rosebery has said) "of high importance, inspiring and uplifting every detail of a boy's life. It is a great fellowship, embodied to preserve and observe great principles—self-help and help to others, patriotism, loyalty, honor, faith, and duty." During the few years of its existence, this movement for the development of character has laid hold of the whole civilized world, there being nearly a million members at the present time. The idea in the mind of Sir Robert Baden Powell was to produce that type of manliness which is best exhibited in the frontiersman of our colonies, men distinguished for their energy, resourcefulness, pluck, and endurance. The game is one in which muscles, brains, and morals all have a part, and it is just because of the intimate connection that exists between these that the moral element is able to exert so great an influence for good. In a word the Boy Scout movement is a moral movement meeting a need not otherwise met by education.—Ernest Young, *The Living Age*, July, 1916. H. C. C.

**Religious Conceptions of the Itonama Indians of Bolivia.**—The Itonama Indians number a little over 300, and have been Christians for over two centuries. Of their former industries they retain only basket-making and weaving, but they still speak their original language. The spirits of the deceased play a great rôle among them, making demands upon everything they possessed in life. When an Itonama dies he



becomes "Chokihua," living in forests close to his old habitat. Every tree, field, and place has its Chokihua, and none of these must be touched or disturbed. As a consequence, old fields are left untilled, trees are not cut down, and no Itonama dares to dig in the ground. Witchcraft is very strong among them. In case of sickness, accident, intended trips, or anything of importance, the spirits are consulted through the witches at great financial expense. Every animal has its plant, its "Huahoa," to which it has some mythical relation. A few are dangerous, but most of them are harmless. Man himself has several Huahoas, but they are medicinal plants. A few traces of totemism are found in their regard for the wild boar and the chatter apes of that region. The faith in Chokihua will not soon disappear. The church of the village is in ruins; and of Christianity itself there remain only the drunken orgies on festival days and the burning of light before the worn images of saints. These saints are only Chokihua to them.—Erland Nordenskiöld, "Die religiöse Vorstellungen der Itonama-Indianer," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Hefte II und III, 1915. C. C. J.

**Sanitary Districts in the Analysis of Municipal Mortality and Morbidity Data.**—This paper is a plea for the more effective use of vital statistics in assisting health practice and administration. Previous attempts to utilize them have used too large units in their investigations. "For an accurate understanding of causes of death and illness, which is preliminary to action for prevention, the vital facts are needed for narrower, more homogeneous areas. The unit for tabulation and analysis should be a sanitary area, with relatively homogeneous conditions." This study should be permanent, in order to determine the effects of changing conditions in the area. Thus, vital statistics would become valuable for research as well as for record. Infant mortality, the specific causes of deaths and disease, the relation of housing to health, the control of contagious diseases, and vital statistics in regard to race might all be determined by investigations of this type. The first attempt of this sort was made by Dr. John S. Billings, in charge of the Bureau of Vital Statistics of the eleventh census (1890). He selected too large an area, Manhattan and the Bronx, and did not do more than show the possibilities of the method. The Population Research Bureau appointed by the New York City Federation of Churches in 1907 secured valuable results by use of a method similar to the one advocated. Again the 1910 census gathered data for a study of this sort, but was unable to use them because of lack of funds. The most recent movement for studies of this type is the adoption of this plan in the registration of births and mortality statistics by the New York City Health Department in the Division of Vital Statistics.—R. E. Chaddock, *American Journal of Public Health*, June, 1916. C. L. N.

**Sanitation and Morality.**—The problem of the city's moral and sanitary conditions is much hampered by crowding and poverty. Think of the laborer with wife and family, living, sleeping, washing, and cooking in a room 12 by 12. What can be expected of him in the way of personal hygiene and morals? Suppose he should be well taught in hygiene according to modern methods, or taught morals and Christianity; how could he carry out either of the teachings with such poverty and surroundings. Men must be placed in such a position that they can adapt such teachings. The only feasible way to alleviate this poverty is to increase wages. This may be done in one of two ways: decreasing the number of persons competing for employment, or increasing the number of jobs for these persons. The first would not be considered for a moment, though it could easily be done by spreading an epidemic of disease. On turning to the other side, it is possible to make the number of jobs more numerous by increasing the productivity of the land. Not half of the present area of the United States is being used productively. But a system of taxation whereby land values were taxed to such an extent that it would be unprofitable to keep them unused would bring about this condition. This will put our fellow-men in a position to live under better sanitary conditions and to adopt the teachings and morals of Christianity.—W. C. Gorgas, *The Constructive Quarterly*, June, 1916. H. C. C.

**Sex Education in the Home and High School.**—Sex instruction, to be adequate, must begin in the home, where it can be given with utmost frankness in response to the child's awakening interest, before self-consciousness with regard to sex appears.

The best that the high school can attempt will merely retrieve in some measure the home's neglected opportunity. Some progress has been made in the Morris High School, New York City, to supply this instruction. A course in biology which offers opportunity for emphasis upon hygienic habits of living in such matters as the choice of food, methods of cooking, habits of exercise and study, ventilation, and hours of sleeping is required of all first-year students. Fundamental principles of the reproductive function are taught only so far as they concern unicellular organisms, plants, insects, fishes, and birds. No attempt is made to discuss mammalian reproduction the first year. This might be accomplished were it possible to segregate the sexes in the biology classes. An advanced class in biology is conducted, in which comparative physiology, personal hygiene, and sanitation are emphasized. Mammalian reproduction, the relative importance of heredity, environment, and training, and the importance of right choices in marriage are emphasized. Then, on occasional evenings smaller group conferences of segregated sexes are held, in which the more intimate personal problems of the students are discussed. Two notable features of the work are the wholesome way in which the students respond to the truth presented, and the almost unanimous approval of this type of instruction on the part of the parents.—James E. Peabody, *Social Hygiene*, July, 1916. H. E. J.

**Social Aspects of Industrial Hygiene.**—The value of, and the motive force for, all the health work, in industry and out of it, has a far-reaching social, economic, and moral effect. Evidently it is an attempt to make sanitation universal, to eliminate preventable disease, to perfect the social and industrial health status. It means increased human efficiency, greater earning capacity, a normal social life, and a better physical foundation for sound social and spiritual growth. It indicates that society is attempting to meet its social responsibility by protecting the whole of human kind from the menace of its defective members. Industrial hygiene is a step forward in the belief that a healthy individual and a healthy society are the only adequate means or instruments through which may come a more perfect expression of the conscious life in the universe.—Donald B. Armstrong, M.D., *American Journal of Public Health*, June, 1916. H. C. C.

**Progress of the Civil and Social Survey Idea.**—Before a community is doctored for its social ills or is subjected to a treatment for improving its social conditions, a "social diagnosis" is essential. Ignorance of conditions has caused much of the waste of American revenues. It is surprising that we have learned this only in late years, but since the pioneer Pittsburgh Survey in 1907-8 over 700 social survey studies are known to have been made. The Russell Sage Foundation has definitely adopted the survey as a means of educating the public, and aims at readable and popular reports. The program of a general survey covers the complete social life of the community: health, sanitation, industries, standards of life, recreation, morals, defectives, charities, etc. The New York Bureau of Municipal Research has conducted more technical and specialized surveys than most agencies, designing them for governmental and administrative use. They have been particularly confined to political organization and taxation. Valuable studies have been made of single trades or industries in certain cities. Several church societies and agricultural colleges have produced instructive village and rural surveys.—Murray Gross, *National Municipal Review*, July, 1916. C. C. C.

**The Principle of Nationality; Its Historical Origin.**—The modern political state cannot be the basis of nationality because there are nations like Poland which are not states. In Europe race is a myth, hence the foundation of nationality is not to be found in this conception. A common language is a strong unifying factor, but unitary Switzerland is a nation of three tongues. The element of religion is important, but this will not entirely explain the nation. The essential fact in nationality is a common historical experience. Nationality is the result of a collective consciousness. The idea of nationality is comparatively modern, there being little trace of it in the Middle Ages. The evolution of nationality was furthered by industrial changes which made each nation a syndicate of interests. The word "patriotic" appeared in the sixteenth century during the period of the liberation of relations among men and

governments. Toward the close of the eighteenth century the notion of the rights of states and of nations as analogous to individuals had a rapid evolution. Nationality was conceived as founded on the will of the people. France set a conspicuous nationalistic example, which was followed by other peoples. This example had a profound influence on Prussia. European history in the nineteenth century was dominantly nationalistic. Prussia with her Bismarckian, fatalistic theories of nationalism; France with her revolutionary, democratic theories both harbored forms of the nationalistic ideal.—M. Henri Hauser, "Le Principe des nationalités: ses origines historiques," *La Revue politique internationale*, March, April, 1916. C. C. C.

**Internal Influences of Migrations upon Birth-Rate.**—According to available data in Switzerland, the immigrants are generally far superior to the native population in energy and vitality, recruiting themselves as a rule from the better elements of rural communities or from the provinces. In sections where this immigration is strong, the birth-rate is regularly somewhat raised, while in the sections from which emigration proceeds, the birth-rate is lowered. Of much significance in this connection are the conditions as to whether or not the section to which immigration proceeds has a high or a low birth-rate, and as to whether or not the immigrants are coming from a section with a high or a low birth-rate. Where immigrants come from sections with a low birth-rate to districts having a high birth-rate, the new birth-rate will naturally be lower. In cities the birth-rate always increases from this immigration, since the cities have a low birth-rate, and the immigrants generally come from the country. It is also certain that the cities could not maintain themselves without this influx, even though the age conditions are very favorable.

In the United States we find that the birth-rate is the highest among people of foreign birth, but with each succeeding generation it falls very rapidly. In some sections the native population is fast disappearing on account of the low birth-rate. We also find that the emigrating people always represent the better and stronger elements of a section, so that a continued emigration may lead to the exhaustion of such a section. Of course, new energies may come to such regions by immigration from other high-birth-rate regions, and the birth-rate may rise as a result, but it is only temporary. With each succeeding generation the birth-rate falls more and more, and among the old inhabitants the number of deaths exceeds the number of births. This is especially true of cities when the population is divided into classes according to place of birth. This general decline of the birth-rate in Switzerland and the United States is not a recent phenomenon, but was apparent as early as the seventies and eighties. From it we are led to conclude that there must be internal, dangerous influences which formerly may have been limited to the cities and small rural sections, but which today are very prevalent, and which have been considerably intensified.—R. Manschke, "Innere Einflüsse der Bevölkerungswanderungen auf die Geburtenzahl," *Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, March, 1916. C. C. J.

**War-Criminality of Youth.**—According to reports based on returns from a number of large cities, youthful criminality has increased since the war began. As reasons for this one may consider the following: (1) in large cities, where the father is with the army and the mother away from home a great part of the day, the children are under less surveillance than formerly, idling and going to various doubtful cino-theaters; (2) then there seems to be a draining of youths from the small cities to the larger ones where they hope to find better employment; (3) in addition to these, there are the more numerous and stricter rules on the part of the police, and an apparent greater irritableness on the part of both police and youth. In rural sections where there is much better supervision and plenty of work, the preceding statements do not hold true. Youthful criminality undoubtedly, at least in large cities, has increased among our opponents too, but the nation that recognizes this latent danger first and takes the proper steps to overcome it has the best hopes for the future.—Amtsrichter Dr. Albert Hellwig, "Kritisches zur Kriegskriminalität der Jugendlichen," *Die Grenzboten*, March, 1916. C. C. J.

**Probation and Parole.**—The committee appointed by the American Prison Association has reported a strong approval of the clearing-house plan for handling cases of

probation and parole. Its report is based on the answers to a questionnaire sent to about a thousand persons interested in prison work. Successful probation depends upon the ability to have a sufficient number of probation officers, and to be able properly to determine what persons should be placed on probation. The clearing-house officials would determine what institution should receive a given patient. Then, they would determine what persons should be placed on probation. This would be done by a careful consideration of the inmate's record before incarceration, his record during his stay in the institution, and his possibilities for the future outside the institution. This would involve the theory of prison management, whether the prisoner is really given the opportunity to show his real character in the institution, or not, and which theory is best for ascertaining this. It is impossible as yet to pass judgment on the theories of prison management.—K. B. Davis, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, July, 1916. C. L. N.

**Probation and Parole in Their Relation to Crime.**—The principle of parole has recently been the object of severe criticism. This criticism is largely based on ignorance. A careful statistical analysis of the workings of the parole law in Illinois seems to indicate that the parole law is superior to the definite sentence act in three respects: (1) recidivists and dangerous criminals serve a longer time, specifically one year, six months, twenty-six days longer, on the average, with an extra year on parole under the supervision of the state's officers; (2) only 44 per cent as many criminals are turned loose on the public, or, per capita, only 22 per cent; (3) only 60 per cent as many commitments are made, or, per capita, only 30 per cent, and now 88.18 per cent of those committed are first termers, as against 85.52 per cent formerly. It is not the severity of punishment but its certainty that tends to deter persons from committing crimes. To increase the certainty of punishment our whole criminal procedure should be revised. Grand and petit juries should both be abolished; the judge should be an expert in criminology as well as in law; rules of evidence need to be altered; all sentences should be subject to future revision. One of the great advantages of the Board of Pardons and Parole has been its tendency to equalize justice, which is now administered with great variations in the several counties. The probation act accomplished much the same results as the parole law, except that probation begins before penal servitude, or in line thereof, and applies only to a few minor crimes, and only to first termers. The full power of either the parole or probation acts cannot be felt unless we have a civic life that is adverse to criminal tendencies, and unless there is co-operative work on the part of the courts and all officers engaged in corrective work.—Thomas M. Kilbride, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, July, 1916.

E. R. B.

**Statistics of Crime and Criminals.**—A careful inquiry into the subject is timely, in view of the enormous economic burden of crime and the supposed increase in criminal tendencies of the age. Statistics are needed both of crime and of criminals, or convicts. The principles underlying the criminal statistics of England and Wales, and of Canada would seem to be applicable in large measure to the United States. The statistical study of English convicts by Charles Goring, M.D., published in 1913, though somewhat overemphasizing anthropometric data, is the first genuine contribution to the statistical study of the convict. Corresponding investigations should prove feasible in American prisons. The criminal statistics in the United States are altogether inadequate. Some method should be evolved whereby uniform criminal statistics in this country might be collected annually and published by some central agency, either through the American Prison Association, or the federal government.—Frederick L. Hoffman, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, July, 1916.

E. R. B.

**The War and the Work of Women.**—The governmental measures for the relief of dependency were barely sufficient in France before the opening of the war. Immediately after the war began, the large numbers of families whose main provider was killed or maimed caused the almost complete breakdown of the systems of public relief. Only one large governmental institution existed for training nurses and caring for the maimed, Saultpetrie, which was located in Paris. To solve the situation,

private and foreign means of relief have sprung into existence. Particularly noticeable is the work of the women of the middle class in France. They are bearing the brunt of the war's afflictions. They are the class losing the largest percentage of their dear ones. Also, they are the class volunteering in the greatest numbers for service as nurses. They are supplemented by a considerable number of gentle birth from France and from England. Women between the ages of eighteen and sixty years are accepted for this service. After a short training in one of the hospitals, they enter active service. The government has arranged to allow them a small salary. Owing to the service of the women, the problem of relief is now being cared for. Undoubtedly, the war will result in a complete reorganization of its relief work, and will place public philanthropy on a more adequate basis.—Une Doctoresse, "La Guerre et le travail féminin," *Revue philanthropique*, May, 1916. C. L. N.

**The State, Its Essence and Organization.**—The world-war has brought home to all nations, in the most forceful manner, the fact that the state precedes every other relation. The democratic idea of equal rights of all within the state is a failure. The state is not and cannot be the embodiment of the idea of justice, or the distributor of the same; the state is organized power. To maintain and secure its own independent existence and through it the existence of its members, to represent and advance their interests against rival and hostile powers, this is the highest task of the state. The present war is the consequence of a clash between two different historical developments and organizations. On the one side we find the notion of unrestrained pursuit of private interests; subordination under the whims of an unprincipled and ever-changing public opinion; unrestrained exploitation of the state and its citizens by an accidental majority. On the other side there is jealous reservation and open expression of personal convictions and rights, also voluntary subordination to duty and the needs and interests of the whole. Consequently, there is order, discipline, and restriction of individual attempts to exploit the whole. Our organization has withstood the acid test of a trying time, and our enemies find themselves forced to imitate what they had set out to destroy.—Eduard Meyer, "Der Staat, sein Wesen und seine Organisation," *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, March, 1916. Z. T. E.

**War and Will.**—The present war has demonstrated that the will is a mighty factor in life, in spite of the fact that some authorities have tried to convince us that there is no such thing as will. It is through the faculty of the will that the mind gains control over the organism, the environment, the world, and itself. The will revives, re-enforces, or suppresses memory-pictures, or complexes of associations which lead to action, but never produces activity. Feeling and duty are the most important factors in the training and operation of the will. They are both stimulating and inhibitory forces. During and through the war the will-power of the individual has not only been strengthened and developed to an unheard-of ability to resist and endure, but it has found its most forceful expression in an overwhelming sense of duty and in the unconditional surrender of the self and its interests for the interests of the whole. Thus a national, purposive, intensified corporate will, the will of the mass, has been created. Boundless individualistic tendencies are a misapprehension of the natural and moral commandments of corporate life. Our great task of the future will be to preserve and develop the corporate will, and to see that it remains healthy, for in the strength of our will we find the stars of our fate.—Medizinalrat Professor Goldscheider, "Krieg und Wille," *Deutsche Revue*, March, 1916. Z. T. E.

**Syphilis and Society.**—Syphilis is the most serious of the contagious diseases which has not yet been subjected to control. Yet it is controllable, in its early stages entirely curable, and at all stages controllable as regards contagion. If society fails to control syphilis, syphilis is likely to control society. Opinions differ as to the value of reporting. Public-health officers are generally in favor of reporting, but have placed themselves on record as favoring the omission of names and addresses. Such reporting has no statistical value because of inevitable duplication. Practicing physicians, especially those who deal with syphilis on a large scale, are almost unanimously opposed, on the ground that the physicians who do report will lose their patients, who will then go to quacks, thus increasing the uncontrollability of the disease. Average

lay opinion, so far as expressed, has generally favored reporting, but practically all laws requiring reporting have proved unenforcible and statistically valueless. Any benefit that may result from any of the existing laws requiring medical certificates before marriage as a means of controlling syphilis is more than offset by the harm in giving rise to a false sense of security, in protecting the unscrupulous and penalizing the honest. Unless the examining physician is closely familiar with the past history of the patient, the probability of error in applying any of the tests known now becomes almost overwhelming. The most fruitful field of effort lies in the attempts of the state, the municipality, and the university or corporation hospital to deal with syphilis upon a large scale, not only in regard to diagnosis, but in regard to treatment and subsequent supervision. The cost need not necessarily be borne by the taxpayer, but may be paid by patients to the state or hospital rather than, as at present, to quacks. Expert services might thus be afforded all sufferers at a sliding scale of fees proportionate to their respective incomes.—Hugh Cabot, *Social Hygiene*, July, 1916.  
E. R. B.

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

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THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, LONDON AND EDINBURGH

KARL W. HIERSEMANN, LEIPZIG

THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA, TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO, FUKUOKA, SENDAI

THE MISSION BOOK COMPANY, SHANGHAI



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Business correspondence should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

Communications for the editors and manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME XXII

JANUARY 1917

NUMBER 4

## THE TEACHING OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY: PARTICULARLY IN THE LAND-GRANT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

DWIGHT SANDERSON  
University of Chicago

1. *Introductory.*—The most notable feature of the work of President Roosevelt's Country Life Commission<sup>1</sup> consisted in its forcing the attention of the American public to the supreme importance of the social problems of the open country. The colleges of agriculture and the United States Department of Agriculture had already begun campaigns of agricultural extension, and the commission's report indicated the need of a still more comprehensive national program of extension work, which was taken up by these institutions and finally realized in the Smith-Lever act of May 8, 1914. As a result of these extension activities the agricultural-college faculties have had occasion to learn, through their larger contact with the farmers, that their problems are economic and social as well as technical. Consequently there has been a rapid increase in the interest in rural sociology and agricultural economics, and courses in these subjects have been introduced into the curricula of most of these institutions within the past few years. This

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Country Life Commission* (Sturgis & Walton Co., 1911), p. 29.

attitude upon the part of the agricultural colleges was well exemplified by a remark of President Benjamin Ide Wheeler in his address of welcome to the Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations assembled at Berkeley, California, last August. "Our business," he said, "is ultimately a sociological business. Considerations of soil technology but scratch the surface. What we are busied with here is trying to find out how to adjust this soil to the use of the families."<sup>1</sup>

Our educational leaders have also awakened to a realization of the problems of the rural school until it has come to have the center of the stage at educational conventions. Many normal schools have introduced departments of rural education, and systems of county high-school training courses for rural teachers have been established in several states. Furthermore, there has been a very definite shift toward a social standard for evaluating educational aims and methods.<sup>2</sup> As a result of these factors the normal schools have also become interested in the problems of agricultural economics and rural sociology.

Finally, church leaders have awakened to the fact that the future of the rural church must rest upon a more social religion, and home mission boards have been busy in investigating rural social conditions in relation to the life of the church. The country minister is becoming interested in rural social and economic problems.

In view of the rapid increase in the interest in these subjects, and preparatory to further work in them, it has seemed to the writer that it might be worth while to make a study of the teaching of rural sociology at the present time, as well as of its history and tendencies. The following questionnaire was therefore prepared and sent to all the land-grant colleges and state universities and to such other colleges as were known to be giving instruction in the subject. In all about 90 institutions were addressed. Replies were received from 57 institutions, 44 of which taught some form of rural sociology and 13 of which did not. A number of the correspondents were sufficiently interested in the investigation to

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. 29th Ann. Conv. Am. Assoc. Agr. Coll. and Exp. Stations*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> See John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, particularly p. 138.



give quite detailed replies to the questions and in several cases to furnish complete outlines of the courses given. To all of these the writer wishes to express his appreciation of their courtesy.

### QUESTIONNAIRE FOR A SURVEY OF THE TEACHING OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

1. Name of institution.
2. Department of \_\_\_\_\_ head of department.
3. What courses are offered in rural sociology? (Please give the following data for each course.)
  - a) Name and number.
  - b) Hours per week, number of weeks, and credits per term.
  - c) Name of instructor of course.
  - d) Does instructor give part time to any other work?
  - e) Is this course required or elective?
  - f) In what class are most of the students in this course?
  - g) Is any practice or field work, such as surveys, reports of investigations, etc., required, and if so, of what nature?
  - h) In what year was this—or a similar—course first given?
  - i) If you have in printed or duplicated form any outline of the topics covered in the course, or indicating the text used or reading required, a copy will be appreciated.
4. What is the relation of your courses in rural sociology to—
  - a) General elementary sociology?
  - b) Elementary political economy?
  - c) Rural economics?
  - d) Education?
 (I.e., are any of these prerequisites or required in the same group of studies; are they taught in the same or a separate department; in the same or a different college?)
5. Please give your definition of rural sociology.
6. What, in your judgment, should be the contents of an elementary course in rural sociology adapted to the needs of agricultural students? Please indicate general topics.
7. In your opinion should the elementary courses in rural sociology and rural economics require general elementary sociology and political economy as prerequisites or should the elements of each subject be given from the agricultural viewpoint in one course covering both the general and rural phases of each subject?
8. In your opinion should the elementary courses in rural sociology and rural economics be given separately as distinct sciences or should there be one course in rural social science (possibly running through a year, and conceivably with different instructors for different semesters) built upon the thought of their interrelation?

9. If your institution offers no work in rural sociology, is any immediately contemplated?
10. Do you offer graduate work in rural sociology leading to advanced degrees?
11. Please send a catalogue of your institution or circular covering the work of your department.
12. What other colleges or normal schools in your state are giving courses in rural sociology? Please give name and address of instructor, if known.
13. May I quote your answers above? None will be quoted without permission.
14. Name and address of person or persons answering above.

2. *Where taught.*—From the replies received indicating the many sorts of institutions which are teaching the subject, it became evident that only by an examination of the catalogues of a large number could any fair estimate be made of the extent to which rural sociology is now taught. The files of college and normal-school catalogues in the University of Chicago Library were therefore examined. In this search only those for the last two years were used, and no institutions were counted which did not give work of collegiate grade in economics or sociology, or both. Obviously the selection was somewhat arbitrary, and undoubtedly some institutions have escaped, but it is believed that the number examined is sufficient to make the general conclusions fairly accurate and of some value.

Table I shows the number of institutions teaching rural sociology by states and classes of institutions. It shows that 64 per cent of the 48 land-grant colleges, 45 per cent of the 20 state universities—separate from land-grant colleges—32 per cent of the 91 normal schools, and 9 per cent of 301 other colleges and universities, or 21 per cent of the total 460 institutions examined, are teaching rural sociology. It is obvious that in sparsely settled states like Arizona, Montana, and New Mexico there is but little demand for rural sociology, but it seems odd that agricultural states like Nebraska and South Carolina do not have a single institution teaching this subject. It is also interesting to note that the subject finds but little appreciation in the curricula of eastern institutions. Thus of the 148 institutions in the 15 states of the Atlantic seaboard but 21, or 13 per cent, give instruction in rural sociology, and most of these are land-grant colleges, for of the 94

private colleges and universities in these states only 4, Harvard University (and Radcliffe College), Teachers College, of Columbia University, Syracuse University, and Adelphi College, give courses. Table II gives a list of the institutions found giving some sort of instruction in rural sociology.<sup>1</sup>

Undoubtedly some of the courses announced in catalogues may not as yet have been given, but even so they indicate the appreciation of the subject. Out of 14 institutions replying that they offered no rural sociology, 6 intend to introduce a course within the next year or two.

3. *Historical*.—The late Professor C. R. Henderson seems to have been the first to offer a course on rural social life in this country. In the announcements of the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago for 1894-95 there appeared:

31. Social Conditions in American Rural Life. Some problems of amelioration, presented by life on American farms and in villages, will be considered. M. First Term. Winter Quarter. Associate Professor Henderson.

The *Quarterly Calendar* (III, No. 4) shows that 16 students were registered in the first class. From that time until two or three years before his death Professor Henderson gave the course almost every summer, though the name was changed to "Rural Communities." Professor Henderson also seems to have been the first to call the attention of sociologists to the importance of this field. In discussing "The Scope of Social Technology" in 1901 he called attention to the rural community, and after referring to the economico-political studies of rural problems made in Germany, he said:

When men of science once apprehend the vastness of this neglected field, they will bring to it the same acumen, patience, and method which have won worthy triumphs in the production of wealth. Granting that the economic basis must be laid firmly, may we not now insist that a part of scientific labor be drafted off into other fields of research? We actually have more and better books on breeding cattle and marketing corn than on forming citizens or organizing culture. Is it not worth while to attempt a social technology

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless some institutions have been missed, as the course in rural sociology is often given in some department other than that in which it might be expected to be given.

TABLE I  
INSTITUTIONS TEACHING RURAL SOCIOLOGY, BY STATES AND CLASSES OF INSTITUTIONS

State	Land-Grant College or University	With Rural Sociology	Separate State University	With Rural Sociology	Normal Schools	With Rural Sociology	Colleges and Universities	With Rural Sociology	Total All Institutions	With Rural Sociology
Alabama	C	0	1	0	2	1	6	0	10	1
Arizona	U	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3	0
Arkansas	U	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	5	1
California	U	0	0	0	2	0	7	1	10	1
Colorado	C	0	1	0	2	1	2	0	6	1
Connecticut	C	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	5	0
District of Columbia										0
Florida	U	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	0
Georgia	U	1	0	0	2	1	5	0	8	1
Idaho	U	1	0	0	2	2	1	0	5	2
Illinois	U	1	0	0	6	1	25	5	32	7
Indiana	U	0	1	1	4	0	11	2	17	3
Iowa	C	1	1	1	1	1	16	2	19	4
Kansas	C	1	1	1	1	1	14	2	17	4
Kentucky	U	1	0	0	2	1	8	1	11	3
Louisiana	U	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	3	1
Maine	U	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	4	1
Maryland	C	1	0	0	0	0	6	0	7	1
Massachusetts	C	1	0	0	5	0	13	1	19	2
Michigan	U	1	1	1	3	2	7	1	12	5
Minnesota	U	1	0	0	3	0	5	0	9	1
Mississippi	C	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	4	1
Missouri	U	1	0	0	4	3	11	1	16	5
Montana	U	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	3	0
Nebraska	U	0	0	0	2	0	8	0	11	0
New Hampshire	C	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	4	2
New Jersey	C	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	5	0
New Mexico	C	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	3	0

	48	31 (04 per cent)	20	9 (45 per cent)	91	30 (32 per cent)	301	29 (9 per cent)	460	99 (21 per cent)
New York.....	U	I	.....	.....	3	0	21	3	25	4
Nevada.....	U	I	.....	.....	1	1	5	.....	1	1
North Carolina.....	C	O	I	I	1	1	2	0	8	2
North Dakota.....	C	I	I	.....	4	0	2	1	8	3
Ohio.....	U	I	.....	.....	2	2	28	3	31	0
Oklahoma.....	C	I	I	I	5	5	3	0	10	7
Oregon.....	C	I	I	0	.....	.....	4	1	6	2
Pennsylvania.....	C	O	I	0	5	1	22	0	29	1
Rhode Island.....	C	I	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	0	2	1
South Carolina.....	C	O	I	0	.....	.....	4	0	6	0
South Dakota.....	C	I	I	I	4	0	5	0	11	2
Tennessee.....	U	I	.....	.....	2	2	10	2	13	5
Texas.....	C	I	I	0	2	0	7	1	11	2
Utah.....	C	I	I	I	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2
Virginia.....	C	O	I	0	2	2	6	0	10	2
Vermont.....	U	I	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	0	3	1
Washington.....	C	I	I	0	1	1	4	2	7	4
West Virginia.....	U	I	.....	.....	3	0	3	0	7	1
Wisconsin.....	U	I	.....	.....	5	0	7	1	13	2
Wyoming.....	U	I	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1
Total.....	48	31 (04 per cent)	20	9 (45 per cent)	91	30 (32 per cent)	301	29 (9 per cent)	460	99 (21 per cent)

TABLE II  
LIST OF INSTITUTIONS TEACHING RURAL SOCIOLOGY

State	Land-Grant College or State University	Colleges and Universities	Normal Schools
Alabama			State Normal School, Troy
Arizona			
Arkansas			State Normal School, Conway
California		University of Southern California	State Normal School, Gunnison
Colorado			
Connecticut			
Florida	University		
Georgia	University—State College of Agriculture		
Idaho	University		State Normal School, Athens
Illinois	University	University of Chicago Eureka College Illinois Wesleyan University Lombard College Butler College Manchester College Simpson College	State Normal School, Albion State Normal School, Lewiston State Normal University
Indiana	University		
Iowa	University		State Teachers' College
Kansas	State College University Agricultural College University	College of Emporia Ottawa University Berea College	
Kentucky			State Normal School, Bowling Green State Normal School, Natchitoches
Louisiana			
Maine	University		
Maryland	State College of Agriculture		
Massachusetts	Agricultural College	Harvard University (Radcliffe College) Olivet College	
Michigan	University		Central State Normal School, Mt. Pleasant Western State Normal School, Kalamazoo
	Agricultural College		
Minnesota			
Mississippi	University		1st District State Normal School, Kirksville
Missouri	Agricultural College University	William Jewell College	4th District State Normal School, Springfield 5th District State Normal School, Marysville

New Hampshire.....	State College	Syracuse University	State Normal School, Keene
New York.....	Cornell University	Adelphi College	
Nevada.....	University	Teachers College, Columbia University	East Carolina Teachers' Training School
North Carolina.....	University		
North Dakota.....	Agricultural College	Baldwin-Wallace College	Bowling Green State Normal School
Ohio.....	University	Defiance College	Kent State Normal School
Oklahoma.....	University	Miami University	
	Agricultural and Mechanical College	Ohio Wesleyan University	Northeastern State Normal School, Tahlequah
Oregon.....	Agricultural College		Southwestern State Normal School, Weatherford
Pennsylvania.....	State College	Pacific University	Central State Normal School, Edmond
Rhode Island.....	University		East Central State Normal School, Ada
South Dakota.....	State College of Agriculture		Southeastern State Normal School, Durant
Tennessee.....	University		Millersville State Normal School
Texas.....	Agricultural and Mechanical College	George Peabody College	West Tennessee State Normal School, Memphis
Utah.....	University	Lincoln Memorial University	Middle Tennessee State Normal School, Murfreesboro
Virginia.....	Agricultural College	Southwestern University	
Vermont.....	University		State Female Normal School, Farnville
Washington.....	State College	College of Puget Sound	State Normal School, Harrisonburg
West Virginia.....	University	Whitman College	
Wisconsin.....	University	Lawrence College	
Wyoming.....	University		

of the rural community? And would not even a failure in the attempt be worthy of respect?<sup>2</sup>

In the fall of 1902 Kenyon L. Butterfield was made instructor in rural sociology at the University of Michigan and gave his first course in that subject. In 1903 Mr. Butterfield called attention to the importance of the study of the social sciences by agricultural students in an article entitled, "An Untilled Field in American Agricultural Education,"<sup>3</sup> in which he defined rural social science and outlined its content. In 1904, as president of the Rhode Island College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, he gave the first course in rural sociology given in any of the land-grant colleges. In an address before the American Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations in 1905 he again pointed out the importance of the social sciences in agricultural education:

. . . . the social sciences, in their relation to the rural problem particularly, must receive a consideration commensurate with the importance of the industrial and political and social phases of the farm question. . . . If we examine our agricultural course from this standpoint, we shall have to admit that it has the flaw common to most industrial courses. It is too technical. It is not truly vocational. It does not present the social viewpoint. It does not stimulate the student to social activity. It does not give him a foundation for intelligent social service when he shall go to the farm. He should study agricultural economics and rural sociology both because rural society needs leaders and because in the arming of the man the knowledge of society's problems is just as vital as either expert information or personal culture.<sup>4</sup>

In 1907 President Butterfield, in his *Chapters on Rural Progress*, further expanded this thought and gave specific outlines for courses in agricultural economics and in rural sociology.

Writing two years later (1909) concerning the "Scope and Work of Colleges of Agriculture," Professor L. H. Bailey summarized the "Economic and Social Subjects," as follows:

These subjects are practically untouched, although the terms "rural economics" and "rural sociology" are coming into the curricula of the colleges of agriculture. . . . These subjects are in many ways the most important that fall to the field of a college of agriculture. Economic and social questions

<sup>2</sup> *American Journal of Sociology*, VI (January, 1901), 476.

<sup>3</sup> *Popular Science Monthly*, LXIII (1903), 257-61.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, LXVII (1905), 357, 360.



are proper subjects to be taught in a college of agriculture, so far as they bear on rural questions. . . . Rural economics is as logically a part of an agricultural curriculum as is agricultural chemistry. . . . The entire effort of a college of agriculture is devoted to the elevation of country living; that is, it eventuates into social and economic studies.<sup>1</sup>

In 1902 Mr. Frank L. Tolman, in his paper on "The Study of Sociology in Institutions of Learning in the United States,"<sup>2</sup> found the "sociology of the rural group" taught only at the University of Chicago, though it was given incidental treatment in courses at Trinity College, Connecticut, the University of Illinois, Iowa College, the University of Michigan, Columbia University, the University of Wooster, and the University of Wisconsin, as reported by them.

Among the replies received 36 have stated definitely when the course was first given at those institutions. By years these may be summarized as follows: 1894-95, University of Chicago; 1902, University of Michigan; 1904-5, Rhode Island College and Cornell University; 1906-7, University of Missouri and Massachusetts Agricultural College; 1908-9, University of North Dakota; 1910-11, 2 institutions; 1911-12, 2; 1912-13, 4; 1913-14, 5; 1914-15, 8; 1915-16, 6; 1916-17, 2 (announced). It seems safe to infer that probably not over a dozen institutions were teaching rural sociology prior to 1910, and that fully half of those now offering courses have established them within the past three years.

4. *Content of course.*—a) Name: The name of a course is not necessarily a safe index of its content, and yet it often does have a considerable significance by way of indicating the instructor's concept of the course. Out of 68 colleges and universities listed (excluding normal schools), 37, or 60 per cent, used the term "Rural Sociology." From the diverse content of the course, as discussed below, it seems that this term has preference simply because it is concise; or may it not be because it sounds more "scientific"? To indicate the wide diversity of titles used it may be stated that the other 32 institutions have 22 different names. These have been grouped under closely related names, as follows:

<sup>1</sup> *Cyclopedia of Agriculture*, IV, 437.

<sup>2</sup> *American Journal of Sociology*, III, 90.

"Rural Sociology and Economics," 2; "Rural Economics" (including social life), 2; "Rural Social Problems," 8; "Rural Communities," 10; "Rural Social Development," 3; "Rural Life," 3; "Rural Society," "Country Life Movement," "Principles of Rural Life and Education," "Social Science," and "Economic and Social Status of Rural Communities," 1 each. It is significant to note that some of the institutions which have the oldest and largest departments of sociology do not use the term "Rural Sociology." Thus the universities of Illinois and Michigan prefer "The Social Problems of Rural Communities"; the University of Iowa and Harvard use "Rural Social Development"; Wisconsin uses "Rural Life"; the University of Chicago, "Rural Communities"; and Teachers College, Columbia, "The Rural Community."

b) Definition: Many of the correspondents failed to give any reply to question 5, asking for a definition of the subject, some stating that their definitions were changing so frequently that they hardly seemed worthy of statement. One of the workers who has done most in this field replied, "We have not yet defined rural sociology." Most of the definitions indicate that the subject is distinctly a part of applied sociology or social technology.<sup>1</sup> Thus Professor Paul L. Vogt, of Ohio State University, replies:

Rural sociology is the study of the forces and conditions of rural life as a basis for constructive action in developing and maintaining a scientifically efficient civilization in the country.

Professor John Phelan, of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, says:

Rural sociology is a study of the social forces and factors operating in rural life, with a view to its more adequate organization.

Professor L. L. Bernard, of the University of Missouri:

The study of the forces and activities—institutional and non-institutional—which are concerned with the evolution, organization, and improvement of rural life.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. G. Nourse, "What is Agricultural Economics?" *Journal of Political Economy*, XXIV (April, 1916), 378, footnote: "This ['a practical program of rural betterment']—*supra*, 378] in turn shades off into rural sociology (whatever that is). And, as in the case of social economics in general, it runs ambitiously toward ethical criticism and evaluation."

Professor A. S. Harding, of the South Dakota Agricultural College:

Rural sociology is concerned with the evolution, present status, and suggested betterment of rural social institutions.

Professor George H. von Tungeln, Iowa State College:

Rural sociology is a study of men living together in the country, and of forces and factors which are acted upon by men and which react upon them in their relation with one another.

Professor Ernest Burnham, of the Western State Normal School, Kalamazoo, Michigan, introduces a new note by calling attention to the rural-urban relation:

Rural sociology is the science of the reciprocal relations of human beings living in rural communities. It also considers the reciprocal relations of rural and urban communities.

The two following emphasize the study of the group. Professor E. L. Holton, of the Kansas Agricultural College, says:

As we teach it, it is a study of institutions and groups or community life in the open country.

And Professor E. C. Branson, of the University of North Carolina, says:

A study of the group actions and reactions of human nature under country conditions.

Professor Newell L. Sims, of the University of Florida, says:

In general it is applied sociology; specifically, a study of rural conditions in the light of the knowledge of society with a view to discovering and suggesting ways of improving them.

The philanthropic idea seems to crop out in the definition of Professor G. Coray, of the University of Utah:

Exposition of the social problems of rural life with suggestions for home and neighborhood amelioration.

On the other hand, three correspondents have very clearly indicated their denial of there being a science of rural sociology, which view is evidently approved by many who have not replied to this question, from the fact that they have discarded the name "Rural Sociology," as indicated above. Thus Professor E. C. Hayes, of the University of Illinois, says: "Never use the

expression [rural sociology]. Sociology is sociology; wherever studied the principles are the same."

Professor Charles D. Bohannon, of the University of Kentucky, replies:

In the sense in which the word sociology is commonly used I doubt very much if it is strictly accurate to speak of a Rural Sociology; that is, the principles of social and psychic development of individuals and of groups are fundamentally the same whether that development takes place in town or country, the different qualities and degrees of development being due to the differences in physical and social environment. Therefore it has seemed to me that Rural Sociology was a misnomer for the work as I gave it here, and I have, therefore, accordingly changed it to Rural Social Problems.

Dr. W. S. Thompson, of the University of Michigan, also says:

It does not seem to me that there is a peculiar kind of sociology which may be called rural sociology. This is the reason I have called the course the Social Problems of Rural Life rather than Rural Sociology.

Finally, it is interesting to compare the definition which President Butterfield gave in his *Chapters in Rural Progress* (1907):

Rural social science is the application of the principles of the social sciences, especially of economics and sociology, to the problems that confront the American farmer [p. 219].

Comment upon the foregoing definitions seems superfluous, but the writer merely wishes to state that the term rural sociology in the present article is used merely as a matter of convenience, as doubtless is the case with much of its present usage, without any implied position pro or con as to the validity of a rural sociology as a science.

c) Content: Of the replies received, only 14 gave any very full answer to question 3: asking for an outline of the course given. However, those outlines received are representative and seem to be fairly typical of different methods of presentation as judged by the descriptions of other courses given in the catalogue. The courses seem to group themselves into two main classes, those organized on a systematic or scientific basis and those organized upon the basis of a consideration of important topics or problems. A skeleton outline of a few of the systematic courses will best indicate their nature.

MASSACHUSETTS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, PROFESSOR JOHN PHELAN  
ELEMENTS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

- I. Introduction.
  1. Definition.
  2. Statement of relationships to other sciences.
  3. The social problems of rural life (a brief statement).
- II. The rural social status.
  1. The social background of rural life in the United States.
  2. The social condition of the rural people.
  3. The rural mind (social psychology).
  4. Sociological aspects of some current agricultural questions.
- III. Rural institutions.
  1. The home.
  2. The church.
  3. The school.
  4. The community.
- IV. Rural social organization.
  1. Need of organization.
  2. History of development.
  3. Community, county, state, and national aspects of organization.
- V. Rural social service.
  1. Opportunities.
  2. History of development.
  3. Restatement of problems of rural life.
  4. Leadership, resident and non-resident.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, PROFESSOR PAUL L. VOGT  
RURAL COMMUNITY LIFE

- I. Introduction.

Definition. Statement of problems. Rural community contrasted with urban.
- II. Conditions essential for a healthful social life in a rural community.

[Normative.]
- III. Existing conditions. Movement of population; economic conditions; rural health; rural morality; rural social life; farm labor.
- IV. Improvement of rural life. [Considered under institutions, agencies, and methods.]

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, PROFESSOR SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD  
RURAL COMMUNITIES

- I. Introduction. Principles of social technology, etc.
- II. The Social technology of rural communities.
- III. Geographical and biological factors in rural life.

- IV. Transportation and communication.
- V. The business side of farming.
- VI. Economic and social surveys.
- VII. The farm home.
- VIII. Rural religion.
- IX. Rural education.
- X. Rural recreation.
- XI. Charities and corrections.
- XII. Social control.
- XIII. Summary and conclusion.

NEW HAMPSHIRE COLLEGE, PROFESSOR E. R. GROVES

RURAL AND COMMUNITY SOCIOLOGY

A study of the social significance, conditions, and resources of American country life with the purpose of developing community leadership.

A. Rural ethnology and sociology. Land basis of society, origin of primitive agriculture, animal and plant life as factors in human progress, modern agriculture and population, migration, immigration, and city drift.

B. Rural social psychology. Imitation and city influence, suggestibility, conflict, discussion, public opinion, and community pride.

C. Rural social pathology. Dependents, defectives, and delinquents in their relation to the country community, problem of rural police protection, moral problems of the rural community.

D. Rural progress. Survey making, communication, community advertising, associations and clubs, rural education, wider use of rural schoolhouses, rural school gardens, community competition, fairs, recreation, the rural church, and welfare work.

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA, PROFESSOR JEROME DOWD

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

- |                           |                                |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Definition.            | 7. Intellectual life.          |
| 2. Problems.              | 8. Aesthetic life.             |
| 3. Health and sanitation. | 9. Social life.                |
| 4. Family life.           | 10. Manners and ceremonies.    |
| 5. Political life.        | 11. Charities and corrections. |
| 6. Religious life.        |                                |

WESTERN STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, KALAMAZOO, MICH., PROFESSOR

ERNEST BURNHAM

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

- A. Definitions.
- B. Present rural conditions: population; economic status; civic earnestness; educational status; religious life.

- C. Problems of progress.
  - 1. Conservation of population.
  - 2. Economic stability and satisfaction.
  - 3. Sensitizing the civic conscience.
  - 4. Educational capitalization of each generation.
  - 5. Fundamental necessity of religion as a sanction.
- D. The ideal.
  - 1. Integration.
  - 2. Unification and consciously co-operative progress.

Professor Burnham writes, "Rural sociology is here given from a civic rather than an industrial point of view."

Judging from the replies received and from catalogue announcements, a much larger number of institutions have organized the course on the topical or problem basis. There is a clear distinction between a topical and a problem organization when it is considered from a pedagogical standpoint, but the replies received do not enable one to distinguish between them in most cases, and they are therefore considered together. Of these the outline of the course at the University of Missouri, as given by Professor L. L. Bernard, is fairly typical.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, PROFESSOR L. L. BERNARD  
RURAL SOCIOLOGY

- 1. Introduction—the problem.
- 2. The movement of rural population.
- 3. The physical background—typical communities.
- 4. The psychic background—the rural mind.
- 5. The development of country life.
- 6. Scientific methods and rural life.
- 7. Rural co-operation.
- 8. Social aspects of rural labor, ownership, tenancy.
- 9. The rural family and the home.
- 10. Communication and transportation in the country.
- 11. Rural health and sanitation—safeguards and conveniences.
- 12. Rural health and sanitation—prevention and control.
- 13. Rural morality.
- 14. Rural recreation.
- 15. The rural social center.
- 16. The rural church—religion and rural life.
- 17. The rural church—combining forces for efficiency.
- 18. The rural church—as rural leader.

19. Rural clubs and related organizations.
20. The rural school—its social function.
21. The rural school—its vocational relations.
22. The rural school—consolidation and efficiency.
23. Rural extension as an educational and socializing agency.
24. The rural library.
25. The rural press and literature.
26. Local government and the rural community.
27. Rural charities and corrections.
28. Immigrants and negroes in the rural community.
29. Rural leadership.
30. The rural social survey.

The replies to question 6 usually refer simply to the course as given at the specific institutions, replying to the questionnaire, but several of them take very definite positions as to the content of the course for an agricultural student. Thus Professor G. N. Lauman, of the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University, says:

With the emphasis that is laid on the purely technical agricultural studies the agricultural student has neither the time nor the preparation to go deeply into the general economic and social features of rural life. We cannot expect him to have had fundamental courses in both economics and sociology, and therefore to give him the fundamentals of rural life we give him a three-hour elective course, covering what is known of the fundamentals, and leave the speculative discussion and heaping up of details to the specializing student who is compelled to get into the general fields of economics and sociology.

Professor E. C. Hayes, of the University of Illinois, writes:

No attempt to make this a *science*.

1. Primary aim to get students to apprehend what are the *values* to be sought in life rural or urban, as distinguished from all *means* promoting ends.
2. Secondary aim to have them understand the nature and importance of those *group expectations* that are to a community what a standard of living is to an individual, save that they refer to far more than economic expenditure.
3. Items in the content of developed group expectation in the rural community.
4. Distinctive characteristics of the rural community, to be taken advantage of or to be overcome or offset.
5. Correlation between rural and urban life in various particulars.
6. Specific social activities that may promote rural life, and how to organize and conduct them.
7. Students prepare papers on 25 special topics, which are discussed.



Professor E. C. Branson, of the University of North Carolina, who has been one of the most successful teachers in arousing interest in this field, refers to the "Report on the Teaching of the Social Studies in Secondary Schools," which forms part of the report of the National Education Association Commission on Secondary Education, and is now being published as a bulletin of the United States Bureau of Education, as embodying his point of view. Professor Branson's work with the "Georgia Club"<sup>1</sup> and the "Home-County Club Studies"<sup>2</sup> in North Carolina are so well known as hardly to need comment. Professor Branson writes, "My fundamental idea is a *direct* assault upon the problems themselves." Possibly his method might be characterized as one of locality or community study.

Professor Howard W. Odum, of the Peabody School of Education, University of Georgia, has also developed the problem method of community study and has issued an excellent syllabus<sup>3</sup> for his classes. Professor Odum gives a list of seven problems under each of twenty general headings covering rural social problems. The student is also required to list a half-dozen additional topics worthy of study under each heading. Concerning this method he makes the following statement in the Introductory Note:

The principle underlying the program of community study is based upon two larger considerations: First, progress is necessarily preceded by and is based upon results of diligent study and research, whether it be in invention industry, commerce, education, or other aspects of social welfare; second, it may be assumed that the earnest student of education and social problems, or the efficient citizen, proposes to become a part of the progress of his generation by enlisting his or her services as an aid to determining or enacting steps of social progress. It should follow, then, that reasonable efforts will be advantageous in the development of individual energies and ability; in the improvement of community welfare; in contributing to the sum total of knowledge, and in magnifying proper methods of study and the spirit of social service.

<sup>1</sup> E. C. Branson, "The Georgia Club, at the State Normal School, Athens, Georgia, for the Study of Rural Sociology," *U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin*, 1913, No. 23. Whole Number 533.

<sup>2</sup> E. C. Branson, "Syllabus of Home-County Club Studies," *University of North Carolina Record*, September, 1914, No. 121. Extension Ser. No. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Howard W. Odum, "Practical Community Studies," *Bulletin of the University of Georgia*, XIV, No. 8c.

That there is no place here for the mere "fad" of research and that sacrifice and sustained efforts are necessary requirements will need no conventional proof.

One of the correspondents also points out that the topical method has the advantage of adapting itself to local needs, for the topics that might be of particular value or interest in the South might not be so in New England, or vice versa.

That elementary courses of theoretical science should be required of students who are not taking technical curricula involving the application of those sciences has in recent years been challenged upon pedagogical grounds.<sup>1</sup> In view of the fact that in many agricultural curricula no social science is required and that in but 6 of them is either sociology or political economy required as a prerequisite for the course in rural sociology, the answers to question 7 are of peculiar interest. Of 30 land-grant colleges and universities replying specifically to this question, 18 favor elementary courses as prerequisite to rural sociology and economics, or in a few cases an option between elementary sociology and economics, though only 6 of them actually *do* have such prerequisites. One replied, "desirable, but impracticable"; another, "desirable if practicable"; another, "desirable but not necessary"; and a fourth, "helpful." Only 2 land-grant colleges and 3 separate state universities favored the idea of a single course covering both the general and the rural phases of economics or sociology presented from the agricultural viewpoint.

Professor George H. von Tungeln expressed the usual view in his reply:

General elementary courses should precede, because of the need of a broad foundation on which to interpret the rural conditions.

On the other hand, Professor L. L. Bernard well describes the actual situation when he says:

I think it preferable that courses in sociology and economics should precede rural sociology and rural economics respectively, but I think that any such rigid or general requirement is impracticable under present conditions, for it would mean that those students who need the course most, especially those in agriculture, education, and journalism, would be prevented from taking it

<sup>1</sup> John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, pp. 334-35.

except in occasional instances. Our requirement of elementary sociology as prerequisite for education and journalism students has much this effect, but not so much as would be noticed if required in agriculture. Nor do I think that an elementary course in rural sociology is such prerequisite to a reasonably clear understanding of the subject.

There has also been a difference of opinion as to the advisability of separating the sociological and economic phases of rural social science as in other special fields of social science. Question 8 was designed to elicit opinion upon this matter. Of 31 replies, 21 favor separate courses and 10 favor a single course, though only 2 of the 10 are actually giving but a single course covering rural sociology and economics.<sup>1</sup> The quotation above from Professor Lauman bears directly on this question. Of the 48 land-grant colleges, 24 offer both rural sociology and rural economics, 12 offer one or the other, and 12 offer neither. Furthermore, in practically half of these institutions the two subjects are taught by separate departments.

In reply to question 3g, 29 correspondents gave definite information concerning whether the course required investigation or field work. Of these, 13 require more or less personal investigation; survey work, reports on special topics, etc. Six require only term papers or reports which may be the result of library work. Ten have no such requirements, as far as stated. Tennessee has required the survey of the home county by means of the census reports, similar to the work in Georgia and North Carolina. It is quite evident that those institutions in which the course is best organized are coming to require as much personal investigation of particular problems or communities as is feasible.

5. *Administrative features.*—a) Departmental Relations: Questions 2 and 4 were designed to ascertain what departments teach rural sociology and to which of the social sciences it is most intimately connected in departmental organization. In 17 cases out of 42 furnishing necessary data, rural sociology is taught in the same department as economics and general sociology. Of these 17 departments, 11 are "Economics and Sociology" and 3 are

<sup>1</sup> See E. G. Nourse, "What Is Agricultural Economics?" *Journal of Political Economy*, XXIV (April, 1916), 363-81.

"History and Economics." In 10 cases it is taught in the department of sociology. In 4 cases the department is one of rural economics and sociology, and in 3 others it is the department of economics, which also includes rural economics, but not general sociology. In 6 cases (including Teachers College, Columbia University) it is taught in a department which also teaches agricultural education or rural education. The Massachusetts Agricultural College has the only separate department of rural sociology, but it is organized with the departments of rural education and rural economics in a division of rural social science.

b) Time: Of 69 colleges and universities, 3 give but a one-hour course in rural sociology, 30 give a two-hour course, and 35 give three hours. The University of North Carolina gives a three-hour course extending through two semesters, being the only one found giving over three hours.<sup>1</sup>

c) Requirements: Rural sociology (as such) is a required course for agricultural students at only 2 institutions—the Massachusetts Agricultural College and the University of Florida. At the Kansas Agricultural College it is optional, a choice being permitted between it and rural economics. At the University of Vermont a course in rural economics and sociology is required. The subject of rural economics seems to be required of agricultural students at 14 land-grant colleges.

In this connection it is interesting to note the requirements in the social sciences in the agricultural curricula of those land-grant colleges offering rural sociology. Of these 31 institutions, 16 require an average of four hours of political economy; 10 require an average of three hours of agricultural economics, though only 4 of these require any other political economy; 4 require an average of three and a half hours of elementary sociology; 2 require a course in "agricultural industry," two or three hours; and 1 requires industrial history, three hours, while 3 have no requirements. This does not take into account any history requirements, which, however, are rather meager.

<sup>1</sup>In these figures term-hours have been reduced to semester-hours, five term-hours being classed with three semester-hours though the actual time is one-third hour more.

Considering the social-science requirements, exclusive of history, at all of the 48 land-grant colleges, it was found that they averaged 5.2 semester-hours: 7 have none, 11 require three hours, 12 require six hours, and the remainder lie between the minimum and a maximum of twelve hours.<sup>1</sup>

The course in rural sociology is usually taken by upperclass or graduate students, though at the Massachusetts Agricultural College it is required of Sophomores, and the University of Kentucky reports a majority of Sophomore students.

In this connection should be noted a course which is required of all agricultural Freshmen at the University of Illinois, given by Dean Davenport and others. This is called "Country Life Problems" and is a one-hour course of the first semester open only to agricultural Freshmen. It consists of "problems of the farm; duties of citizenship; social, economic, and educational work in rural communities," and is evidently designed to open the eyes of the incoming agricultural students to the importance of these problems.

d) Instructor's Work: Only at the Massachusetts Agricultural College and the University of Wisconsin were instructors reported as giving their full time to this subject. However, at several other institutions the full time of the instructor is given to some two of the rural social sciences. Thus at Ohio State University and the University of North Carolina full time is given to rural economics and sociology, at the University of Kentucky to agricultural economics and education, and at the Kansas Agricultural College to rural education and rural sociology. Several institutions have men giving full time to agricultural economics. Several institutions are now developing extension work in the field of rural organization, and as this increases there will be a larger number of instructors giving full time to teaching and extension work in this field.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See also C. A. Dunniway, "Economic Science in Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges," *Proc. 29th Ann. Conv. Am. Assoc. Agr. Coll. and Exp. Stations*, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> See W. D. Hurd, "Shall Extension Service Include the Social, Recreational, and Educational Improvement of Rural and Urban Districts?" *ibid.*, p. 232.

6. *Advanced and graduate courses.*—Only 5 colleges offer more than a single course in rural sociology, not counting those cases in which a course is duplicated in the summer school. The University of Kentucky offers a seminar in "Special Problems of Rural Life" for two hours throughout the year. The Washington State College also offers a "research course" of five hours. The University of Wisconsin offers a graduate course of two hours in "Rural Social Development." The Oregon Agricultural College offers a rather unique course of three hours to upperclass men, entitled "The Literature and Exposition of Rural Life," which seems to combine a study of the prose and poetry of rural life and their sociological and economic meaning. Teachers College, Columbia University, offers two full courses as a "Practicum in Rural Social Surveys."

The Massachusetts Agricultural College, under the inspiration of President Butterfield, remains the only institution which has endeavored to furnish a complete series of courses in rural sociology for those wishing to take it as a major subject. It seems worth while to quote its announcement of elective courses, the required course having already been discussed (pp. 454 f.).

#### ELECTIVE COURSES<sup>1</sup>

50. 1. *Social condition of rural people.*—For Juniors, Seniors may elect. (A) The Rural Status: Composition of the rural population, nature, extent, and causes of diseases and accidents, health agencies of control; extent and causes of rural delinquency and dependency, conditions of temperance, of sexual morality and family integrity; child labor, women's work and position; standard of living, size of family; cultural ideals; community consciousness and activity; standards of business conduct and of political ethics.

(B) Rural Social Psychology: Characteristics of the rural mind, character of hereditary and environmental influence; nature and effect of face-to-face groups; fashion, conventionality, custom, character of discussion and of public opinion. 3 class hours. Credit 3. Professor Phelan.

51. 2. *Rural government.*—For Juniors, Seniors may elect. A general survey of the development of rural government in the United States; origin of the New England town, its influence upon the West, advantages, development of efficiency, county government, the influence of the farmer in legislation, good-roads movement, credit, facilities, taxation, boards of agriculture,

<sup>1</sup> Heavy faced type indicates the term in which the course is given.

Numbering of Courses:

1 to 25 inclusive	Freshmen	50 to 74 inclusive	Juniors
25 to 49	Sophomores	75 to 99	Seniors

agricultural colleges, and experiment stations in relation to rural welfare; national government; a general survey of political organizations and movements among farmers in the United States and foreign countries and their influence in shaping legislation; relation of the Department of Agriculture, postal system, the various national commissions and agencies to rural welfare. Lectures, readings, written exercises on assigned topics. 3 class hours. Credit 3. Professor Phelan.

52. 3. *Rural organization*.—For Juniors, Seniors may elect. A study of the organized agencies by which rural communities carry on their various forms of associated life, particularly a study of the ways by which the domestic, economic, cultural, religious, and political institutions contribute to rural betterment; principles underlying leadership, qualifications of the paid leader and the lay leader; the field of rural social service, national, state, and local, preparation and opportunity for service; rural community building, a study of organized ways and means by which aid is given local communities. 3 class hours. Credit 3. President Butterfield.

75. 1 and 3. *Farmers' organizations*.—For Seniors, Juniors may elect. The history, purposes, and achievements of the Grange, the Farmers' Union, farmers' clubs, village improvement associations, boys' clubs, etc.; the method, scope, and history of local, state, and national associations formed about some farm product, their influence in forming class consciousness and in shaping agrarian legislation; need of federation. Lectures, readings, and essays on assigned topics. 3 class hours. Credit 3. Professor Phelan.

76. 1. *Field work in rural sociology*.—For Seniors, Juniors may elect. This course is designed to meet the needs of students who wish to do some constructive work in rural social service while still in college. The work will be carried on in co-operation with the various college agencies engaged in rural service. Any project for which credit in this course is to be asked must first have the approval of the head of the department. Prerequisites, Rural Sociology 27 and 52. From 2 to 6 laboratory hours, credit 1 to 3. Professor Phelan.

77. 2. *Rural social surveys*.—For Seniors, Juniors may elect. A careful study of the theory and function of statistics, the limitations and difficulties in the use of statistics, the interpretation of statistical data, various methods of graphic representation; a study of surveys, kinds, and use, method of gaining information, the basis for conclusions, value of information gained. Text and lectures. 3 class hours. Credit 3. Professor Phelan.

78. 3. *Rural and business law*.—For Seniors, Juniors may elect. The work of this course will cover such points as land, titles, public roads, rights incident to ownership of live stock, contracts, commercial paper, and distinctions between personal and real property. Text, written exercises, lectures, and class discussions. 5 class hours. Credit 5. Professor Hart.

79. 1. *Seminar*. Credit 1 to 3. Professor Phelan.

80. 2. *Seminar*.

81. 3. *Seminar*.

Only 13 institutions out of 32 giving definite replies to question 10 state that they offer graduate work for the Master's degree. Only Harvard and the Massachusetts Agricultural College specifically mention that a Doctor's degree may be taken in this field, but doubtless most of the universities with well-organized departments in sociology would permit specialization in rural sociology by candidates for the Doctor's degree.

7. *Normal schools.*—The number and geographical distribution of the normal schools teaching rural sociology, as shown in Tables I and II, seem significant. In 20 of the 30 normal schools reported, the course is required of students in the rural-school course or of those working for a rural-teacher's certificate. In the states of Alabama, Oklahoma, Missouri, Nebraska, and Idaho the state authorities prescribing the courses of the normal schools have made it a required subject for rural teachers in the normal schools of those states. Evidently President Butterfield's standard—"Every [rural] teacher should have some knowledge of rural sociology. The normal schools should make this subject a required subject in the course especially for country teachers"<sup>1</sup>—is being accepted. Indeed, the state of Nebraska has gone so far as to include "rural sociology" in its statute (chap. 232, Laws 1915) which fixes the requirements for the rural-teacher's course for its state normal schools.

Furthermore, there is a considerable amount of rural sociology which is being taught by the normal schools under the heads of educational sociology or rural education. Indeed, the curricula of some of the normal schools is fairly shot through with the rural-life idea. To give any adequate idea of the status of the subject in the normal schools a separate and more exhaustive study would be necessary.<sup>2</sup>

However, in passing, it is interesting to note the difference of attitude in regard to the work in rural sociology at two normal schools in the same state. One of these makes the subject one of

<sup>1</sup> *Chapters in Rural Progress*, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> See Frederick R. Clow, "Sociology in Normal Schools," *American Journal of Sociology*, XVI, 253-65; John A. Keith, "The Place and Scope of Sociology in the Normal School," *Proceedings Nat. Ed. Assoc.*, 1915, p. 764.



the leading features of its curriculum, has a rural-sociology club, makes it a large feature of a monthly bulletin for rural teachers, and has made a national reputation by its work for the rural school and rural community. The instructor at the other institution in the same state replies:

The rural certificate is issued to persons who have completed a three-year high-school course, including certain subjects, rural sociology being one of those specified. The work is not very satisfactory because [?] of the immaturity of the students. I doubt whether you are particularly interested in this kind of "rural sociology," as it is not sociology. The college students of the normal schools do not teach in the country; they are only faintly interested in the country's problems, and it seems hardly worth while to require them to study rural sociology. They are required to take a brief course in general sociology.

In reply to question 5, asking for a definition, this instructor writes, "I have none. I should say the course as given here might well be termed a 'nuisance.'" One wonders whether the college-grade students at this institution receive as much benefit from their general sociology as do those in the secondary rural-certificate course from their rural sociology—whether it be sociology or not—at the other institution. Undoubtedly rural social problems will continue to receive increased attention at all normal schools and schools having normal training courses for rural teachers.

8. *Conclusion.*—Rural sociology seems to be the last field of social science to demonstrate that those phases of our human affairs which are most common and intimate are the last to engage our attention as objects of scientific study with a view to their more rational control. It also seems significant that the interest in, and the demand for, rural sociology have come because of its general appreciation upon the part of those who are closest to the country folk. With one or two notable exceptions it has not originated with the colleges or universities, for most of them have but tardily introduced the subject into their curricula in answer to the interest in rural social problems aroused by country-life conferences, farmers' institutes, granges, teachers' institutes, educational and religious conventions, farmers' clubs, agricultural extension schools, etc. The interest in the subject is genuine, for, though originally inspired by a few prophets of the rural awakening, it now

engages the keenest interest, not only of all progressive leaders in country life, but of increasing numbers of the people on the land.

It seems unnecessary to attempt to twist any conclusions from the data presented; the facts may better speak for themselves. The returns do, however, seem to raise certain very fundamental questions as to the best organization of courses of instruction in the social problems of rural life, so that they may best meet the needs of the average college student who does not expect to specialize in this field. The educational principles involved are those by which all college teaching must be judged, but their application to rural sociology seems to warrant further experimentation. It may well be questioned whether we now have, or possibly whether we ever shall have, a body of knowledge which may be termed the "principles of rural sociology"; but it is certain that we are rapidly accumulating a considerable definite knowledge concerning rural social problems and their solution, and that our people are vitally interested in them as never before. The boys' agricultural clubs have a motto, "Learn to do by doing." Probably we shall learn how to teach rural sociology in much the same way.

## CLASS AND CASTE

### I. THE RISE OF GROSS INEQUALITIES

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All about us we see men rising or sinking in responsibility, influence, or power on account of their personal qualities, but this does not result in distinct social layers. Social strata there will not be unless there is some kind of inheritance—of occupation, of prestige, of office, of authority, of property on the one hand; of lowly calling, of unfreedom, and of disability on the other.

One of the earliest social differentiations is that between the sexes. In the predatory epoch, out of which grew the barbarian culture, the subordination of women and their treatment as objects of ownership arose from the fact that they could not fight. Since the core of the tribe was the body of warriors, and all other activities became subsidiary to the martial activity, fighting capacity gave the point of view from which persons and sexes were rated. The mere workers, including women and those weak of body, fell, therefore, into a lower social position.

Another early basis for hereditary superiority was afforded by *kinship with the divinity*. When the intermingling of men of different kindreds had broken down the tribal system and substituted the tie of a common worship for the tie of blood, not all the members of the community could be thought of as children of its god. But since such gods were, in origin, the deities of certain old families, the members of these families might plume themselves on their descent from the gods and make such a pedigree a basis for aristocratic pretensions. Thus, among the Greeks as well as among the Semites, royal and noble houses long continued to trace their stem back to a divine forefather.

But by far the commonest basis of aristocracy is *wealth*. A great fortune not only exempts a family from humilific employments and enables it to bedazzle with a splendid style of living, but through nearly all history it has commanded ennoblement. Birth, no doubt, explains the ranking of *individuals*, but the root cause of the rank differences in *families* has been wealth—wealth, moreover, *in a large block*, and therefore not gained in ordinary ways. The ups and downs of fortune which we see occurring all about us in consequence of individual differences in ability, enterprise, character, or diligence shed little light on the origins of fixed classes. Through the thousand channels it controls, the dominant class always propagates the idea that social distinctions have originated in differences in personal capacity and virtue, and that they owe nothing to crime, fraud, corruption, favoritism, or privilege. The truth is, however, that the fortunes which become dynamos of social power are far from being mere by-products of the ordinary distribution of wealth according to economic traits.

*Priority* is one basis of acquisitive advantage. In the mediæval towns, the determination as to which of the fugitive serfs should be master and which servant chiefly depended on which ran away the earlier. It was not long before the “old burgher” families drew about themselves a line against the newcomers. The former ran the guilds, ruled the town, monopolized trade, and reserved for themselves the benefits from the communal lands. The city thus became divided into “burghers” and “inhabitants.”

In Australia adventurous sheepmen early pushed on into the public domain in advance of the government surveys, and “squatted” with their flocks on vast areas from which their shepherds excluded all settlers. Whole districts of valuable crop country remained untilled in the hands of pastoralists, who soon became wealthy and powerful men. When the state later attempted to resume its rights over these tracts the “wool kings” were too strong to be dispossessed, and the government had to content itself with exacting a small rent upon the area occupied.

*Booty* may give a seignorial class its start. Thus in the Dark Ages agricultural communities gave themselves up to peaceful pursuits and hired *scholæ*, or bands of unruly men gathered about

*hirdmen*, or temporary chieftains, to protect them. But the warrior bands had more opportunities for enrichment than the peaceful tillers in the communities. Success in fighting brought them droves of cattle, iron, and slaves. Says Kropotkin:

There was plenty of waste land and no lack of men ready to till it, if only they could obtain the necessary cattle and implements. . . . And if one of the *hirdmen* of the armed brotherhoods offered the peasants some cattle for a fresh start, some iron to make a plough if not the plough itself, his protection from further raids, and a number of years free from all obligations, before they should begin to repay the contracted debt, they settled upon the land. And when . . . these pioneers began to repay their debts, they fell into servile obligations toward the protector of the territory.<sup>1</sup>

#### GRANTS OF LAND AS FOUNDATION OF A LEISURE CLASS

Mobile productive property is comparatively a late thing in the world, so that, through most of human history, a landed estate has constituted the economic basis of a noble family. Hence *grants of land* play a leading rôle in social destiny. When the elders of Israel importuned Samuel for a king, the aged prophet warned them: "He will take your fields and your vineyards and your olive yards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants" (I Sam. 8:14).

Early Egyptian kings bestowed on distinguished military officers portions of the crown domains. The absorption of the Roman *ager publicus* by senators and other insiders made them enormously rich and started the senatorial aristocracy on its career of six centuries. William the Conqueror distributed his newly won kingdom into about sixty thousand parcels of nearly equal value from each of which was due a "knight's service on horseback."

In Japan in the seventh century a people essentially patriarchal in constitution was divided into governing and supporting classes. The former consisted of a civil nobility of rank and office, the higher ranks and offices being accompanied with definite grants of rice land to be held during tenure of office and exempted from the payment of tributes and forced labor.

<sup>1</sup> *Mutual Aid a Factor in Evolution*, p. 156.

In 1586, under Queen Elizabeth, the plan for peopling the province of Munster in Ireland proposed to divide it into seignories of from 4,000 to 12,000 acres, to be offered to the younger sons of gentlemen, who would "have the manrode of so many families and the disposing of so many good holdings," being "a thing fit for gentlemen of good behaviour and credit and not for any man of inferior calling."

It is the New World, however, that affords the best view of the manufacture of social superiors by grants of land. Throughout Spanish America the agricultural natives were divided among, and "commended" to, the conquerors, and as the growth of a colony brought more land within reach it was always passed out in large tracts to those within the governing circle or their friends. The "Laws of the Indies" prescribed that lands should be apportioned according to one's station, the gentleman's portion being at least five times the peasant's. The fact is that not one rood of good soil went straight to the cultivator. Today all down the west coast of South America there exists nowhere a population of independent small farmers.

Since the separation from Spain, the public lands of the Spanish American republics have been alienated in the old way to capitalists, speculators, and "insiders." Mexico, up to the recent revolution, was owned in a few thousand holdings, most of them very large, and one of them embracing eight million acres, or as much as Connecticut and New Jersey combined. The unfortunate validation of huge Mexican grants to the extent of nine million acres of the choicest land by the American courts after our occupation of California gave society there an early plutocratic cast from which it has not yet fully recovered. In 1855 a justice of the United States Supreme Court declared that "principalities are won by an affidavit and conferred upon the unscrupulous few, to the exclusion and detriment of the many."

In Argentina there are holdings stretching for hundreds of square miles, and ranches which a train takes the best part of a day to cross. The pampas, cleared of Indians by General Roca's expedition in 1879, was promptly alienated at a price of three cents an acre, after great quantities had been presented to the officers

who took part in the expedition. Half a century ago the government allowed one man to acquire, at an average price of three and one half cents an acre, a *hundred square leagues* of land which, after having made some scores of millionaires, is now worth *five hundred times* the purchase price. Until lately the smallest unit of public land ever considered by the government was the square league, and the only question was how many such leagues the grantee should obtain.

In Australasia the alienation of public lands went forward in such a fashion that, about the end of the last century, in New South Wales, South Australia, and New Zealand, 105,500 persons owned thirty thousand square miles, in lots of less than a thousand acres, whereas 1,255 persons owned fifty-five thousand square miles in holdings of ten thousand acres and above.

In colonial Virginia manorial families got their start in huge land grants obtained by favor or bribery. Several generations of wealth and pride and leadership on the one hand, and of dependence and humility on the other, might hinge on a secret agreement among the members of the provincial council to carve great estates for one another out of the public lands temporarily in their custody.

Even worse was the land grabbing in colonial New York. An Amsterdam merchant, Van Rensselaer, acquired from the Indians for a few "duffels, axes, knives, and wampum" an estate of seven hundred thousand acres, which, entailed to the eldest son for over two hundred years, gave a single family an utterly factitious political and social importance. After New Netherlands became New York, the creation of great landed proprietors with feudal rights over the people on their estates was facilitated by a royal governor, Fletcher, who in the closing years of the seventeenth century gave princely grants in return for bribes. A Bayard received twelve hundred square miles; a Smith, a block fifty miles long; a Beekman, one estate sixteen miles long and another twenty miles by eight miles; a Schuyler was given land extending for fifty miles, while a Livingston became lord of a manor of four hundred square miles. Despite the efforts of Fletcher's successor, Lord Bellomont, the magnates were too strongly intrenched in

provincial assembly and courts to be ousted from the grants they had corruptly obtained.

Even after a royal order was issued limiting a future grant to two thousand acres, great estates were built up by the trick of using "dummies" as co-grantees. With some of the New York patents went the hereditary right to a seat in the legislature. Thus by a few shrewd strokes at an early day certain scheming and grasping men were lifted to be founders of aristocratic families, society was forced from its normal course into the path of patronage and dependence, and the seeds were planted for a hundred years and more of privilege, class bitterness, and strife.

The disposition of the public domain of the United States, undoubtedly the largest and most valuable body of land that has ever been distributed by government, reveals an incessant struggle between the intentions of the people and the efforts of the greedy. In spite of the Homestead law of 1863 which, with the pre-emption acts, brought about the best distribution of virgin land that has been achieved in the New World, and which, in a single generation, undoubtedly contributed more to human welfare than any law in history, there has been a serious engrossment of natural wealth. In 1909 the pending cases of alleged fraud and illegality in the acquisition of public lands involved a value of one hundred and fourteen millions of dollars. Seven thousand square miles of land were granted to canal companies. A quarter of a million square miles went to railroad companies. Out of a hundred thousand square miles taken up under the Swamp Land acts vast areas were of the richest agricultural land, acquired by means of perjury, fraud, and corruption. In 1884 thirty-two cases of illegal fencing reported by the land office involved the use of seven thousand square miles of the public domain. In 1903 a land-office report estimated that in the preceding twenty-five years more than sixty million dollars' worth of timber had been stolen from the public lands and forests.

In 1885 an honest and fearless commissioner of public lands declared that he found himself "confronted with overwhelming evidence that the public domain was made the prey of unscrupu-



lous speculation and the worst forms of land monopoly." Twenty years later the Public Land Commission reported that "perhaps in general a larger proportion of the public land is passing into the hands of speculators and corporations than into those of actual settlers." "Inquiries made as to how a number of estates, selected haphazard, were acquired," showed that "almost without exception collusion or evasion of the letter and spirit of the land laws was involved."

It is, of course, impossible to measure how much such original mal-distribution of the public domain has contributed to the rise of wealthy and powerful families in American society, but no one doubts that it has been a factor of prime importance in causing this sinister phenomenon.

#### THE STATE AS CREATOR OF INEQUALITY

It is impossible to characterize the state as essentially either the source or the curb of hereditary social differences. Its tendency in this respect depends altogether on who controls the state. The class state will be, if not a fountain of inequalities, at least their mainstay. To the degree that the state comes under the control of broader social layers it will offer resistance to the development of extreme inequalities and will hedge the acquisitive struggle with rules designed to make it fairer.

The state is, in its earliest form, a fighting organization, and at its first appearance it creates a fresh and sharp differentiation. The passage of the Israelites from the régime of judges to that of kings brought into existence a nobility which soon usurped the authority of the elders. The relatives of the king and his chief war captains became the great men of the realm, so that the old assembly of the elders of the tribes fell into disuse. At a later period the pristine equality of the priests among themselves was lost, owing to the fact that superiority was conceded to priests from families from which high officials had been taken or which had received marked favors from the monarch.

Although in republican Rome the state appears as protecting inequalities which it had not itself created under the empire the

state came to play a great part in creating inequalities. From Diocletian on, the rankings of the servants of the state fixed degrees of social distinction. Says Bury:

In the time of Constantine only those who had held the highest official rank, consuls, proconsuls, or prefects, were members of the senate. The new forms of court ceremony, which were instituted by Aurelian and Diocletian and elaborated by their successors, gave to such personages precedence over lesser dignitaries, and they were distinguished by the title of *clarissimi*, "most renowned." Social rank depended on precedence at court, and precedence at court depended on official position. Thus, under Constantine and his immediate successors, *clarissimi* and senators denoted the same class of persons, though regarded under different aspects. Officers of lower rank were grouped into two classes, the *perfectissimi* and *egregii*, who were not members of the senate. These included the governors of dioceses and provinces, dukes, *correctores*, and others.<sup>1</sup>

In the Teutonic war bands which more and more filled the foreground as the Empire lost its grip, the thing that counted was nearness to the prince. To be "friend" or client of the headman became a title of honor in address and inscription. The *comes* or "companion" became ancestor of all "counts" and the *comites*, the first rank of nobles.

In all the kingdoms founded by such war bands, the service of the king was the source of all distinction. In France in the sixth century the top class was the senators, noble by ancestry and rich by hereditary wealth. A century later, under the Frankish kings, the nobles were simply the high royal functionaries, the big men of the palace. They all got rich, to be sure, but their wealth was the by-product of the high offices into which they had been lifted by the royal will.

The feudal system was a mode of organizing military power in a country, and for a long time the enjoyment of a fief carried with it the obligation to maintain armed forces and render military service. But the fiefs, at first granted for life, became hereditary and later all the feudal dues were abolished. National defense came to be provided for on an entirely different plan, and the lordly estates originally granted for the maintenance of a vital public service became private property, pure and simple.

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Later Roman Empire*, Vol. VI, p. 39.

There is a widespread impression that in modern Europe ennoblement has rarely amounted to more than royal recognition of the success of the fortunate. It is true that since Europe beheld a king under the guillotine monarchs have been chary in using the public wealth to enrich their favorites. But one needs only to go back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to find, not only titles and honors, but also crown lands, confiscated estates, money grants, monopolies, lucrative offices, sinecures, and hereditary pensions lavishly bestowed by kings upon their servants, supporters, and favorites. Up to the epoch when great fortunes began to be made in trade and manufacture, the sovereign had immense power in determining who should constitute the leisure class.<sup>1</sup>

#### LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS AS PROPS OF THE SOCIAL HIERARCHY

Laws and institutions have had much to do with social stratification. It is hardly possible to keep a nobility on a lofty plane without resort to primogeniture and entail. When landed property is divided equally among the children, the prolific family soon loses its splendor and prestige. If the title passes to all the sons, it loses its scarcity value. Where, as in Germany, all the sons of a baron are barons, the title becomes insignificant. Italian counts and Portuguese marquises impress only those who do not realize how numerous they are. In Russia, owing to the fact that lands as well as titles are inherited by all the descendants of a noble house, the aristocracy has always shaded down into the common people, for the merest cab driver may turn out to be a "prince."

At the lower end of the social scale are often the unfree, who are in this condition because the law gives a far-reaching effect

<sup>1</sup> In his scathing reply to the Duke of Bedford, who had the temerity to criticize his pension, Edmund Burke says: "The grants of the House of Russell were so enormous as not only to outrage economy, but even to stagger credibility. The Duke of Bedford is the Leviathan among all the creatures of the crown. He tumbles about his unwieldy bulk, he plays and frolics in the ocean of royal bounty. Huge as he is, and whilst 'he lies floating among the rood' he is still a creature. His ribs, his fins, his whalebone, his blubber, the very spiracles through which he spouts a torrent of brine against his origin, and covers me all over with the spray—everything of him and about him is from the crown."

to the act of some ancestor. Thus, M. Fustel de Coulanges writes:

The sources of the mass of serfs that covered the soil of France for a thousand years are as follows: Some were serfs by birth, having descended from the slaves of Roman Gaul, or of Germany. Some were the captives of some raid. Some became slaves in consequence of crimes committed. Finally, there were many descended from free-born men who for various motives consented to become serfs, and became such usually by writing a letter stating that of their own will they become so and so's serf.<sup>1</sup>

The thickest stratum of unfree is found when the law allows a debtor to pawn himself for a loan, when the starving man can legally contract himself into servitude, when the parent can sell his child, and when slavery is a hereditary condition. Had we such laws as have for centuries endured among some Christian peoples there is no shadow of doubt but every period of industrial depression and unemployment would precipitate tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens into unfreedom. Apologists for the existing order would then insist that their hard lot was the "natural" recompense of inefficiency, just as such apologists now insist that the monstrous fortunes among us are the "natural" recompense of superior ability!

In the middle and southern American colonies, besides the negro slaves there were great numbers of white bond servants in a state of temporary involuntary servitude. Aside from some four thousand who were prisoners taken in civil war, they were felon convicts, which, however, does not always imply great turpitude in a time when every excuse was snatched at to stock the tobacco plantations with labor from the submerged classes of English towns.

Their social status is thus described:

None could marry without consent of the master or mistress, under penalty of an addition of one year's service to the time set forth in the indenture. They were worked hard, were dressed in the cast-off clothes of their owners, and might be flogged as often as the master or mistress thought necessary. If they ran away, at least two days might be added to their time of service for each day they were absent. Father, mother, and children could be sold to different buyers. Such remnants of cargoes as could not find purchasers

<sup>1</sup> *L'Atelier et le Domaine rurale*, pp. 289-90.

within the time specified were bought in lots of fifty or more by a class of speculators known as "soul-drivers" who drove them through the country like so many cattle and sold them for what they would bring.<sup>1</sup>

Besides these there were great numbers of "redemptioners," or immigrants too poor to pay their passage, who, on their arrival in America, sold themselves to him who for the shortest term of service—usually five years—would reimburse the captain of the ship for the cost of their passage. Who can doubt that tens of thousands would even now make their way to America on such terms if such contracts were enforceable under American law?

Often wealth confers advantages which bring yet more wealth. Thus the founders of the Danish aristocracy were simply peasants who fortified their houses during deadly village struggles and then used their advantage. In old English times a hardy refugee from another community—lawbreaker or fugitive from oppression—offered himself as fighter to that man in the community who appeared to be ablest to keep and protect him. Such "house carls," having no ties to the rest of the community, became fit instruments for imposing their master's will on his fellows. Thus the man who had a little the start of his neighbors became able to browbeat them, override community rights, appropriate community land, and make himself lord of the district.

The advantage from greater wealth grows in the degree that the state fails to furnish equal protection and justice. In the imperial domains of the later Roman empire the members of the senatorial aristocracy, becoming too independent owing to the immunities rashly granted them by the state, got out of hand and encroached upon the small neighboring landowners. Since in criminal matters the nobles were responsible to no one save the emperor or his immediate representative, the pretorian prefect, and since the lawsuits were decided by judges drawn from this class, the man whose land had been seized by a noble had no certain redress. Hence, the commoners fell into the practice of seeking from the strong that protection which the law should have afforded them. Each "commended" himself to some lord, and

<sup>1</sup> McMaster, *The Acquisition of the Social and Political Rights of Man in America*, pp. 34-35.

the *patron* relation spread through society. The petty landowners became tenants-at-will upon their ancestral acres, and over them the nobles wielded sovereign powers usurped from the state.

Before the advent of genuine governmental regulation our great railroad companies, by giving or withholding special rates, rebates, and facilities, destroyed or built up industries, rewarded or punished cities and states, made or ruined business men, and nursed monopolies like the oil trust and the anthracite coal trust. The failure of the state to exact equal treatment for shippers led to the shipper (as it were) "commending" himself to the railroad company. In the same way nothing but the long struggle of the trade unions has spared the laborers in some industries, e.g., the coal-mining industry of Colorado, from the necessity of virtually renouncing all appeal to the laws supposed to protect them and "commending" themselves to the conscience and humanity of their employers.

#### STATIC TIMES COMPARED WITH DYNAMIC TIMES

It is in changeful times or in changeful fields that new peaks or even plateaus are upheaved in society. While conditions continue static, the struggle for wealth, power, or prestige alters only slowly the social landscape. From one generation to the next its features remain much the same. Generally the high can stay up, while the low must stay down. Wealth, income, social power, sometimes even place and office, pass from father to son, even if brains do not. Individual differences in ability and character bring about some interchanges between the social strata, but not many. The family line establishes itself whenever it can and, in the absence of new fields of opportunity, the lot of a man depends much on his inheriting or failing to inherit such advantages as wealth, place, connections, or education.

On the other hand, rapid growth, headlong economic progress, the cropping up of chances in unexpected places, permit the sudden rise of new men. The discovery of the New World no doubt caused in the end more displacement of social power than any happening in history. But on a smaller scale we see the same thing at our elbow. The boom of a big city means great profits to some from rising land values. A new region is a fascinating gamble, since the

discovery of rare minerals or an outlet for ore, coal, or lumber, owing to the advent of a new railroad or the clearance of a waterway, is sure to lift some prospectors or settlers into millionaires' row. The eager exploitation of the natural wealth of Colorado and California made great changes in American social registers.

But new fields, like the electrical and the automobile industries, offer opportunities as rich as do cornucopia provinces like British Columbia or São Paulo. Inventions, such as the telephone, the bicycle, the trolley car, and the motion film, hatch a brood of new fortunes. The introduction into a region of some new crop—sugar beets, hops, or citrus fruits—throws chances in the way of the foresighted and enterprising, while some bright men mount into the empyrean on the wings of a clever idea, such as founding a "ten-cent" magazine, teaching by correspondence, popularizing health foods, or pushing a method of curing stammering or pursuing physical culture at home. War, like a continental upheaval, may alter most of the wealth courses, ruining old families while new Croesuses are made through munitions, shipping, army contracts, and the floating of war loans.

When army promotion goes by seniority, how slow is the rise of the talented subaltern; whereas war gives a "leg up" to a Clive, a Bonaparte, a Skobeloff, or a Kitchener! During a dull era in politics re-election is the rule, office shows a fondness for certain families and regular political dynasties appear; but an upheaval by disillusioned farmers or workingmen is likely to bring into public life demagogues and constructive reformers who otherwise would never have been heard of.

Scientific eminence cannot of course be entailed like a fortune. There are times, however, in which the prestige of the discoverer is, at least, a life estate, whereas in epochs of great intellectual fermentation laurels are constantly redistributed. In our time, thanks to the discovery of radioactivity, the germ origin of disease, immunity, the mutation of species, the Mendelian law of inheritance and mental suggestibility, a host of eager investigators are sharing in a glory which ordinarily would be monopolized by the retired explorers of older fields.

Let it not be forgotten, however, that the *channels* of social power may not shift as much as do its *sources*. The top people are not without some nimbleness of adjustment. Wealthy old families may "get in on the ground floor" of a new economic development, gather cream from a virgin mineral region or a field like the electrical industry, instead of keeping to father's line of investment. Our great capitalists have gained control of much of Alaska's resources, while the gold of the Transvaal has repaired the fortune of many a British noble. Likewise a public man of an old political family may be nimble enough to get on the winning side of a popular agitation, while the scientific investigator may keep his laurels green by leaving his earlier vein of research and going over into a new and more promising field.

#### LEGITIMATION

It is striking how frequently the fortunes which support social superiority originate in force, fraud, or corruption. One recalls the estates carved out of the church lands by Henry VIII after the dissolution of the monasteries; the profits from mingled crime and trade piled up by means of the Dutch East India Company; the oriental loot brought back to England by the "nabobs"; the lucrative Indian monopolies of tea, salt, opium, and spice; the wealth heaped up in the African slave trade; the infamous fortunes of the tax farmers under the old régime in France. Coming nearer home, there are the American fortunes founded on cheating in the army supplies during the Civil War, on railroad wrecking, on customs frauds, on the stealing of public lands, on proprietary medicines and food adulteration, on public franchises won by bribery, on tariff favors corruptly obtained, on prison-labor contracts, on vice catering, on tax dodging, and on numerous other iniquities. I refer not to methods of wealth-getting which a later generation has learned to condemn, but to acquisitive practices which outraged the contemporary standards of right and were pursued to a triumphant conclusion only because bribery and corruption turned the edge of every instrument the people sought to use against such practices, or because a secret control over sources of opinion deceived or confused the public as to what really was going on.



In order that these dunghheap fortunes may be sublimated into social luster they undergo a process of *legitimation*, whereby ill-gotten wealth is made to look precisely like well-gotten wealth. The gatherer of tainted money may have to endure lifelong odium, but his descendants, when they get ready to retire from acquisition and devote themselves to enjoyment, may exchange it for sweet-smelling forms of property which will yield less dividend but more prestige. Then, too, as the crimes, frauds, and treacheries which lie at the basis of family pride and pretension recede a little into the past, they are quickly hidden under a veil of oblivion.

Many motives, some of them far from bad, are at work to bring this about. The present holders of ill-gotten fortunes not only have every interest in suppressing the truth, but they may be quite innocent of misleading the public as to the real character of the founder of the house. Then the rising generation is regularly fed with fairy stories which cloak the grim realities of the social *mêlée*. Its school-teachers, moreover, are nearly as ignorant and credulous as their pupils respecting the origins of private accumulations. To spare national pride, the shameful episodes and scandals, particularly those which reflect on conspicuous and influential families, have been expurgated from school history. Some of the most social-minded persons, namely those interested in institutions of social welfare, higher education, and scientific research, cherishing the hope of recovering portions of ill-gotten wealth for public uses, refrain from alluding to historical facts which might alienate possible donors.

Through advertising, the use of credit, etc., the newspapers are so dependent on the financially powerful that they generally keep silent as to the skeletons in the ancestral closets of such persons. Wide as is the range of partisan political discussions, they rarely acquaint the public with bits of history which might be resented as offensive by valued party workers or contributors. Let it be borne in mind, too, that the present holders of ill-gotten fortunes may be very decent and philanthropic persons, so that to the public it will seem wanton and malicious to rake up the piracies of their grandfathers.

Thus there is a kind of conspiracy of silence as to the origins of many fortunes which sustain present social pretensions. If a

scholar should dig out the truth from court records, assessment rolls, reports of public officers, and findings of committees of investigation, he would hardly find a publisher. So, of all important historical matter, this is the most perishable, the soonest forgotten, the hardest to revive. Yet such oblivion legitimates accumulations of the most scandalous origin and leads millions of capable and useful people to accept as their social superiors commonplace individuals who have no atom of distinction save that conferred by the skilful expenditure of income from inherited plunder.

#### SECONDARY DIFFERENTIATION

Great differences in social status presently give rise to contrasts in character which serve to accentuate and justify these differences. Normally, the personal ideal that grows up within a hereditary upper class is to be proud, free-handed, and high-spirited. If the class is also a martial and ruling class, its ideal will include courage and domineering will. Born to wealth and power, the members of a privileged order not infrequently manifest an independence of character, a frankness of speech, a simplicity of manner, and a dignity of bearing which are interpreted as natural traits of the *aristoi* or best. Hence, it is possible to popularize the myth that the nobility had its origin in the deliberate promotion of the best, and that its *raison d'être* is social service.

On the other hand, by the presence above them of the privileged, the masses are liable to be warped out of their true line of character growth. They accept the master-idea of the disgracefulness of work; yet for them there is no other lot. Their enforced economies and frugality of expenditure are taken as proofs of a want of natural dignity. So far as they lack adequate legal protection they find themselves under the necessity of combating force with deceit. In case the masses are mostly disinherited, they lose the property sense and are despised for their petty thievery. Thus, when concentration of wealth and power in the upper class is marked, the resulting want of manliness and truthfulness in the common people is held to reveal a natural defect, and inferiority of social status is justified as being the inevitable recompense for inherited weakness of character.

## THE HUMAN ELEMENT IN PRODUCTION

ROBERT G. VALENTINE<sup>1</sup>

I am speaking to you today on your business side.

In spite of certain legitimate suspicion against you on the part of business men, they nevertheless in certain very practical affairs ask your business advice. In spite of certain equally legitimate suspicion of you on class grounds on the part of trade unions, they also nevertheless consult you on their practical business affairs. It is as such business advisers that I ask you to consider a few concrete points which to my mind lie at the base of any analysis of the human factor in production.

But we cannot consider the human factor in production without first fixing our point of view. No analysis of the human factor in production can keep within the limits of production itself. The very existence of the human factor in production raises two questions—Production for whom? and Production for what? If, in answer to the question, Production for whom? we say the so-called private owner of a mill, we take one point of view; if we say owners of a monopoly more or less under public, state, or federal regulation, we take another point of view; if we say a government business, like the post-office, still another. Economic intelligence has advanced far enough in these days to put it beyond question that the strictly private ownership point of view no longer legitimately exists. The most strenuous type of claimant for “running my business to suit myself” no longer even himself

<sup>1</sup> [This address was considered one of the most important utterances at the recent meeting of the National Federation of Settlements.

The speaker was commissioner of Indian affairs under President Roosevelt. He has since then devoted himself to the profession of industrial counselor, and has already made for himself a position of importance in this field. He has, for instance, just been devoting several months to the endlessly complex problems connected with the garment industry in New York.

Mr. Valentine's death occurred on November 14, 1916, after this paper, including the foregoing note, was in type.—EDITORS.]

really believes the words he utters. Certainly no one else does. The only basically sound point of view about production is the national point of view, and the national more and more impregnated with internationalism. All the big business men of today are doing some thinking on a planetary scale. The internationalist movement is by no means confined to trade unions and socialists.

The question that justifies nothing less than the national point of view is, even in the case of the would-be "privatist" owner, "Is my action in the public interest?" If it is, it will be likely to stand. Our point of view in considering the human factor in production will therefore be the point of view of the interest of the nation as a working industrial unit in world industrial progress.

The second question that must be answered before our point of view can be fixed is, Production for what? Despite the almost entire lack of intelligent consumption on an organized basis, it nevertheless remains true that production exists for consumption and not for its own sake. The consumer, not the producer, is steadily more and more becoming, and in the very near future will be, the dominant force in the economic development of the nation. The producer is bound to become the agent of the consumer. This is the common-sense of the situation. It is also the numerical sense of the situation. Some of our most thoughtful manufacturing producers are strangely blind to this point of view. An English woman who recently visited this country on behalf of organized labor in England, to see what standards of efficiency she could justly urge English labor to promote, was very much amused by the upside-down production-consumption situation she found in a certain concern which manufactures buttons. The concern is deserving of high praise for its efforts to regularize its sales, and thereby keep the employees steadily at work through the year. In order to do this it is necessarily seeking wider and wider markets, both geographically and through getting people more and more intensively interested in the wearing of buttons. It may well be a question as to what social and moral values are conserved by buttons on a waist where they have no structural value, where they simply serve to raise academic debate on artistic theories; or whether it is desirable to introduce the people of Borneo to

buttons. When one stops to think, he has an uneasy feeling that possibly it should be the consumer himself who should decide whether he will wear buttons or not, and not the producer, and that the legitimate field for stabilizing production is not in the field of selling *éditions de luxe* to country housewives. We certainly want to hold the world down to simple and true things and it is asking too much of the producer to expect him to do this. The whole question of styles will occur to you as another great problem in this connection. Our point of view, then, in addition to being national, looks to the consumer as being more and more the determining factor as to what shall be produced and of what quality.

With our minds thus straightened away for the course, we may proceed with perhaps a little more safety than usual to the consideration of some very concrete problems. These basic problems affecting the human factor in production may be considered under three heads: (A) the problems inherent in the work itself; (B) those inherent in the way the work is paid; (C) those inherent in the form or forms of organization which seek to govern both work and pay.

#### A. THE WORK ITSELF

1. Let us try first to state the problem involved in specialization. We are all aware that the whole tendency of the manufacturing process is strongly and inevitably in the direction of specialization. All work of all kinds—professional, business, even artistic—is being turned over more and more to specialists. As the shoe or boot divides into finer and finer parts, one person spends his whole time working on each part. His product increases and three fundamental questions arise: First, What is the effect on him as a citizen or as a potential citizen from the educational point of view? Second, What is the effect on the relation of his leisure time to his work time? Third, What is the effect on him through pay?

The manufacturer who thinks about this matter at all will, as a rule, concede that the worker should be given every encouragement to make up to himself by outside educational activities the loss of training and broader contacts which inevitably results from the present narrowing of his work interest. Some manufacturers will

even concede that there should be shorter hours for such work in order that the worker may have more time for such other interests as will keep his life from being narrowed and deadened, and on the affirmative side increase it in richness. But few will as yet concede that in addition the worker should get as much more pay for the specialized work as many workers feel they should. The employer usually asks the worker to do the more specialized work at a lower rate of pay than he had before been getting, maintaining that the worker gets his adequate share of the increased production in his greater aggregate earnings in a day. The worker, on the other hand, feels, not only that the rate should not be lowered, but that he should not remain at the old rate; that even the rate itself should be increased, since otherwise he does not get his fair share of the increased production. He holds that he needs this actual increase in rate of pay to enable him to provide adequately for life as a citizen in the longer hours away from his work. This is no question of trade-union demand that we are raising here. It is a question of straight thinking about the matter, whether done by trade unions or by individual workers. It is a question that is not academic, not theoretical; it is a practical question that is being thought out today by hundreds of manufacturers and tens of thousands of workers.

2. The second basic problem in connection with the work itself arises when we consider the length and speed of the working-day. It is in this field that the current phrases "limitation of output" and "soldiering" operate.

For both employer and employee (and also for the awakened and concretely intelligent consumer, if there be such) it is of vital importance that the piece-rate be determined in the light of the expectation of a definite quantity of production. The interests of all parties are the same (1) in doing away with soldiering and (2) in so training the conscientious slow worker as to enable him to create that minimum quantity of production in return for a minimum amount of pay which will not make the particular product of that worker an unfair charge against the employer's overhead.

It is clear that there is a certain length of the working-day within which period it is definitely ascertainable that a person can

work at a certain general rate of speed, varying, of course, from hour to hour and from day to day, and to some extent from season to season, but still running through the year at a fairly level average, without any question of physical or mental deterioration arising. Within this healthful working-day, whatever it may be, it is obvious that slovenly work, slipshod work, slow work on the part of a worker who could work faster without exceeding the limits of physical and mental health already laid down, are against the interest of the employee from the point of view of both his own skill and his own self-respect; are against the interest of the manufacturer from the point of view of his costs; are against the interests of society from the point of view of quality of the individual and the economic cost of the product.

The point at which the real opposition of interest arises between employer and employee is in the length of the working-day itself after it has been reduced to the point where it will not impair health. Here it is obvious that the problem of a shorter day through which is gained more leisure for other things must be decided by the combined efforts either under constitutional forms or through revolutionary action of a strong union on the one hand, a strong manufacturers' association on the other, and full regard to the rights and interests of the consumer. For at this point the interests of employer and employee are distinctly opposed.

It is the almost complete failure in many instances to make this distinction between the two fields which has led in the industrial world generally to disturbances over the question of soldiering, limitation of output, slack work, etc., and to the amount of nonsense that has been talked about these things. In the absence of a strong union and a strong manufacturers' association, soldiering, limitation of output, slack work, etc., may be perfectly necessary weapons of attack on the part of employees against employers.

3. Time-study in plants raises a third basic problem. I believe the union position against time-study as at present practiced is sound. Furthermore, until time-study is practiced under different conditions, I can fully understand the reasons which induce unions to seek by legislation to prohibit its use in government shops. Such legislation would bring them what they would consider relief

in those shops, and strengthen their position in opposing time-study in so-called private establishments.

In attempting to analyze the effect of time-study on an industry, I believe it important to distinguish clearly between the use of time-study for the purpose of analyzing a job and the use of time-study for the purpose of setting tasks after a job has been analyzed. I shall not here take up in any detail its second use, i.e., for task-setting. I am in extreme doubt as to whether our knowledge is anything like complete enough to give to time-study the emphasis in task-setting that is given it where it has been so used.

About its first use I believe the unions can, as a purely theoretical matter, raise no valid objections. As a practical matter, however, they may have some valid objections, because it may be practically impossible, as industry is governed today, to prevent the first use from having a very dynamic effect on the second use, even in a measure producing the second use unconsciously.

Assuming, however, for the moment, the wholly theoretical aspect of the first use, there can not only be no valid objection to it, but there is every argument in its favor. I do not feel that one can know too much about anything in the world, and time-study is an absolutely essential factor in the pursuit of complete knowledge, exactly as a clinical thermometer is an essential factor in making a medical diagnosis, or the work of a chemical laboratory in which a compound is investigated to its most elementary parts is an essential instrument of knowledge. Still speaking theoretically, it is ridiculous that an industrial investigator, like a physician or a chemist, should not have every possible facility for analyzing every industrial job and studying it from every possible angle in every possible way. To cut out time-study in connection with this investigation would be like compelling a surgeon to use a shovel where he should use a scalpel.

The difficulty arises, however, when we leave the field of theory for the field of practice. In practice, time-study is made by the employer for the benefit of the employer, and only such benefit accrues to the worker as in the judgment of the employer is necessary to produce a result beneficial to himself. This is the utmost extent to which the worker can be alleged to share. On the other



hand, as industry is at present organized, with the control of this matter in the hands of the employer, both the individual worker and all his fellows stand, both directly and indirectly, to lose in this matter, because time-study, together with the whole process of thoroughgoing analysis of jobs, tends steadily to reform the whole industrial process. Theoretically, also, this may be a completely excellent thing for society. Practically, however, it is on a certain stability in basic industrial organization, changing only from time to time and not existing as a perpetual flux, that the worker has heretofore been able to take his stand and win for himself shorter hours of labor, higher wages, sanitary working conditions, and, above all, an attitude of growing, intelligent understanding and respect for him as a man on the part of the employer—all of which things would never in the world have come to the worker from the hands of the employer. These are things that come only to those who win them. It is perfectly clear to me, therefore, that the workers cannot wisely submit or consent to any industrial method like time-study which tends so to shift the ground on which they stand from under their feet, *unless* they have an actual share with the employer in creating new ground on which they themselves will be as strong as they were on the old. This probably cannot be done, except as craft unionism either gives place to, or takes on, the administrative quality of industrial unionism. Under those conditions, and under those only, can unions be expected to co-operate in the demolition of the old ground.

It may be urged that time-study, like machinery, has come to stay, and that the union workers can no more make an effective stand against knowledge as applied to jobs than they were able to make against machinery. I agree fully that they cannot hope to make a successful stand in this case any more than they did in the other; but that is not saying that they should not make every kind of stand they can, that they ought not to do everything possible to postpone the day of its arrival, *unless*, again, they can win such a position as will enable them, not only not to oppose its arrival, but to co-operate in its arrival. For the real ground of their opposition is not in a need to block the thing itself, but rather as a means of getting their terms in regard to it. To my mind,

time-study, like the introduction of machinery, is an unquestionably good thing for society at large, if so governed that it does not work injury to any one element of society.

I hope that I have made it clear, then, that the whole thing stands in my mind as a question of control. In any industry where there is a strong union and a strong manufacturers' association and soundly worked-out collective relationships, I believe that time-study as a part of job analysis, at least, can be safely introduced, not only without detriment to the worker, but as a factor in his positive benefit. In an industry where such share in the management and such relations do not exist, I think the only logical and sensible thing for unions to do is to oppose the introduction of time-study.

Although I have not tried overrigorously to keep out the question of pay from consideration in these three topics under questions arising in connection with the work itself, it will be apparent to you, I think, that a great deal of confusion has arisen in the discussion of economic questions by failing to keep distinct certain problems arising out of the method of doing the work, irrespective of how it is paid, and certain new problems which are raised by the question of pay itself.

#### B. PAY FOR WORK

1. On questions of pay, one of the biggest problems arises out of the respective relations of employees and employers to the business risks of industry. The employer as a rule assumes the complete lack of responsibility of employees for the risks of business, and on this basis rests his claim to the total "profit." Many an employee, on the other hand, feels that he stakes a larger proportional business risk in the industry than the employer. Leaving aside all such matters as raise questions in the field of direct blame, a business which may in part shut down or become involved in competitive difficulties, because its managers are not men of enough intellectual grasp to avert them, may well cause more complete destruction to the lives of many workers than the complete failure of the business would to the owners or managers. The problem raised by these opposing points of view is as to whether a

really intelligent employer will dare continue taking the lonely responsibility he in many cases today takes, and whether the employees are not right in feeling that, if they possess any intelligence as human beings at all, they are false to their own self-respect if they do not attempt in every way in their power to educate themselves to increase their power to be fit for, and to assume a definite share in, the management of the business.

2. Another basic problem arises out of the study of the ratios of reward. In the tub of blue water, how do we determine the fair proportion in which the clear tub of water or the few drops of blueing should be paid for their respective contributions? The intelligent idea is gradually penetrating the field of business that there are certain maxima and minima of sharings, so far as either wages or management salaries are concerned. On the side of the strictly productive process, few men can claim to be worth to the business more than fifty thousand or say a hundred thousand a year, or less than nine dollars a week. I think it is fairly safe to say that an employee who is retained in any business at higher than the first amount or lower than the second is a sad comment on the efficiency of the management. We may raise here the question of the inventor who may furnish some contribution to the industry that is immeasurable in dollars; it is that very difficulty of immeasurability that takes it out of the money-reward class. Giotto, Rodin, and Edison cannot possibly be paid in money. Between these two extremes, then, lie all the questions of the ratios of reward, and no adequate analysis has been as yet applied to this problem. The very first step of such analysis is still in its infancy. Only when you have such work analyses as I suggested in what I said on the various topics under work itself will that step have been taken. When we know more than we do about the actual work that is to be done, and the time required, and the investment or education necessary to produce the right qualifications for doing it, only then do we begin to have any real line on what the ratios of money reward should be.

3. It is because of this lack of any adequate work analyses that all so-called advanced methods of pay, like task and bonus and comparative piece-rates, fail as anything like just or fair methods

of pay. They are all based on that most unscientific and messy thing in the world, "the going rate of wages." Probably the soundest method of pay in existence today, taking our great ignorance into consideration, is the straight day or weekly rate, checked against a constantly more and more intelligent job analysis; that is, a statement of the work on the basis of which the achievement of the workers is to be measured and paid for.

### C. ORGANIZATION

So far we have dealt with problems which exist in the industry apart from any particular kind of practice or theory of management. We must now consider the interrelations between these problems themselves and the different elements of management, singly and in combination. These are the fundamental questions of human organization. For practical purposes, today, human organization in the economic field exists in four main types: (1) associations based on ownership of capital; (2) associations based on the employment or management of capital; (3) associations of employees in trade unions; (4) associations (more or less actual) of all the people in government, or private consumers' organizations.

The ordinary designation of the basic economic struggle as existing between capital and labor is seen on the slightest analysis to be at once incomplete and very inaccurate. The mere fact that in many cases management and ownership of capital may exist in the same person or same organization does not do away with the fact that they are very different functions and dominate two quite distinct points of view. Perhaps the most immediately striking fact that comes out through this classification of the elements of human organization as they exist politically in the world today, whether politically in industry or politically in state or federal affairs, is the negligibility of the individual as a factor of control. I am not saying that the idea of one individual may not have a revolutionary effect on some process or some method or management or some method of organization, but this is exceptional, and where it exists it more often than not requires collective action of some kind to put the idea into operation. The day of individual bargain between employer and employee is definitely over. The

existence of the horse car on Houston Street or of many a Massachusetts or Southern mill is no proof to the contrary. The real job of today is the inventive one of devising and making practicable in use new forms of collective organization within the different units of human organization and between them. The work of the industrial statesman is to devise concrete working relationships in daily practice under constitutional forms between the four existing forms of collective action—that based on unionism, that based on public government, that based on employment of capital, and that based on ownership of capital.

#### CONCLUSIONS

All this points to certain conclusions which I shall endeavor merely summarily to state. Taking squarely our point of view of the consumer in the nation as the only one from which all the elements involving the human factors in production can be seen in right perspective, we find that the consumer himself is also in production in some cases as an employer, where his immediate interests are production first; in other cases as an employee, where his immediate interests are consumption first. We find the consumer also in production in another dual capacity, first, as a productive consumer, and, secondly, as a non-productive consumer.

Here we get a glimmering of why we have done so much of our thinking upside down. An analysis of the human factor in production from the foregoing point of view shows, not only large areas of vitally opposed interests, but an almost hopeless entanglement of administrative policies and acts, such as were illustrated in the case of buttons and styles.

The only hope for reduction of the areas of opposition and entanglement in production seems to lie in tackling as the primary problem the field of consumption itself through the process of analysis, education, and organization, and organization under the fourfold form in which we have just considered it.

The more consumption becomes the primary problem in our minds the more in the field of production the area of contest between the human factors will diminish and administration become less entangled. As now in some public-service corporations,

so then in all business this issue will tend to narrow to that between the wage-earner and the rate-payer.

We are just waking up to the fact that even today every productive business is a public service.

Where strong organizations—governmental or private, employees, management of capital, ownership of capital—are in the field watching the consumer's interest from every angle, the human factor in production is not only safeguarded but gets a constructive development otherwise lacking. The possibility of this constructive development lies in the following facts:

a) The powers of analysis and invention may under such conditions safely penetrate every operation; job analysis, including time-study, becomes safe.

b) Skill and speed in work come to have a social as well as an individualistic moral basis.

c) Just as distribution of work tends to become fairer in individual concerns, so it tends to become fairer in society at large. Dangerous and disagreeable jobs tend to command more pay for shorter hours and shorter working years.

d) It becomes socially safe for soldiering and sabotage to disappear from within the mill just as fast as it ceases to be reputable for any able person to draw either necessities or luxuries from society without full return in work.

e) Industrial education, or more specifically, production education, becomes but a part of consumption education, and education as a whole more and more affords equal opportunities for self-development of everyone.

These points which I have summarily raised throughout this paper are, I believe, the crucial points on which every thinking employer and every thinking employee is today questioning himself and his fellows.

## AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AND THE MODERN CHURCH. II

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### WHAT HAS THE STATE A RIGHT TO EXPECT OF THE CHURCH?

On the principle of democracy, the church, comprising but a part of the people, is answerable in certain respects to the commonwealth, composed of all the people. Democracy has a moral right to demand reasonable returns for the privilege and protection guaranteed the religious body. Churches in the United States enjoy great liberty in matters of faith and propaganda, being usually tax-exempt, and in many communities the meeting house is protected against the near encroachment of competitive amusements, such as saloons and theaters. The value of the church in conserving morals and public order is thus recognized. Her ritual in solemnizing marriage and burial, in identifying the best *mores* with the will of God, her frequent challenge to better living, and her distribution of helps, spiritual and material, constitute an aid to government; while her training of the young in the knowledge and attitudes of religion is explicitly part of her public task.

Such service is not calculable in severe statistical form and seldom rises to conscious appreciation in the public mind. But it is noteworthy that few people will choose to live in a churchless community. Perhaps if the thinking of today were less mechanistic and not so shortly tethered to the ego-economic stake, there might also be a larger appreciation of the value to public welfare in the church's perennial ministry to the deepest emotional needs of the citizen, and in her bold but imperfect attempt to give to life some unifying philosophy and some meaning commensurate with the soul's demand. The nation forgets that need, industry ignores it; but the church, even when kidnaped by nationalism and drugged

by industrialism, still pleads the everlasting rights of the individual soul. The nation says "might," the industry, "wealth," and the church, "love." The pursuit of unmitigated self-interest on the part of men and nations is certainly that "broad road that leadeth to destruction; and many be they that go in thereat." It may seem fantastic and conceited, but, in the main, the church tries to save society from chaos by interposing steadily the basal principle of Jewish and Christian ethics—the doctrine of brotherly love. She is champion of the community of good-will, knit together by spiritual bonds and dedicated to the realization of the normal family relationship throughout the world.

Granting, then, that as an agency of social control and human welfare the church holds in fact some such place as is indicated by the governmental attitude toward her, the question remains as to what assurance the government, or all the people, may demand of the church that she is adequately performing those functions for which she holds the people's tacit or explicit franchise. To put it more concretely: if, from the viewpoint of democracy, the church is a public utility collecting large sums of money and aiming to render services from which the state deliberately refrains, has the state the right to demand anything by way of the standardization or efficiency of those services and to expect a wise and reasonable use of the money solicited from the citizens? In other words, is the state bound to see to it that the agency of religion gives the community a just return for value received?

It would perhaps be illuminating from this point of view if, in addition to the common religious survey conducted for the purpose of ascertaining the facts as to church and Sunday-school attendance and affiliation, attention should also be given to the community's budget for religious purposes, and a display made in terms of per capita expense and services rendered. In order to obtain a just estimate of the situation there is need that the community be regarded as the primary concern and the church as her servant. There is a place, not only for the survey of the community by the church, but also for the survey of the church by the community.

One point of approach to such a consideration is the important matter of the qualifications of the professional ministrant of religion.



In the professions of law and medicine the duty of the state to protect its citizens by requiring a certain minimum standard of training for practitioners is generally accepted as sound and reasonable public policy. In fact, the state is no longer negative in this task. For, in addition to restricting the personal liberty of incompetent would-be practitioners, she undertakes increasingly to provide that the health service needful to the community be furnished by the medical profession. Medicine is rapidly passing from a private concern, living upon the fees of unfortunate patients, to a social service of vast sweep and fine morale. Pure-food legislation is but the application of the same principle to less professional concerns.

Reasons for the greater laxity in setting minimum educational standards for accredited specialists in the care of individual souls and in the shaping of social morality must be found either in the nature of religion itself, as bearing no necessary relation to intellectual training and scientific fact, or in the practical impossibility of defining what constitutes religious leadership. Undoubtedly the present method of leaving ordination requirements wholly to the sect or to the local congregation, whatever it may accomplish in the mobility, local color, and numerical strength of the ministry, leaves the people at large without sufficient guaranty of the educational fitness of ordained preachers.

Just why social control remains incoherent at this point is rather difficult to discover. The general opinion seems to be that any tampering with "liberty of soul" would result in more harm than good. The principle involved, even if abused, is too sacred to be sharply challenged. It may also be that the accepted *laissez-faire* in religious competition finds foundation in the common belief in "revelation" as a past, fixed, and ended achievement. If the body of religious truth has been given, inerrant and endowed with a divine right per se and is so recorded that all may read, then the qualification of the religious leader is a matter of biblical rather than of social training. He is not answerable to the world of facts but to the God of "revelation."

However, the amount of imposition, not always intentional, which is harbored by this "hands-off" method is by no means negligible, and probably one of the most serious impediments to the

progress of religion is the fact that the ministry is overcrowded by men of little or no preparation, who would not be tolerated in positions involving public health, justice, or financial trust. The practical result of the gravitation of the unfit to the needless churches of the small town is wasteful competition and costly delay in the solution of the real problems of village and country.

For obvious and perhaps valid reasons little has been written on sectarianism as an impediment to social action. Yet, with due respect to those who are trying to do good according to their light and ability, it must be acknowledged that in many places denominationalism impedes or arrests community effort for social ends. The adherent of the struggling church tends to shorten his radius of interest to that of the invalid institution, to consider its support the full measure of his benefaction, and to suspect the motives of rival churches if they essay anything more than a similar concern for their own slender tenure of life. The higher interests of the community, which might be served by combined action for educational, recreational, and civic improvement, are usually neglected because of the heavy tax for the maintenance of superfluous churches and because these serve to keep people of good will apart.

When these divisions are further accentuated by strict adherence to racial lines, so that impervious groups are maintained behind the barriers of foreign thought-forms and language and the church group identifies its religion with non-participation in the manners and aims of the community, then the church becomes a serious obstruction to the aims of the state and is morally chargeable with a misuse of the privileges which the state grants. The unfortunate tendency to live *on* the community rather than *for* and *with* it is fostered, along with the disability to co-operate intelligently in the common task of government.

The right of the government to prevent wasteful duplication of public and semipublic service in the interest of all the people is by no means clearly defined, and, for example, while a dozen milk wagons rattle back and forth over a route that might be served by one delivery, and a common commodity necessary to every family and already subject to municipal inspection is bantered about by silly competition at great cost to the consuming public, it would be

premature to expect a much more rational method among the vendors of a commodity so optional and variable as church religion.

Yet it is possible to forecast a time when public opinion, which is becoming increasingly sensitive to the inutility and costliness of a ministry overcrowded by those who are unfit and therefore obstructive to united community effort for good, will demand, perhaps by law, a more adequate education for the professional religious leader. Such insistence upon a minimum, although not uniform, education for the professional who lives by religion would not necessarily violate the principle of religious liberty for the individual. It would only enforce the fact that the assumption of a social task as a life-calling must not be the presumption of ignorance or weak sentimentality, but the rational service of an enlightened and trained mind.

A public policy of this sort requiring a minimum of general education, equivalent to a Bachelor's degree, would bear upon the church's discharge of her just functions as a public institution in yet another way. For the professional specialties still reserved to the denominational theological seminary would be saved from narrowness by the preceding liberal education, since the college man, grounded in empirical and historical method and awakened by the social sciences, swings from sectarianism to community interest, from competition with variant believers to a campaign for moral objectives. The man who in motive and character is fit to enter the ministry would by virtue of such training seek to align and unify the religious forces of a parish so as best to serve the community life.

It seems highly imperative in the present state of American democracy that the bonds which make for coherence and unity be greatly strengthened and that some cause more compelling than the residuary nationalism of the immigrant or its revival in the native-born be brought to the fore. Socialism has served somewhat in this capacity, but it is quite possible that a serious acceptance of the Christian teaching of human brotherhood and the application of the family ideal to the entire community of men and nations is the only solution for class and race divisiveness. Something more commanding and idealistic than the appeal to party and national

symbols is necessary in order that the citizen may rise from impulsive response to secondary motives to moral response to an end so exalted as to carry the value of religion. The salvation of a democracy which shall cherish the well-being of all mankind as it does that of its own citizens rests with religion.

Despite the fact that religious organizations are often, wittingly or unwittingly, recruited to un-Christian national ambition, the fact remains that for both internal and international brotherhood the world depends chiefly upon the religious prophet and the exercise of Christlike altruism. Practically the only international strands holding in the war-rent world of today are those of the Red Cross and of the equally valiant service of the Young Men's Christian Association with the armies and in the prison camps of Europe. These testify that the so-called moratorium of Christianity is by no means complete.

Now, whether one looks out upon this vast field or confines his attention to the most ordinary community, he is forced to the conclusion that the hope of survival of any human society worthy of the name rests with this doctrine of love. The machinery of government, even when carried to the highest point of efficiency, will not guarantee that human beings will live together as befits man. The spirit infusing the process determines success or failure. The kind of living itself is the real reward. In the last analysis the achievement of democracy is not measured in things, but in fulness of life; and when fair discount has been made, does not the church, taken as a whole, stand for that abundant life which the founder of Christianity proclaimed as his mission to the world?

It is therefore, perhaps, a tribute to an idealism, like unto her own at its best, that democracy fosters the church, believing that in an organization whose selective principle is the teaching of Jesus there is the greatest likelihood that the highest life-values attainable in any society will be demonstrated. Hence the church carries a certain self-imposed obligation as being a proving-ground for the finest possibilities of human association. Within the biblical concept of the church, as in its sacred status defined by theologians, there is this rich and positive consciousness, explaining and miti-

gating somewhat a separateness which has at times seemed aloof and non-social to the outsider.

As an offset to this tendency, which may become pharisaism, democracy rightly expects the church to make plain to all men her redemptive principle, her formula for a perfect society. From democracy's viewpoint the church is not very efficient in the discharge of this duty. Her failure to make her ideal ethic that of industries and nations may be due to many causes. It is not enough to fall back upon the weakness, inertia, and selfishness of human nature. For mankind, and especially the youth of the world, give sufficient proof of an illimitable ability to respond to that which is difficult, hazardous, and sacrificial. Perhaps it is not too much to believe that in every normal life there comes a period in which selfhood demands that very thing as the crown of existence, the superb assurance of causal relation to one's world. Even within the church only trivial use is made of this pregnant idealism. The relay of new life so potential for world-betterment, coming over the crest that lies between childhood and manhood, dribbles down to commonplace self-interest because the trumpet call is not heard and leadership in the fight for human rights is lacking. The central meaning of the gospel is not made plain to, nor adopted by, any large number of the youth of the church.

As for most of the mature and aged, the gospel has no social meaning commensurate with, or related to, democracy's problems. It is as if Jesus spoke in another room and his articulate imperatives reached the hearers only as a comforting lullaby, an assurance that he was near, but not near enough to disturb. How else can one explain the timid seclusion of church people within half-empty buildings, the sterility of their summer religion, their failure to find the crowd, wherever it may be, and to compel attention, even if the attention secured were only hostile? So far as the "outsider" is concerned, he usually does not perceive what the church religionist is talking about. His supposition is that someone is trying to make converts to the church, intends to take up a collection, is earning easy money, is underpinning a top-heavy industrialism by "sawdust-trail" methods, or is ranting in an unknown tongue,

which tongue is traditional theology. The obligation of the church to get the gospel to the people as dynamic for achieving fulness of life, to make plain its consuming righteousness for the individual, group, or nation, irrespective of class and privilege, and to infold all men in brotherly relationship is an obligation awaiting fulfilment. American democracy is offering a fair field for this enterprise, with her own future, if not her life, at stake. If the church is not to fail in this critical issue, she will need to give at least as much attention to the understanding of society as she gives to her sacred books and her inherited doctrines.

Mastery of biblical interpretation and church history is less difficult than an understanding of modern society. It is easier to study the residue of a past age than to measure the contending forces in current life and to learn their moral significance. Without this latter ability it happens that the authority of the remote past, with its uninterpreted ethics of the dead, is often used to halt righteous reform. People in general do not know the significance of historic religion for modern life, and this is due to the fact that the church has confined herself too exclusively to the study of tradition and has not performed a complete interpretation. Democracy has a moral right to expect that interpretation shall carry through to the active interest-centers of her own life. Anything less is pedantry and gets society nowhere.

The attempt to domineer knowledge so that scientific findings shall be in line with tradition is obsolescent. But there emerges from the futile and broken defenses of the church in this quarter a more glorious and positive task. It is not enough that opposition give way to concession. Concession must become indorsement and eager support. In order most largely to serve mankind the church must stand for unfettered research. Only by so doing may she hope to command for human service the findings of the most patient and accurate scholarship. Her religious education is not an attempt to keep knowledge in line with tradition, but rather to enforce her imperative of brotherly love in every application of the growing power of knowledge freely pursued. All processes of knowledge are unfettered, but every finding is, by her philosophy of life, dedicated to human service. Thus she makes education

religious by hallowing its objective. Inventions and discoveries are for the realization of her ideal of a perfect society. The unsocial conception of personal profit from superior or advanced knowledge is transmuted into a proportionate obligation to benefit mankind. To Christianize the use of knowledge and that other form of power, wealth, would mean almost a complete realization of the highest conceivable democracy. No agency in society today is held more clearly responsible for the effective presentation of this ideal than is the Christian church.

In religious education of the more technical sort a mutual obligation to get together rests upon church and state alike; the state being responsible, in its school system, for the granting of time and opportunity for religious training and the church being responsible for the organization and use of such time and opportunity. The deadlock occasioned by sectarianism and resulting in the exclusion of formal religion from public education must be broken by a more sensible view of teamwork and a right division of labor. Provisions whereby various religious bodies may undertake the religious nurture of their children in periods designated by the school authorities seem to be meeting with favor and success. The church is under obligation to use these growing opportunities efficiently and to warrant democracy's gradual recognition, in the public-school system, of the fact that the moral life grounded in religion is no mean asset to the state. The utter silence of the public school, implying the non-existence or negligibility of the religious interest, may yet be corrected in this way, with proper respect and great gain to all concerned. The raw materialism and bald self-interest, couched in the specious garb of "efficiency," may yet learn a great deal from this co-operation of the most distinctly altruistic and soul-respecting group in our midst. Until the state is prepared heartily to recognize this fact and to welcome such co-operation, she cannot justly criticize the church for failing to make her full contribution toward righteous citizenship.

Another function which democracy expects of the church is that of bridging the gulf between the law-abiding and the criminal classes. The church is the chief exponent of forgiveness and moral reform for the individual. Her religion is one of hope for those

who have fallen into vice and crime. The bonds of fatalism and the crushing judgment of society which enthrall and depress the offender have never paralyzed her practical faith in the moral resources of the individual and the power of recovery which may be found in divine help. The actual results of rescue work constitute evidence which no fair mind can wholly reject. Quite apart from difference of opinion as to any transcendental element involved, it is true that the message and ministry of religion have served to reconstruct many a broken life and, in an emotion running deeper than the grooves of evil habit, to weld the broken parts into new and masterful personality. No other set of people compete for this particular work.

However, something needs to be added to the more spectacular and occasional transformations thus wrought. The pitfalls and injustice resulting in crime must be removed, and the vengeance theory with which society blinds itself to these must give place to humane and reformatory effort. Here, as in the case of the public schools, the church has been too much left out of the reckoning. Possibly she has not pressed forward as an eager partner of the state in the understanding and treatment of the criminal. Her representatives have not been close enough to court and jail and prison to undertake a fair share of the difficult task of saving the culprit to his better self and to society. The complexity of the machinery, the vast proportions of crime in our great cities, and the fragmentary nature of Protestant effort have made the religious counselor too often an absentee in the case of men and families passing through the dreadful ordeal of broken law.

Not only so, but in all probationary methods whereby the offender, young or old, is being coached back into ways of integrity and social behavior, there is almost no co-operation between church and state. If pains were taken to connect the paroled prisoner or the reformatory graduate with the pastor of his persuasion in the locality to which he goes, much might be done to make this experiment in faith more largely successful. So also in the genesis of crime, and more particularly in the first outcroppings of juvenile delinquency, it would be a considerable asset if police and probation officers and judges would refer these cases at once to the local pastor



representing the religious affiliation of the person or family concerned. The church could add her support to the best efforts of the state. It is interesting and pertinent to know that almost no family considers itself isolated from every religious group. The strands of connection may be tenuous or chiefly imaginary, but the court records show an almost constant claim of relationship to some religious fold. If ever the church has opportunity to render superb service, it is at this very time, when the family is face to face with the probable humiliation and loss of one of its members; and because it can render distinctive help not offered by any other agency in this crisis, it should be an acknowledged and welcome partner of the state.

Such partnership reaches out into many fields, including among others the drunkard, the profligate, and the erring woman. The hope of the state to cure those crimes which are grounded in appetite, passion, and lust by legal barriers alone is heavily discounted by experience. While some improvement of conditions will result from strict laws vigilantly enforced, the recovery of an inner control which wills and does what is right depends most frequently upon the dynamic which religion supplies. Furthermore, the establishment of a public opinion favorable to social recovery rests upon the successful promulgation of the doctrine of brotherly love, which opens an upward way for the unfortunate and erring. Remove this religious temper from society, and the offender, whose experience at the hands of the law usually creates or confirms his antisocial grudge, will be but an animal in a cage; or, if he gets loose, his main joy will be in retaliation against a merciless social order. The church, rightly understood and actually functioning in this setting, is a door of hope which society greatly needs and should more generously use. The emotionalism of the appeal that has proved effective with the flagrantly unsocial should not blind very proper persons to the fact that revolution is not a drawing-room nicety. One should reflect also that the dearth of legitimate emotion is so constant in our mechanistic society, that nickel shows, ball games, and theatrical bombast are thronged by those who seek some sort of reaction to testify that they are alive. The church may legitimately use for moral ends and society's good some of the

water that is splashing over the artificial dam. She may save many citizens from the horrible sense of life's inutility, and give another chance to those who might only be a nuisance to themselves and a plague upon society.

The health interest of the people also offers opportunity for the church to assist in public service. The fact that church congregations are in aggregate and regularity of attendance and in average ability unsurpassed by any other meetings in the community indicates an opportunity to serve the state by the presentation of such subjects as public health, hygiene, sanitation, and health insurance. The proportion of the gospel devoted to this interest is remarkable, and the church is in true alignment with her mission when she acts as partner with the state in the spread of life-saving information. Hence, through pulpit, class instruction, and exhibit, the publicity side of health propaganda may be aided, while the financial support given to volunteer agencies that anticipate and lead public effort in combating sickness is no small part of the church's service. So also in the full or partial support of visiting nurses, church hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged, etc., the church is rendering, in all, a very considerable aid to the state, and ideally, at least, infuses such service with a spirit of personal concern that tends to disappear from state agencies when they become perfunctory or fall a prey to spoils politics. Anyhow, in addition to the prosaic warmth of the iron radiator, these recipients of public care, being human, need the cheer of love's fire on the open hearth. Democracy expects such service to radiate from the church, and is disappointed only when religion is content with her philanthropic ministry to the ills flowing from social imperfection and injustice, and fails to attack the underlying economic causes.

Also in the matter of providing wholesome opportunity for sociability the church does much and is expected to do more. The popularity of the saloon and the public dance hall indicates, among other things, a shortage of suitable provision for social exchange. The physical equipment of the church to relieve this pressure and to direct it into happy experience often surpasses her willingness to undertake the task. Certain negative or anemic views of life,

together with some fear of becoming "worldly," impede a vigorous social policy. Hence youth's quest for social romance is needlessly exploited by greed and often debased in the process. Furthermore, a vast number of the more timid, including adults, will go along with almost no group experience outside the family, unless the church provides outlet, inducement, and direction. It is no small benefit to the common life to have this process of socialization and neighborliness fostered by the church. The forced isolation of city dwellers induces, not only social irresponsibility, which means poor citizenship, but precipitates many into wrongdoing which would have been impossible under the friendly surveillance of local acquaintance and neighborliness. Taken all in all, there is probably no social agency that is doing more than the church in contributing to this defensive friendliness, which in turn is a necessary ingredient in good citizenship. The democratic experience of the mass and other forms of public worship, augmented by a generous program of sociability, means a large contribution to public welfare.

In times past ecclesiastical architecture has adorned the state. The church holds a conviction that goodness and beauty are destined to coincide. Her doctrine of grace, conception of heaven, music, painting, and architecture testify to this conviction, and for the most part enrich the cultural wealth of the state. That the aesthetic may be overdone and hence call for crude reactions to discover human values has been pointed out in a former article.<sup>1</sup> However, when aesthetics does not divert righteousness to the land of the lotus it is innocent, and when it gives fairer fighting form to a just cause it is dynamic. Whatever adornment it has given the state in times when democracy's present problems were not conscious issues, it now happens that nothing but a full humanization of aesthetics will satisfy popular judgment. The house of the Lord should be decent; so should the homes of the poor. Beautiful lives and equality of opportunity to realize them takes precedence over beautiful buildings, boulevards, and whatnot, whenever the two conflict. An equitable distribution of wealth gives some promise of the beautiful life; an inequitable distribution has too often been

<sup>1</sup> *American Journal of Sociology*, XXI, No. 4 (January, 1916), 464.

the foundation of an aesthetics veering toward luxury and suggesting privilege. The church must discriminate. She is dedicated to beauty of life and in this is of one spirit with democracy. Beauty of things engages her attention only as means to this end; and, while poverty, disease, and other unsubdued vandals profane and wreck the human temple, lavishness is forbidden in her less holy enterprise. The sanctity of human values comes first and is the sole condition of sanctifying all other means.

This brings us around to the ever-recurring fact that nothing can take the place of righteousness. No service to the state can compare with the outspoken demand for justice. Let this fail, and the very palliatives of religion may help betray democracy. The "Get right with God!" gospel taken alone leads to self-deception or hypocrisy. How can anyone know conditions at the unseen end of that relationship? "Do right by man!" That is as old as Micah. "Treat him as thyself!" It is very ancient. On this empirical basis one both needs and dares to reach out after the Infinite. As the church demands justice at whatever cost to business and the established "system," she will contribute her largest, and no doubt her most sacrificial, gift to democracy.

## THE NEED OF A SOCIALIZED JURISPRUDENCE<sup>1</sup>

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When one bears in mind that a lost cent means to a laborer what a lost dollar means to a person well-to-do, it is apparent how important is the problem of labor complaints and claims. The sums lost by laborers in connection with their employment and living conditions in general, taken separately, are small, ranging from a few cents up to several hundred dollars, with the average, possibly, between one and ten dollars. But during a year these small sums aggregate, over all the country, millions of dollars.

The data on labor complaints and claims in the files of the various legal institutions, public and private, constitute only a fraction of the total, because not all laborers make formal complaints. They generally have no money with which to hire lawyers, and have no time to wait for a court decision which is delayed either by the common "red tape" or by some sort of legal obstacle brought in by the opposing party. They need their earnings at once and must move on in search of work. Neither have they any organization which could back a just claim of its members as does the union in many cases.

Under these conditions many laborers do not complain. They feel the injustice done them; they tell their friends; they do what they can by their own personal efforts, which ordinarily consist of "begging" for or "demanding" justice, or of some sort of a "threat" against injustice; and after such fruitless endeavors they stop, helpless and desperate. This desperation grows and grows like a smouldering fire in the heart.

<sup>1</sup> This article summarizes the results of an investigation of labor complaints and claims and of the laws and institutions dealing with such claims. It embraces mainly the common unskilled laborers and their civil claims, involving comparatively small sums of money taken separately.

According to their nature, labor complaints and claims may be classified as follows:

1. Wages.
  - a) Non-payment of wages.
  - b) Non-payment for overtime and Sunday work.
  - c) Loss of wages resulting from absence of contract.
  - d) Loss of wages from accumulation in the hands of employer.
  - e) Loss of wages resulting from bankruptcy, real and bogus, of "wild-cat corporations."
  - f) Loss of wages resulting from time checks and certificates.
2. Private employment offices.
  - a) Excessive fees.
  - b) Non-refunding of fees.
  - c) Loss of time.
  - d) Loss in transportation expenses.
3. Overcharges.
  - a) In commissary stores.
  - b) In rent.
  - c) In board.
4. Hospital fees.
5. Fines.
6. Losses from unfair contracts and misrepresentation of labor conditions.
7. "Job-graft."
8. Loan offices and instalment houses.
9. Frauds.

Most numerous and important are the losses occurring from the non-payment of wages, especially in the case of small employers, contractors, and companies operating on a credit system, the so-called "wild-cat corporations."

The simplest cases of non-payment of wages are those where the laborers work for a certain period of time and the employer, under some pretext, refuses to pay wages, either in whole or in part.

Sometimes special higher rates are promised for overtime and Sunday work, but when the pay-day comes the higher rates are refused.

It often happens that a man takes a job without any definite agreement with the employer as to what his wages shall be. When the pay-day comes he is offered less wages than he expected and a wage claim is created in this way.

A number of wage claims are caused by the accumulation of wages in the hands of an employer who either mismanages his business or is dishonest. When the sum of unpaid wages has grown large little by little, the employer tries by some scheme to escape from paying the wages due to his laborers.

Still more numerous and serious are wage losses occurring as a result of the real or pretended bankruptcy of employers operating their enterprise, in most cases new, on a credit basis. These employers keep the wages of their employes as long as they can, assuring the men that their money on the balance of the company is "as safe as if it were deposited in the Bank of England." The men are promised payment in full when a certain work or seasonal "campaign" is finished. It often happens that when the "campaign" is over either the company disappears or it goes to pieces because it fails to market its products.

Quite a number of cases are caused by the system of paying wages in the so-called time checks and certificates instead of money. To cash these checks the laborers very often have to go long distances, sometimes as much as a hundred miles, which means to them loss of time and considerable traveling expenses, especially when they have days, sometimes even weeks, to wait. Moreover, the checks in many cases are discounted at a certain percentage of interest, sometimes up to 20 per cent straight, as, for example, in the lumber towns of Texas.

Next in importance come losses to laborers due to the objectionable methods of private employment agencies. These often charge excessive fees, send men to places where there are no jobs for them, split the fees, etc., all such practices causing, besides the direct loss in fees, considerable loss in time and transportation expenses.

Overcharges in commissary stores and for rent and board also constitute a considerable source of trouble.

Closely connected with these losses are the hospital assessments made by employers, extravagantly and very often abusively, against the wages of their men, among whom much dissatisfaction with these assessments exists. It is felt by the laborers that the employers have no right to deduct the hospital fees from their

wages; that the fees are too high; that the laborers themselves have nothing to say as to how their money is expended by the employers; that a man changing jobs has to pay double and treble fees during a month; and, finally, that the hospital fees are nothing short of an employer's graft against his men.

The Bureau of Labor of the state of Washington gathered some statistical data in regard to hospital fees in the state by sending a list of questions to employers. During the year 1913 a total of \$110,238.69 for hospital fees had been deducted from employees' wages by only 123 firms, and this sum is but a part of the total.

Fines imposed by employers upon their laborers for various reasons, as for tardiness, unexcused absence, breaking of tools, drunkenness, smoking, spoiling of material, defects in work, mistakes in accounting, violation of safety and sanitary rules, and other similar shortcomings, constitute a source of dissatisfaction, trouble, complaints, and claims.

Troubles and losses from unfair labor contracts and misrepresentation of labor conditions are considerable in number and severity. As a matter of fact, the laborer signing a contract is at a disadvantage as compared with the employer, the other contracting party. For instance, the laborer does not read the contract carefully enough before he signs it, and if he does, untrained as he is in legal matters, he cannot grasp the real meaning of the clauses of the contract.

The so-called "job-graft" by foremen is another evil resulting in laborers' dissatisfaction and complaint. It consists of the collecting of money from laborers by foremen as an insurance against pretended discharge.

The loan offices, or, as they are nicknamed by the press, "loan sharks," advance money on wages, if the borrower is employed, or on household goods, or on the signature of the borrowers' friends whom the loan shark knows either to have jobs or to possess some property. To what extent the number of loan offices has grown is shown by the report of the first conference of legal-aid societies of the United States. In 1911 in the city of New York alone there were 300 wage and chattel loan offices, a large number of which were operating in violation of the law. Philadelphia had



about 200, Chicago about the same number, and Boston 150. In Atlanta, Georgia, with a population of only 150,000, there were 58 loan offices. The proportions of one loan office to every five thousand people, one borrower in every twenty city-dwellers, and one in every five voters were found to exist in all of our cities and larger towns. In the city of New York the rate of interest charged on the loan business was found to be \$20,000,000 annually, the net profit of the lenders exceeding 100 per cent a year on the capital invested. Since then this kind of loan business has rather increased than decreased. Many employers discharge their laborers when it is discovered that they have assigned their wages for loans. The laborer, being afraid of discharge and unable to pay the loan or the interest upon it, borrows from another office so as to satisfy the first; it may happen that he has to go to a third office, and the loan becomes so large that the laborer with his household becomes utterly destitute, besides losing his job.

A considerable evil exists in the objectionable methods of the so-called instalment houses, selling clothes, furniture, jewels, etc. In such cases the complaints are against excessive prices, or the fraud of an article delivered being inferior to that purchased. Should the purchaser default in payment at any time the house can replevy the article and the purchaser forfeits the entire sum he has paid.

Finally come the losses of the earnings of laborers due to the activities of the numerous and varied swindlers, as, for example, fake employers, foremen, employment agents, fake land, stock, and outfit sellers, "quack" physicians, hospitals, and patent medicine sellers, fake and crooked lawyers, gamblers, pickpockets—all sorts of schemers who take advantage of the ignorance and helplessness of our common laborers.

## II

The institutions dealing with labor complaints and claims may be classified as follows:

### I. Public.

1. Immigration bureaus and commissions.
2. Labor departments.
3. Prosecuting attorneys.
4. Courts.

5. Police.
6. Public employment officers.
7. Labor-claims adjusters.
8. Public defenders.
9. Municipal legal-aid bureaus.

## II. Private.

1. Legal-aid societies.
2. Charity organizations.
3. Lawyers:
  - a) Wage-collectors.
  - b) Jail runners.
  - c) "Shysters."

The jurisdiction of the state immigration bureaus and commissions extends over immigrant laborers only. Their activities consist of the distribution of immigrants, the adjustment of complaints, investigations and inspection of labor and life conditions, and education and publicity.

During 1913 the Bureau of Industries and Immigration of the state of New York received about 2,000 individual complaints. Of this number about 100 complaints were made against private employment agencies, mainly for not refunding fees when positions were not secured; about 700 were made against non-payment of wages; about 40 against overcharges by the commissary runners in the labor camps; about 100 concerned accidents; finally, about 170 were made against frauds comprising dishonest practices in selling of stocks, mail-order offers, all sorts of training schools, medical help, marriage agents, fortune-telling, insurance, confidence games, and the like.

After the investigation of a complaint the Bureau tries amicably to adjust the difficulty to the satisfaction of the parties involved in the dispute. In the cases where an amicable adjustment cannot be reached, the Bureau refers to other co-operating governmental institutions, mainly to magistrates and district attorneys.

A difficult situation exists in regard to the so-called interstate cases. During the year 1913 there were more than 400 interstate cases. In these the Bureau, lacking jurisdiction, is helpless.

The policy of "amicable adjustment" is in itself a good one, but what is to be done in the numerous cases where such adjust-

ment is impossible, where very tangible interests are diametrically conflicting, and where each side believes in its right, real or assumed? The turning of such cases over to the other local institutions for legal decision and enforcement is complicated and requires time. Besides, the other institutions are not always willing to accept such cases. As time goes on even the amicable adjustment of difficulties necessarily becomes less efficient because the disputants learn that the Bureau has no power of decision and enforcement.

The Commission of Immigration and Housing of the state of California has received 2,224 complaints during the period from April 24, 1914, to January 11, 1915. When a complaint had been investigated and an amicable adjustment could not be reached, the Commission directed the case, with the evidence gathered, to the corresponding authorities for action. Three hundred and thirteen claims were referred to the state labor commissioner, 287 of which were wage claims; the others were claims against private employment offices. Only a few of the wage claims were without foundation. Other important cases were as follows: 193 land frauds, 260 frauds of criminal nature, 22 frauds by attorneys-at-law, 31 "quack" doctors, 163 business frauds, 170 frauds of private employment agents, 25 insurance frauds, 10 transportation-ticket frauds, and 6 white-slavery cases.

Although the field of the duties of the Commission prescribed by law is somewhat larger than that of the New York Bureau, the legal power of the latter, although inadequate in general, is a little greater than the legal power of the California Commission. The New York Bureau has the power to subpoena witnesses for public hearings, to examine all books, contracts, records, and documents of any person or corporation, and by subpoena duces tecum to compel production thereof (Article 11, § 154). The California Commission lacks this power, which is a serious defect in the authority of the Commission.

The adjustment of civil labor claims has never been made an official duty of the state labor departments. Still, almost all departments voluntarily accept and adjust a limited number of labor claims, mainly through their factory inspectors. The labor

departments of California and Washington especially have done a good deal of the work of adjusting labor claims, the former by a voluntary enforcement of the two state laws known as the payment-of-wages law and the pay-check law; the latter also has voluntarily attempted to adjust labor claims. Their attempts have been illuminating.

The number of complaints and claims concerning non-payment of wages and frauds of private employment offices filed with the California labor department and investigated by the latter during the three fiscal years ending June 30, 1914, was as follows:

	Total for Period 1911-14	Fiscal Year 1913-14	Fiscal Year 1912-13	Fiscal Year 1911-12
Non-payment of wages.....	12,802	7,330	3,573	1,899
Private employment agencies:				
License.....	124	31	72	21
Misrepresentation.....	1,868	923	479	466
	14,794	8,284	4,124	2,386

Disposition of claims filed for non-payment of wages was as follows:

	Claims Filed	Claims Collected	Amount of Wages Collected
Fiscal year ending June 30, 1914.....	7,330	4,904	\$110,911.93
Fiscal year ending June 30, 1913.....	3,573	2,213	26,450.69
Fiscal year ending June 30, 1912.....	1,899	1,292	24,445.59
	12,802	8,409	\$171,808.21

The First District Court of Appeals for the First Appellate District of the state of California declared the payment-of-wages law unconstitutional, November 23, 1914. After this decision the state labor department was unable to force payment on many of the complains received. A new wage-payment law recently enacted and not yet tested in the court is now in operation in California.

During the sixteen months beginning April 7, 1913, and ending August 1, 1914, more than 623 wage claims were handled by the labor department of the state of Washington. Of these, 146 cases, amounting to a total of \$7,933.44, were adjusted amicably;

in the remaining 477 cases, amounting to about \$35,105, the claimants were directed to file civil suits.

The labor commissioner states in his report<sup>1</sup> that as a matter of fact a majority of these claims belonged to the class that an attorney does not consider it profitable to handle, and that it "may be said, from the experience obtained in handling these claims, that the non-payment of wages causes untold distress among the working people of this state and exists to an extent that would surprise those unacquainted with it. . . . Here to a great extent we find the fountainhead of the I.W.W. movement."

The authority of prosecuting attorneys covers criminal cases only, comprising, in connection with others, those labor complaints and claims which are connected with fraud and violation of existing laws in general. Even in these cases the prosecuting attorneys are concerned only with the criminal side of the claims, while the civil side must be taken care of by the claimants themselves.

A number of labor complaints and claims are prosecuted in lower courts—justices of the peace in rural districts and small towns and police justices and judges and municipal courts in larger cities. The majority of these lower courts are operating on a fee system and in most of the cases they do not accept oral complaints.

At the very outset of a court proceeding a common laborer finds himself in difficulty. He does not know how to write a petition; for this purpose he must find a lawyer and must pay him a fee, very often in advance. He also must pay the required initial court fee, and not seldom must furnish a bond for further court expenses, as for serving subpoenas and summons, for attaching property, etc. A common laborer very often is unable to make these payments, especially as he has not received his latest wages, for which he is about to sue his employer in the court. When he has succeeded in bringing his case into the court, other difficulties are awaiting him. One is the common court "red-tape" method, sometimes called "the law's delay," resulting in the prolongation of a case for months, sometimes a year and even more, while the complainant, as a common laborer, has no time to wait but must move on in search of work. The second difficulty consists in the fact that his

<sup>1</sup> *Ninth Biennial Report*, 1913-14, pp. 194 and 195.

opponent, being economically stronger, can hire a better lawyer, which diminishes the chance of the complainant to win his case.

Mr. Walter J. Wood, public defender of Los Angeles County, addressing the California Bar Association in November, 1914, made the following statement in regard to the lower courts in America: "Our legislatures have failed to put the courts within the reach of the poor man. Apparently his small affairs have been classed among those matters which the law considers trifles!" A number of leaders and officials of legal-aid societies interviewed by the writer also pointed out the inefficiency of the lower courts in the prosecution of labor complaints and claims. As a result there has appeared a new type of courts, usually known as the "poor man's courts," in several cities. Their characteristic features are simplified procedure, prompt judgment, and cheapness.

The Cleveland municipal court act provides for the litigant who is unable to engage a lawyer. For this purpose a clerk with legal training and experience is designated by the court. During the year 1912, 1,200 cases were settled without going to court. The number of cases where only advice was given was no less. This led the Municipal Court to the establishment, in March, 1913, of a special branch entitled Conciliation Court. All claims under \$50 are directed to this court. The defendant is notified by registered mail of the claim and of the date of hearing. Lawyers are not allowed to appear for either side. This Conciliation Court, during the period from March, 1913, to September, 1914, has disposed of 5,884 cases out of 6,184 filed.

More than a year ago the state of Kansas, by legislative action, created what are known as the "small debtors' courts" in the cities of the state. In these courts all civil claims up to \$20 are settled in an informal but strictly legal way. No lawyers are allowed to appear for either side. There are no court costs. During the past year 378 cases were filed in the Small Debtors' Court in Topeka. In addition, about 50 cases were referred to the judge and settled by the debtor without any formality. Most of the cases were wage claims.

The Municipal Court in Chicago, Illinois, opened a new branch, officially known as the "Court of Small Claims," February 26,

1915. This court also has for its object, primarily, doing away with the law's delay in the settlement of cases where the amount involved does not exceed \$35. No lawyers are allowed to appear. The cases are adjudged through a common-sense talk, instead of by cross-examinations and other legal technicalities known as "red tape."

A similar court is successfully operating in Toledo, Ohio.

A number of labor complaints and claims are adjusted by officials of the police, especially when a police department is made responsible for the enforcement of some labor law, as, for instance, the law regulating private employment agencies. In a number of states and cities the public employment officials are made responsible for the adjustment of labor complaints and claims, especially of those which result from the objectionable methods of private employment offices. Even in this sphere the law gives them no authority except to inspect and supervise the private employment offices. Besides, the more direct duties in their own offices do not allow them to give proper attention to the adjustment of labor complaints and claims.

Under the constant pressure by the laborers upon city authorities, urging that their complaints and claims be satisfied in short order, several cities have created a special institution called "labor claims adjuster." For instance, in the city of Seattle, an examiner of the civil service was made a "labor-claims adjuster," whose duty is personally to investigate labor complaints and claims, especially those against private employment offices. When an amicable adjustment cannot be reached, he refers the claimant to a private attorney, who in most cases charges a fee only to the side from which judgment is secured. No record is kept of complaints and claims either brought in or adjusted. The labor commissioner made a statement that approximately five complaints and claims each day are made. Cases of non-payment of wages constitute the highest number of claims, followed by complaints against private employment offices. About \$300 in fees is refunded each month. Mr. D. P. Kenyon, labor claims adjuster, stated that his business is growing and that he needs assistance and more authority.

To afford free legal aid to people without means there has appeared a public defender system in a number of cities. A Los Angeles County charter created the office of public defender in June, 1914. Besides criminal cases, the public defender shall, if requested, prosecute actions for the collection of wages and other civil claims of persons unable to employ a lawyer in cases in which the amount involved does not exceed \$100, and where, in his judgment, the claims are valid and enforceable in the courts. The official in charge, his assistants, and other forces are under civil service. They are not allowed to practice law outside of their office. Legal aid is given free. The salaries and other expenditures, including traveling expenses, are paid out of the county treasury.

From January 7 to September, 1914, about 5,000 applications for assistance in civil matters were filed. Of these, about one-third were wage claims. During the single month of March, 1915, the office had received 1,034 applications for assistance in civil matters. Of these, 315 were matters for the collection of wages or involving labor disputes; 652 were cases in which the applicants desired advice only on legal points, and 188 were refused by the office because the claims were in excess of \$100 or because the applicants were able to employ attorneys.

When a claim is filed the office informs the defendant, inviting him to appear on a certain date. Each side brings its witnesses and the case is heard in an informal way by assistants of the public defender. They usually leave the case to the judgment of that official before going to court. About three-fourths of the cases are amicably settled in the office.

In general it may be said that the office of public defender is a legal-aid bureau conducted by the county of Los Angeles, differing, however, from the commonly known legal-aid societies as follows: It is not a private charitable establishment. It has its own permanent attorneys, appointed under civil service and paid by the county, which also pays all other expenses of the office. Having public authority, it is more successful in the rôle of a voluntary arbitration court than is possible in the case of private legal-aid societies. The office of the public defender in Los Angeles has



resulted in decreasing expenses to the taxpayer through shortening the court proceedings and through voluntary arbitration without going into court.

Similar to public defenders are municipal legal aid bureaus which are supported and controlled by the public. The first bureau of this type was established in Kansas City, Missouri, a number of years ago. It operates under the general control of the city Board of Public Welfare, although it has no charter authority. Its officials are under civil service. The city council makes adequate appropriations for its support and no lack of funds is felt by the Bureau. The approximate cost to the city of the handling of each case is 90 cents. During the year ending April 18, 1913, 5,354 cases (among them 2,396 wage claims and 69 wage assignments) were handled by the Bureau, and \$10,962.65 was collected.

The common type of legal-aid society is a private charitable organization supported by subscriptions and donations. A large number of them charge a nominal fee to the client, for two reasons: to make the service appear less charitable, and to add to the income, as almost all the private legal-aid societies suffer from a lack of funds.

Besides material weaknesses, the private legal-aid societies have another difficulty—that of being charitable organizations. A self-respecting man, no matter how poor, does not like to apply for charity in any form. Then, again, the private legal-aid societies, having no public authority, are less successful in the rôle of a voluntary arbitration court than are public defenders and municipal legal-aid bureaus. Still they have rapidly developed in number and in the extent of their activities, which indicates that there is a great need for legal assistance among the masses. A large number of them must be credited with having done a highly valuable social work.

In almost all of their reports, wage claims and cases against private employment offices and loan sharks are large in number. During the fiscal year 1913 the Legal Aid Society of New York handled 12,090 wage claims in a total of 26,383 cases of all kinds.

Almost all general charity organizations do legal aid work to a certain extent. A number of them have employed attorneys or

organized special committees for this purpose. Although it is claimed that legal-aid work is one of the most important functions of charity associations, it is usually done in rather a primitive fashion.

As a rule, prominent and experienced lawyers seldom accept small labor complaints and claims. The money involved is not enough to pay for their services; there is no opportunity for publicity, or, at least, not for the kind of publicity they want; and, moreover, their regular clients are employers. This is especially true in regard to the so-called corporation lawyers.

Among the inferior grades of lawyers, the best are the young and inexperienced men. On account of their lack of experience they are no match for the corporation lawyers, nor for the counsel of the employers in general. Next follow wage-collections agents—lawyers who have made wage cases their main practice. Usually more than one-half of what sums of wages they collect goes into their own pockets, which means little help to those who had really earned the wages. The lowest type of lawyer is known as “shyster” (winkel advocate, corner lawyer). There are quite a number of varieties of this type, called “jail runners,” “vampires,” “legal vermin,” “snitch lawyers,” etc. In many cases, instead of helping others they help themselves. They frequent the jails, where the accused and arrested, ignorant of the law and of the selecting of attorneys—especially the case with immigrants—are in need of legal aid and fall an easy prey to shysters and their interpreters—the “go-betweens.”

In several cases an interviewed laborer stated, when asked what he did with his money after he had quit a certain job, “Lawyer took away!”

### III

The foregoing narrative shows that the existing labor and life conditions of common laborers in this country produce immense numbers of justified labor complaints and claims, involving not only large sums of money in the aggregate, but untold personal hardship and suffering; that the present public and private legal

institutions are utterly inadequate to secure justice to the laborers in the matter of these complaints and claims; and that such a situation is creating in the laborers distrust of the government, of employers, and of well-to-do classes generally, and is one of the contributory causes of the existing industrial unrest.

To meet the situation, two reforms on a nation-wide scale are necessary: public legal assistance to citizens who have no means to employ able lawyers, and free impartial courts, with simplified and expeditious procedure.

The comparatively successful local attempts to meet this need, in the form of public defenders, municipal legal-aid bureaus, and "poor man's courts," show the way of reform. In the main, there is not very much difference between public defenders and municipal legal-aid bureaus. Both are supported by the public and both are guarded against politics by civil service. Still, the title of public defender is preferable to that of municipal legal-aid bureau, because the word "aid" may be considered as carrying with it the taint of charity.

In regard to the reform of our lower courts, several suggestions are made. One proposes the establishment of a system of industrial courts similar to those of Europe. Another favors the type of small debtors' courts, commonly known as "poor man's courts," above described. A third advocates the reform of our existing lower courts instead of the creation of new ones.

To establish a new type of courts, especially that of the industrial courts of Europe, would possibly be a difficult task. First, our constitutional limitations would be a drawback; secondly, the European industrial courts have a representation of interests on the bench, which is hardly possible here under existing conditions. In Europe skilled and unskilled workers are organized into the same general bodies, although in different branches, while our unskilled laborers are not organized at all. In Europe there is very little difference in conditions between skilled and unskilled workers, while the difference in America is wide, even so wide as to cause strife between these two classes of workers. Therefore at present it would hardly be possible for the unskilled laborers in America

to have their interests properly represented in industrial courts. This possibility may come in the future when our industrial evolution shall have diminished, if not eliminated, the differences in condition between the skilled and the unskilled. There is already a marked tendency toward such a change.

Therefore, reform of the existing lower courts is preferable to the establishment of new courts. This reform of existing courts must consist of (1) elimination of court fees and other court costs in civil cases, (2) simplification of procedure so as to eliminate the need of written petitions and lawyers, and (3) a quick disposal of cases.

That such reform of the lower courts is necessary and possible is shown by the comparative success of the "small debtors' courts."

Reform of this character would naturally mean a free administration of justice on the basis of socialized jurisprudence.

The administration of justice for our needy citizens must be free, at the expense of the public—it must be a right, not a charity!

## THE EARLIER GERMAN NATIONALISM IN AMERICA

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The sense of responsibility for a national civilization and a concrete ideal of national development has come at a comparatively late period to the German people. The first landmark between an old and a modern Germany is the revolutionary period ending with the overthrow of the first Napoleon. After that catastrophe the German mind, like Germany herself, could never again be what it had been before. The national conscience would forever goad the Germans to struggle for the realization of a free and united Germany, the emancipation from the thralldom of a patriarchal economic and political system, and for *Deutschland über Alles*. But what were the aims of German nationalism in America? What form did the German political consciousness take with the German-American? How did the sense of responsibility for German national ideals, a German national civilization, affect things American and influence the vitality of American ideals and the direction of American political forces? The problem of the "hyphen" today is vital, and it is worth while to observe how it solved itself in the past.

German nationalism was brought to America shortly after 1830. It came in four important different forms: (1) as a movement to plant German colonies, states, and compact settlements; (2) as a *Kulturpolitik*, a keen sense of responsibility for German culture; (3) as a specific reaction upon American political experience; and (4) as a tendency toward separate political organization.

German nationalism has stimulated several attempts to carve a German colony or colonies for the German people out of the public domain of the United States. Of these some of the more ambitious were the Giessener Auswanderungsgesellschaft and the Mainzer Adelsverein, formed in Germany, and several societies formed in America, like the German-American settlement society of Philadelphia and some "Germania" societies. Needless to say, none

of these plans matured in the sense of the original purpose, nor were such efforts at colonization as were actually made simply a manifestation of the national motive pure and simple. They shared with other German or American emigration societies and with the westward movement in general the admixture of capitalistic enterprise and *Wanderlust*—sometimes, too, a degree of missionary purpose. The nationalist motive appeared purest perhaps in the aims of the Giessener Auswanderungsgesellschaft as described by Friedrich Muench, one of the original promoters:

We must not go from here without realizing a national idea or at least making the beginning towards its realization; the foundation of a new and free Germany in the great North American Republic shall be laid by us . . . and thus we may be able, at least in one of the American territories, to establish an essentially German state in which a refuge may be found . . . and in which we shall be able to make a model state in the great republic.

In favor of the idea it was urged with a great deal of warmth that it would mean an asylum for Germans in America, that it would preserve the ardor for liberty in its German purity, and that it was a sacred duty of Germans in America to preserve the culture of mind and heart gained in the old fatherland, and to hand it down to future generations.

On the other hand, there was no lack of dissenting opinions. The idea itself was thought to be improper. Nationalism had proved a source of misery in Europe, and America should be kept free from it. Then, again, it was not considered feasible under any condition, on account of the habitual disunion among Germans; moreover, it would be unfair to expect rich and poor alike to undergo the hardships of pioneer life on the frontier merely for the sake of the national idea. Furthermore, the German state thus to be formed would ultimately have to come into the Union; leaders, at least, would have to learn English; hence the preservation of German among the masses would doom them to political helplessness and social inferiority, and the scheme would defeat its own purpose, the preservation of German language and culture.

+ The factor of nationalism has undoubtedly lessened the centrifugal tendencies of the German westward movement through the greater desire to live in compact German communities, favorable

to the preservation of German language and traditions in schools, churches, and social customs. But the desire for the amenities of congenial social life, and the consciousness of difference impressed on the German by contact with the habits of English, and especially Irish, types on the frontier remained the most general cause of German gregariousness, and it is characteristic that the numerous national German congresses, although always interested in the preservation of their language, traditions, and influence, did not identify themselves with any scheme to propagate a German cause through colonial enterprise.

A more influential manifestation of German nationalism, as fostered by the emigrés of the thirties, was a general tendency among Germans all over the United States to form comprehensive national, as well as local, associations. Prompted by the new consciousness of a solidarity of special interests, the Germans strove to further them through collective efforts. In this sense the German element in the United States, through its *Vereine*, mass meetings, state and national conventions, can be said to have had, after 1835, a distinct, though loose, corporate organization. It was organized as a German *Kulturprovinz* and an American section. This organization caused little or no attention among Americans with the exception of its militant forms: the innumerable *Turner*, *Schützen*, and *Militärvereine*. Representing the "preparedness" aspect of the new nationalism of the Germans, they aroused a great deal of antagonism among the other American groups. Organized street fights were common in the thirties and forties; and between the German and the Irish type of "preparedness" there was much disturbance of the peace. Nor were all Germans entirely in accord as to the morality of such organization. A dissenter who was hushed by the enthusiasm and unanimity in favor of such organizations would afterward insist on being heard, at least through the local paper. "The preservation of German nationality, an acknowledged ulterior purpose of such an organization, is reprehensible and irreconcilable with the common weal. The idea of drilling to German orders and command is absurd." Nevertheless these organizations of a new militant patriotism and vigorous civic spirit were to play a most important rôle during the

early days of the Civil War, and they formed a valuable contribution to American preparedness.

The quickening of the new group consciousness is most conspicuous in the changing character of the German-American press. While the petty organs rarely rose above the narrow horizon of local interest, the newly founded papers even in the smaller centers of German population were conscious of a moral unity of the German people on both sides of the Atlantic, and they became truly German national organs. With them the center of gravitation of the German people was sometimes in Europe and sometimes in America, but they never lost sight of European events. They usually measured American events by the standards of the European mind, or rather of an international consciousness, and considered it their mission to educate their readers to a militant citizenship that would seek to harmonize German and American traditions and institutions. On European developments not a few of them were exceedingly well served during the half-century beginning with 1835, and the letters of Karl Blind from London do not find their equal today in range of information, power of observation, and independence of point of view. Frequent letters from Germany, which ran in one Western paper under the caption *Zuchthausstatistik*, helped to refresh pleasant memories of the fatherland; extracts from such books as Wienbarg's *Aesthetische Feldzüge* and Heine's *Deutschland* aimed to maintain contact with its political and literary events until book reviews, editorials, and contributions on such subjects as socialism and social questions, present and future of trades, of agriculture, credit associations, railroad politics, commerce and tariff policies, informed the colonial German of the brisk trade winds blowing at home. Later the astounding tidings of the "iron chancellor" forced even the most inveterate enemy of the old system to admit, at least, that the era of the German nationalities of mere table-toasts was over, and to express hope or confidence that the cause of liberalism might be marching along within reasonable distance of that of nationalism. In this connection it is worth mentioning that a great many former German radicals became admirers of the "honest broker" at a time when such backsliding still caused astonishment to their former associates in Germany. To such men



American political experience had brought such an acquaintance with the imponderabilia of practical politics that the process of assimilation tended to close rather than to widen the gap between Germany and German America. Nor were the German-American radical republicans out of sympathy with the prospects of a German imperialism, for on the very threshold of Bismarck's career as a national statesman a Western paper based its good-will toward him on the belief that he intended to acquire the mouth of the Rhine and of the Scheldt and make Germany a great naval power: *Das hat uns lange genug gefehlt.*

Aside from nursing an intelligent understanding for the development of the mother-country, the German papers in America continually urged their readers to become American citizens, and the injunction, *Werdet Bürger*, was a standing motto at the head of successive issues for years. Indeed, they performed a splendid service in educating the German-American to intelligent citizenship, and the long popular articles on American political institutions, on party system, on national and state government, on local government, as well as on tariff, money, public land, and necessary conservation of national resources and forests, read today like people's extension courses of a Western University rather than like newspaper "stuff." The writings of progressive and radical thinkers in both hemispheres were diligently searched by the German radicals, and the *New York Tribune* was clipped with a will. After 1870 the tenor of editorials became somewhat supercilious. Exchanges of opinion took the form of mutual belittling, ridicule, or abuse. Before that time the better papers were remarkably dignified in style and unprejudiced in point of view, and only from the lesser centers came a lighter tone. Thus by a strange irony of fate the Milwaukee *Atlas* called the *London Manifesto* a "comedy for many readers."

Another precipitation of German nationalism in its cultural aspect was a new sense of responsibility for German language and learning culminating in the ambition to have something like a German school system in the United States. Under reference to the prospective foundation of a German republic in the United States, a speculative pedagogue in St. Louis announced in November, 1835,

that he had opened a school in German with nine pupils, and he added somewhat apologetically that considering the trouble and *Aerger* which a school teacher usually has, the tuition would be one dollar a month. A general tendency toward the foundation of German school societies set in with the middle of the thirties and a complete program for a national German-American educational system was worked out by a national German congress, consisting of about forty delegates, meeting at Pittsburgh in 1837. The call for the congress stated as its special purpose the reform of the educational system in the United States, and the choice of a special textbook for elementary German in American and German schools. One of the then westernmost colonies of Germans, that of Belleville, Illinois, sent a delegate with instructions expressing the desire for the preservation of the German language, but the disapproval of schemes for separate institutions of higher learning, of church synods, or of the introduction of German as court language. The instructions lay down the general principle that the German must preserve his individuality, but that no nation has the right to continue here as a separate entity. The report of the committee on education at the Pittsburgh conference provided for a general German school committee, whose activities should be guided by the following principles:

We all are descendants of a nation which far excels many others in intellectual culture and is second to none. Therefore, let not the German name fall in esteem through our neglect; let not the descendants of a nation of high culture fall back in America and become intellectually barren. We all now belong to a people with whom the poorest has the sacred right to be a master of himself, to make unto himself the laws of his own actions. Let us strive to be worthy of that right, let us bring up a younger generation as champions of truth and liberty in honor of the German name.

The more concrete aims of this committee seem to have converged on the plan of a German university in America. It was to be the center and seminary of the German-American *Kulturprovinz*. Unfortunately, this became one of the mooted questions of the whole nationalist program, opinions differing on the essential nature of the institution to be founded, whether it was to be a university, or a normal school for teachers of German, or a college.

Some even scouted the whole idea of such a school, contrasting, not without animus, the needs of pioneer society and the futility of an old system of higher learning. This conflict between the enthusiastic guardianship of the traditions of abstract thinking and aesthetic culture and the necessary materialism and practical turn of economic beginning shows, if anything, the fluctuation, under the vicissitudes of peripheral existence, in the conception and appreciation of "culture." The earliest German-university movement resulted in the foundation of a homeopathic academy in Allentown. The Pittsburgh committee, after two more conventions and some quarreling, invested the \$3,000 which it had collected in a normal school, a national German-American teachers' seminary. It bought a house, hired two teachers, and started with about thirty students, who received tuition free on condition that they would engage to teach German in elementary schools for a number of years. The life of this school was short, but the problem of a national German teachers' seminary has remained to the present day a favorite at all subsequent meetings and congresses of German-Americans for purposes of agitation and discussion. The present National German-American Teachers' Seminary in Milwaukee is the result of this desire for national organization of German teaching. It has made itself exceedingly useful as a seminary in method of language teaching, has trained not a few prominent scholars and educators, and has rekindled year after year the love of a Pestalozzi in the hearts of its pupils. Into the congested German classes of Cincinnati or Milwaukee and of many smaller centers they bring the wondrous world of German language and poetic imagination through Grimm's *Märchen* or other classical children's tales. But today the seminary again goes begging from door to door in German America. At every convention the hat is passed around, and even at *Skat* and bowling clubs the German-American may be asked to register his concession to the *noblesse oblige* of culture by the size of his contribution to keep this institution alive. On the whole, however, the movement for the preservation of the German language has shown a vigorous and increasing participation among the German element. Other collective efforts, stimulated by the new sense of German kinship, were equally successful: a great

deal, for instance, was done to establish a service of organized charity everywhere within the group.

Occasionally, however, a faithful worker for the cause of the German people would give vent to a note of despair over the lack of enthusiasm and response of the German masses, their lack of responsibility for their higher traditions. It was discouraging, indeed, that the institution of a German university, advocated with so much enthusiasm by the emigrés, and materialized after three national conferences in its behalf as a training school for teachers of elementary German, should shortly afterward end in a brewery, as it had done by 1840. Nor did some charitable institutions fare better. For twelve years funds had been collecting for a German hospital in New York City, resulting in the sum of \$40,000 in 1887, which showed little generosity per head and year on the part of the 160,000 Germans then in New York. Perhaps the least successful aspect of the German movement is presented by the fate of the frequent attempts to introduce popular lecture courses in German—they always promptly failed.

Where the results of collective efforts did not correspond to the size of the national group or the vitality of the group-consciousness, they can easily be explained by the intense psychic differentiation of German civilization of the age. The habit of imitation was weak, the talent for co-operation was slow to develop, and individualism was rampant. European groups within the national group more than survived transplantation; many German liberals were fanatical freethinkers, and in the fifties they were on the warpath against the Catholic church on account of its close relation to the ancient régime of monarchies abroad and of the Democratic party here. Then there were Germans and Germans—the nationalists of 1832 and of 1849, of Fichte and of Pfizer, of Kleist and of Herwegh. There was the new sectionalism of the East and of the West, and men changed here as well as abroad. The Latin farmer of Missouri became a hewer of wood and a drawer of water, and soon distrusted the academic radicalism of the professional revolutionist. He began to take root in the new soil, formed new attachments and loyalties and was shocked by the bitterness of the mere emigré, his former companion, who had failed to find a home. Many odd

strands made up the tapestry of German-American civilization, and if the fine imported threads would not match, how could they blend with the coarse homespun brand of Pennsylvania "Dutch"? The development of the new German colonies in Missouri could not fail to stimulate the missionary ambitions of the German evangelical synod of Pennsylvania. At all events, a circuit rider, claiming to come from that denomination, soon made his appearance among the German settlements in Missouri to gather the scattered lambs into the fold. He made a most unfavorable impression on the Germans from the old fatherland.

He had the features of a butcher rather than of a servant of the Lord, he was a gross materialist, and the apostolic greeting was usually followed by a call for the whisky jug. His German was such that the humblest peasant in Germany would have been ashamed of it, and his views on matters of dogma were such as are sometimes heard in Germany from the mouth of some blessed cobbler who usually holds forth in some asylum, a warning example of the ravages of religion gone astray.

He was indeed weak on dogma, if we can believe the writer of the open letter to the "venerable evangelical synod of Pennsylvania," printed in a Western paper in 1837, who says that this minister of the gospel, after a sermon, seized the bottle of wine, contributed with the host for the Lord's Supper, and emptied it with the words: *Ich trinke für euch alle*.

In the last analysis *Kultur* was not the least factor in determining the frontiers, the lines of resistance, and forms of reaction of the German element as an American political section. The comment in a Western paper on the Lincoln-Douglas debate is suggestive in this respect:

It is a senseless show, a tournament, unwarranted in the age of the printing-press. Stump speaking is out of date. The exhaustion of Douglas at Alton was repulsive; with broken voice, more babbling and barking than speaking, he made a disgusting appearance. Lincoln had better husbanded his forces. He showed classical repose and masterful logic—even the Missourians were full of praise for him and surprised by his talents.

This is significant because it betrays deeper rifts between the German element and the Democratic party than mere differences of political views or moral susceptibilities, and incidentally it marks the discovery of Mr. Lincoln by the German element.

If the early association of the German group with culture had its significance, the dominant fact politically is that for half a century German nationalism was synonymous with liberalism. That has given the German element in America political unity and singleness of purpose, while American experience has determined its behavior as an important American political section. Not all American nationalism was of American origin, nor all German-American sectionalism "made in Germany." But German-American national liberalism always had its own ax to grind, and, whatever its means, its ends were always those of a constructive democracy.

In the thirties, German national liberalism helped to make Jacksonian democracy a national institution, while the unity of the German element in its hostility to slavery accentuated the sectional aspect of this issue. In the fifties, the intimate association of the Democratic party with slavery, of the Whig party with nativism, and the desultory recurrence of the temperance question forced the German element into something like political independence and gave it the nature of a political section, an independent political party in all but organization.

The idea of a special organization of the German element for purposes of collective bargaining with American parties had been part of the nationalist program as early as 1835. One of the early results of the idea had been the New York *Staatszeitung*, which was to have assumed an independent attitude toward parties and thus worked toward political independence of the German element. A special German political organization was one of the purposes of the Pittsburgh congress of 1837. Nothing tangible seems to have resulted from those early efforts, apparently because the German nationalist idea itself was not then strong enough in America. The real incentive toward a German party movement was of American origin: the combination of slavery and nativism. The experience of the German element in the states and cities where it was numerically strong and compact suggested to it the necessity and feasibility of organization. Thus the formation of a German Benton party of Missouri was urged, as early as 1851, against the "Jackson resolutions," which committed the legislature of Missouri to the

principle of congressional non-interference with the expansion of slavery. But the incentive to nation-wide separatism was furnished by the Kansas-Nebraska bill of Mr. Douglas. "Only 6 days after the bill was introduced, a mass meeting of Germans was held in Chicago . . . the first indignation meeting against the passage of the bill"; by the middle of January, 1854, Western German papers called the bill a "veritable calamity for the Union," and predicted that it would do to Douglas what the Nicholson letter had done to Cass. The proceedings of the mass meeting of leading Germans held in February, 1854, at Louisville, Kentucky, are most instructive as to the trend of the German political consciousness, showing that slavery was only one of the lines of resistance of the German sectional mind, and incidentally that the German group in 1854 was prompted by a political philosophy which is not entirely un-American today. The Louisville resolutions proclaim that the great revolutionary principles brought over by the Germans and laid down in the declaration of independence and the American constitution had only been partly realized in America; that the great right of liberty was denied to millions of slaves and monopolized by races and classes through control of administrative and legislative machineries. "Speculation has taken the place of duty, corruption the place of virtue and reaction is in power." "The people are replaced by parties, parties by cliques, congress is in the hands of privileged classes, and the resources of the nation are in the hands of predatory interests. The common interests are ignored, and popular measures are defeated." It sets forth the principle that, as a powerful part of the American people and jealous guardians of democratic principles, the "free Germans shall do their duty by their new fatherland by forming an organization for the realization of those grand principles of the declaration of independence and the constitution." The purpose of separate organization was to be, not separation, but an effective agreement with "all true Americans, that is, all true republicans"; a temporary separate organization was only a "practical necessity, brought about by the difference of language and the necessity to secure a worthier position for the older immigration which has allowed itself to be misled by deceptive names and used by unscrupulous

demagogues." It promises to support, in municipal, state, and national elections, without regard to names, conventions, and parties, only such men and parties who "pledge themselves to our principles or promise most for their realization." The platform contains sections on slavery, religion, public welfare, constitutional development, tariff, internal improvement, foreign politics, women's rights, rights of freedmen, penal legislation, limits of legislative activities, etc. The slavery plank declares that institution to be a political and moral cancer and destructive to all republican life, but considers its immediate abolition neither possible nor advisable. On the other hand, it demands as an earnest for its ultimate extinction that there shall be no further extension of it, and that its indirect spread through the Fugitive Slave Law is "unconstitutional, demoralizing, and disgraceful." The plank on religion contains strong denunciation of the Catholic church, popes, bishops, and especially Jesuits, as incompatible with, and hostile to, republican principles of government and liberal institutions. The social-welfare plank demands free soil, national aid to needy settlers, and a national immigration and colonization office; support of labor through arbitration by the federal government of disputes between capital and labor, or aid of labor and labor unions through credit banks; minimum-wage law and standard working day of not more than ten hours. Laws of inheritance must be modified to counteract the accumulation of idle capital. Schools are to be free, and there is to be a German teacher whenever the number of Germans warrants it. The constitution of the United States is declared to be the best in existence, but by no means perfect: timely reforms and amendments would be provisions for the election of all offices without exception by direct vote, and the recall. Candidates for congress might stand for election in any state of the Union, and for state legislatures in any county of state of their residence. The tariff plank declares for free trade in principle, and reciprocity where there is discrimination. Internal improvements of national scope—especially a Pacific railroad—are to be carried out with national means and as a national enterprise. The plank on foreign politics holds that the principle of neutrality has ceased to be part of the American creed, and is to be abandoned whenever contrary to American interests.



This Louisville platform was discussed in all German papers, and was indorsed by German organizations of Boston and made the foundation of comprehensive state organizations by the delegates of German societies of Ohio and Indiana. The political background of this platform is perhaps best described by an editorial of a St. Louis German paper of October, 1854:

We are the political confessors of thousands of Germans in the country who ask us what to do. The fact is: There is no party at all at present with which one can go. One thing, however, is certain: The German element must no longer allow itself to be abused for party purposes and [it must] therefore break party ties altogether and give preference to those candidates whose political creed corresponds to our own. The important questions of the day are slavery and nativism.

The issues of slavery and of nativism dominated the political mind of the German element between 1854 and 1860. Both the Democratic and Republican parties were for a time objectionable. The Democratic party bore the *Kainsmark* of the Nebraska deed, and the Republican party was slow to disguise what was in German eyes a yellow streak of nativism. If there was to be a German party at this time in American history, it would be of American making. The Republican national convention of Pittsburgh, early in 1856, did not satisfy the German press; it missed and demanded explicit guaranties against nativism, and by June, 1856, a German paper estimated that hardly one-tenth of the German vote would go to McLean, one of the Republican candidates for nomination who was known to have nativistic leanings. Even after the nomination of Fremont, Buchanan was still supported by 48 German papers against 50 for Fremont, which, considering the overwhelming antagonism in the German press against the Nebraska act, suggests the strength of the negative pole of nativism. Between the two poles of slavery and nativism, the constructive imagination of a German nationalist might well have seen all German elements united in an independent German-American party with nationalism as the central idea. Indeed, the scheme, then a quarter of a century old, was again extensively discussed in the German papers between 1858 and 1860.

The best presentation of the subject in all its aspects was made by Ad. Douai during September and October, 1858, in the *Westliche*

Post of St. Louis. He thought that the Germans of all parties could be brought together on the Louisville platform of 1854. He pointed out that this great reform program of the Germans had been utterly ignored by the Democratic party, and was afraid that the Republican party, although nearer to the Germans through the temporary community of interest in the limitation of slavery, would in the end be equally unfit to become a truly progressive party. First of all, he said, it was a great question if the Republican party would ever be able to seize the reins of power without the previous formation of a German party. But even then, he thought it would either fall asunder into its heterogeneous elements or it would eliminate its progressive element and become a conservative party:

Victory of the Republican party means the victory of conservatism and the end of true reform. The germ of a progressive party, on the other hand, lies in the German Republicans and Democrats, both now deserted by their respective parties and joined by a small host of true American Republicans. The power of nationalism as a political force is well known—it has but recently been demonstrated by the nativist movement; used as a binder, it must make the new party a success. The Germans are justified in raising the standard of nationalism for “is it not a crime to lose one’s nationality? Can a man be a true *Weltbürger* without being at the same time a truly national being?

Then again:

Ours is not the aim to make the union all German as the nativists want it all English. We have sworn to be Americans, but not to become all English, and if the nativists have a right to found a party which is all Anglo-Saxon, we have a right to have ours all German. That indeed would be an accomplishment of great statesmanship, a turning-point in our public life, and at the same time the basis for the upbuilding of great German educational institutions in this country. Such a German national union would send delegates to the great American party conventions, American parties would be informed as to the wishes, temper, and numerical importance of the German element: caucus, convention system, the whole American party would be fundamentally reorganized; all reformers and progressives would unite with the Germans in a great party of social and political reform, the apprehensions of the nativists would disappear, for national, no longer sectional, politics would be the result. The reorganization of American parties is bound to come, the German element should take the initiative, become the leverage of reform in American politics. The German would hold the balance of power in American politics and become the guardian of both national German and national American interests.

At this time a call for a national German *Steubenassociation* was issued from Washington, with the purpose of securing a legitimate influence of the German beside the Anglo-Saxon element, an organized participation of the German element in the development of free republican institutions, the erection of a German system of higher education through *Realschulen*, *Universitäten*, *Lehrerseminare*, *Volksschulen*.

The *Westliche Post* and the *Illinois Staatszeitung* deprecated the idea of a national organization of Germans, while they suggested local organizations, local political activity, and, in general, a more vigorous participation in American political life and a closer contact with Americans. The comment of the *Illinois Staatszeitung* on the plans of a *Steubenassociation* implied considerable skepticism as to the value of the idea of a national organization, as well as the fitness of the German element for such grand purposes. It suggested that the East seemed to represent the European, the West the more American, type of Germans. The Western German had come under the American influence, while the Eastern German still considered politics "an unwelcome interruption of *Lagerbierfeste*. Politics with the Germans in the West had long been a matter of permanent work, not of desultory efforts, prompted by temporary discomforts through casual contact with a foreign environment. "The poor support of popular lecture courses in German makes us doubt if the Germans are already sufficiently clear and ready within themselves to tackle things American with anything else than *Lagerbier*."

Nevertheless the nationalist aspect of German insurgency assumed a prominence hitherto never obtained. In some states it culminated in the struggles for the election of German lieutenant-governors, as in Iowa, Wisconsin, and Illinois, and in an acute clash between Germans and nativism, and made ethnic sectionalism for a time a dominant issue at least in the West. The fate of the Republican party and of the campaign of 1860 hung in the balance, and astute politicians could not fail to appreciate the justice of Lincoln's timely warning that "tilting against foreigners would ruin us in the whole Northwest." But when the German group-consciousness assumed the character of a fight for office, an interest in the spoils

of a prospective Republican victory, it lost most of its impetus in the direction of a separate national party. On the other hand, the influence of the Germans upon the Republican nomination and the election of 1860 was very great indeed. They did not secure the nomination of their favorite, Mr. Seward, but their uncompromising hostility blasted the hopes of Mr. Bates. Without the support of the German element in the Northwest, where they held the balance of power, the election of Mr. Lincoln would not have been possible. The Republicans exercised the spirit of nativism, and the Germans hoisted the Republican flag and not the black, red, and gold of forty-eight. A German convention did meet in Chicago, in May, 1860, just before the opening of the great Republican convention, yet no longer as a separate party convention, but rather as a caucus of a loosely knit, though well-defined section—the one great solid section in this great moment of American history besides the solid South—a moral, not a political or geographical, section.

German militant nationalism had mobilized in favor of an American nation, German liberalism in favor of American democracy. The American spirit of '76 and the German spirit of '48 met. In a sense the American Civil War is a belated chapter of the German revolution of '48. Even so is the reconstruction period a belated chapter of the liberal revolution of '48. It was a liquidation of a European, not merely of an American, past. German liberalism sought fulfilment in American constructive democracy; the Germans poured new wine into old bottles, and the dregs of European experience flavored the American vintage.

German radicalism had its own ax to grind in America. The preservation of mere union, the mere restriction of slavery was an almost contemptible scope in the eyes of German national liberalism in America. Their motive in civil war and reconstruction sprang from the international mind of social democracy. The firing on Fort Sumter aroused once more the lion of the Great Revolution. Americans rallied to the stars and stripes, but the *Aufstand* of the Turners at St. Louis was an insurrection. The men who followed the call of Mr. Lincoln in the East were Union troops, prompted by the sudden indignation of peaceful farmers at the breaking of the law of the land. But the types who gathered

around the commander of the department of the West were revolutionists, with a long-nursed hatred against the existing social order.

Small wonder that General Fremont, instead of being an obedient lieutenant of an infinitely cautious and conscientious leader, became a high-handed tribune of radicalism. He was a defiant major-domo of impetuous Germans, and *Wallenstein's Lager* was at St. Louis. The Fremont interlude is one of the most picturesque chapters in the history of American sectionalism. Never before had any leader so captivated the hearts of the Germans as this knight-errant of abolitionism, and not even the Kansas-Nebraska act had so aroused the latent sectionalism of the German mind as the removal of this their adopted hero. Fremont had been looked upon as the representative of the German element in the administration party. His removal was taken as an affront, an insult to the Germans all over the country. In Missouri feelings were intensified by the hatred against Blair, whom the Germans refused to recognize as their representative in the cabinet. After this some of their sectionalism took the form of a demand for representation in the cabinet, and much of the impetus toward a demand for popular control of the executive through a representative cabinet, or enlarged powers of congress, in the ensuing years of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Johnson, was due to these early opinions about the nature of the American government, suggested to the German radicals by the ignominious treatment of their idol.

One year after the election of Mr. Lincoln, and largely as a result of the Fremont episode, the activities of the German radical Republicans had in the main two immediate purposes: to goad what they considered a weak administration into a radical emancipation policy, and to secure the nomination of a radical after their own heart in 1864. In this connection it must be remembered that St. Louis, the intellectual center of German radicalism, was at the same time the storm center of Missouri politics in early reconstruction, and that it thus gave Germans all over the Union the benefit of Missouri experiences and experiments for the speedy formation of advanced political convictions on national questions.

To pursue their aims the more effectively, the Germans again took up the question of separate organization, either of a new

radical party with the German element as its *pointe de resistance*, or of an independent German party of radicalism. The first step was a general exodus of Germans from the Union Leagues and the formation of special "German Union Leagues." Then followed preparations for a national German party of radicals, the most elaborate plans that had ever been made in this direction. Obviously, under no circumstances was Mr. Lincoln to be re-elected. The sectional mind of German radicalism would not tolerate such statesmanship.

A German convention was called to meet on October 18, 1863, in Cleveland. Its purpose, as stated in German papers, was to "bring about a closer union of the German element, to contribute to the spread of liberal and radical views, and prepare well-organized dealing with the parties of the American-born." The Missouri delegation was instructed to draft a short, radical platform, to unite German radicals with radical Americans, to work out a machinery which would unite all liberal Germans in the fight for their convictions. They were advised to refrain from discussing prematurely the question of the presidential succession in 1864, since that could be left to a German convention which would have to meet shortly before the national nominating convention. In general, they were advised to deal with common American, not special German, interests. This German convention drew up a short platform of principles, called a convention of border-state emancipationists, and drafted a plan for a national German-American organization which is probably the most elaborate of its kind.

The political platform demanded revision of the constitution to harmonize it with the Declaration of Independence, abolition of slavery in all states, unconditioned suppression of rebellion, treatment of conquered southern states as territories, surrender of confiscated lands in the sense of the Homestead Act, donation of appropriate farms to soldiers and freedmen, maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, alliance with the European revolution against foreign aggression in America, safeguards for freedom of speech and of the press, Swiss system of national defense, and the support of candidates who indorse this platform.

The organization of radical Germans in the United States was to be based on all German societies and *Vereine*, political or not, which were to have one representative for every hundred members. Such representatives were to constitute a state convention, which was to elect a state committee and delegates to annual national conventions. There was to be a national executive council of five members to act as a committee of correspondence. The members of the organization were to pledge themselves to vote only for such candidates in local, state, and national elections as had been nominated or accepted and indorsed by the state and national conventions of the organization.

The St. Louis delegation took issue with the point of view prevalent at the Cleveland convention and walked out. In its report to its constituency, however, it recommended the indorsement of the Cleveland political platform, and a plan for organization of its own to be submitted to a future national convention. The essential features of its plan were that the elections to state and national conventions should be made by primary assemblies and mass meetings of Germans, and should not be based on societies. The number of representatives allowed a community should be based on census figures, and not on the membership of societies; and delegates of German district, state, and national conventions should be sent to the corresponding conventions of the party nearest to their views, to secure close co-operation; the expenses of the organization should be borne by voluntary contributions, and not assessed by the central committee as the original plan provided. A minority report proposed that each state should send as many delegates as it had electoral votes, and that the social question should be represented by a provision for the confiscation of rebel territory, and its surrender to the free use by any citizens against appropriate payment or free entry upon such territory not taken up. Rebel soldiers should get the benefit of this provision, but not vote for two years, and such colonies should be under the protection of the federal army.

The majority report was accepted by a vote of 17 to 12, whereupon the minority founded a Sozialer Organisationsverein, but joined the Cleveland movement, hoping to secure with its help

the election of a president who would "break down aristocracy and secure a free home for every citizen."

The majority report of the Missouri delegation is a valuable document to the student of the problem of the disintegration of the European consciousness, the problem of assimilation. It is in a sense a confession, a profound and earnest analysis of self, and shows the process of humanization of the doctrinaire under the influence of American practical experience. This is its comment on the draft submitted to the Cleveland convention, apparently by the great radical Karl Heintzen, the dominating spirit of the convention.

The spirit of *Flüchlingspolitik* permeated the draft, combined with that socialistic-political hotchpotch which in 1848 in the congresses of the democrats at Frankfort and Berlin embraced the whole world with puff-cheeked tirades, seeking to cure at once the whole world and therefore cured nothing; which on the contrary was so awkward as to poison what already had been done with its medicine of the grand phrase. . . . Social agitation is justified, but time, place, circumstances are factors which must be taken into consideration with every agitation. It is a mistake to bring up the old problem of the ailments of human society in the presence of concrete and very vital dangers. It is sad to meet the words "sham republic" in that document of the radical Germans. This country has harbored the persecuted fugitives of the monarchies of Europe, has given them citizenship and equal rights with the native-born . . . such a country, in spite of all its faults, is no sham republic, and to use such an expression is more than ungrateful, it is childish. The draft says . . . "the principle of the Declaration of Independence would be entirely without meaning if everyone were not entitled to the just price of his labor." This conclusion is sufficient evidence of the confused witch-broth of politico-, socio-moral ideas which were presented to the convention, which had already done so much damage as early as 1848, and has forever ruined the good sense of so many a worthy laboring man. Another paragraph: "Unite with the revolution in Europe. Initiative for the liberation of the world . . . does it befit us to brag and to threaten as long as we are on the brink of death ourselves? There is still danger ahead of us . . . the presidential election is at the door, and if we win . . . it will still be time to remember that monarchies are our enemies." Our mental eye had a vision of the farmer at home in Missouri, who behind his plow never knows when he may be slain by the bullet sped by the traitor from behind the nearest bush . . . we had in mind what such a farmer would have to say to such an assembly that in face of such conditions is spellbound by the ringing sounds of abstract theories of humanistic world-benefaction and permits its imagination to ramble towards far-off utopias instead of concentrating all its energies upon the redress of immediate pressing need.



A study of the proceedings of the Cleveland convention and subsequent newspaper comment leads to the following conclusions: Purposes of an agrarian revolution, a strain of socialism, an uncannonical, frequently revolutionary, attitude toward the American constitutional system, and the treatment of questions of foreign policies from a point of view of an international mind, show that the European mind was still shaping American political ideas, that American traditions had not as yet obliterated European memories. On the other hand, German nationalism had largely ceased to be an end in itself; it was to be exclusively a lever of American political action. An American political section sought to exploit what strength there was to be derived from its *alter ego* as an ethnic group. Finally, there is evidence of the disappearance of the ties of this group altogether, and at least one bold counsel to disband the national group definitely and to take service individually with the American state. This is the advice of Frederick Muench who, though early one of the most active nationalists, had after 1850 discounted all separatist movements and scrupulously subordinated the nationalist idea to the cause of republicanism. The very early signs of a new separatist movement had elicited from him the following contribution to a Western paper:

Special interests like masons, churches, etc., may organize for special purposes, but lest a state be formed within the state and all fall asunder into federalism, the idea of the state must be more powerful than all special interests, and dominate and unite the whole. Where it is a question of citizenship, the Catholic, the Methodist, the Irishman, the German, must be forgotten, else public affairs become abnormal and finally incurable. Let parties form, but not in the nature of permanent corporations. There must be no sectionalism in politics: When a whole class and section organized as a solid political party, we had the bloody conflict. Similar results will follow upon the formation of a powerful Southern, or Catholic, or German party. The state knows only citizens . . . every nation must be united within itself. The proposal to form a German party comes exclusively from such men as have received their education in Germany, and with whom European impressions still dominate.

Nothing came of the proposed national organization, but its nature as an attempted protestant revolt against the *alleinselig-machende Linkenkirche* of the Union party was revealed by subsequent editorials in the German radical press on the coming

nomination. The attitude of the radical German mind is tersely expressed in the following editorial statement: "Lincoln has understood neither his mission nor his party nor his country nor his age. He is a straggler of his age, and instead of representing progress and civilization, he stems himself against it as a stubborn, headstrong backwoodsman of Kentucky." He is declared to be a "powder already spent, and in spending itself it has blown up the bridges to the presidency behind him." The following is indeed a strong array of German against him: "Er hat sich ausgezeichnet durch jammervolle Kurzsichtigkeit, Ratlosigkeit und Unentschlossenheit, Zaghaftigkeit und Stümperei, Wanke Imütigkeit und Mattherzigkeit, Angst und schnöde Nachgiebigkeit." The German radicals, after a conclave of their own a few days before the radical Republican convention in Cleveland, entered the "political cave of Adullam" and helped to nominate General Fremont.

The Cleveland convention of 1864 laid the foundation of a new party, *Die radikale Demokratie*. Undaunted by the desertion of their leader and the overwhelming victory of Mr. Lincoln, the German radicals of the West opened a vigorous campaign of public education in the principles of the newly conceived "radical democracy," hoping to win over the war Democrats, who were supposed to have been as much insulted by the nomination of McClellan as they themselves had been by the nomination of Mr. Lincoln.

The general point of view of the new German radicalism was as follows:

The reorganization of parties is bound to come. The Democratic party, by clinging to the heresies of its new leadership, has committed suicide, and the Republican party has long ceased to exist. As soon as the great struggle is over and ceases to absorb the whole interest of the Union men, political questions will again come to the foreground, and then the mission of our new party of radical democracy will be the guardianship of the true interests of the people.

A platform based upon the editorial policies of the central organ of the new party, the *Westliche Post*, was as follows: The party takes over the planks in paragraphs 11-13 of the Cleveland Fremont platform, demanding a constitutional amendment providing direct election of the president; congressional, not executive, reconstruction; confiscation and redistribution of land in the South in

the interest of social justice. In addition, it repudiates the centralistic tendencies of the Republican régime and demands return to the principles of Jeffersonian democracy and of the old Republican party, which "was based on the ideas of the Gironde and of Madison." This was specified later as implying decentralization in the interest of the greatest possible autonomy of local government, state sovereignty in internal state policies, and home rule for cities and counties through general, not special, legislation; but, on the other hand, the centralization of powers of government in the hands of legislatures and of congress, preferably under abolition of the presidency altogether. A naturalization period of about ten years is suggested for negroes, and rebels are to be disfranchised. With such views, the German radical democracy was for congressional reconstruction in principle, but while it participated in the campaign against President Johnson, it took congress to task for its "high-handed acts on the one hand, and its cowardliness on the other." "Impeach the president, which is perfectly within their constitutional rights, that they dare not do. But to decree away the president's constitutional powers, to depose him as commander in chief of the army—that costs them nothing." "To make territories out of the rebel states and force them to accept republican constitutions before readmitting them into the Union, that is a right which they dare not exercise. But to tread underfoot all republican principles, to give a West Pointer absolute power over the administration of those states, over life, liberty, and property in the South: such is their courage."

It is evident that the German revolutionist had lost none of his consistency of the contrainaire, nor given up his original conception of the Civil War as a social and political revolution. He takes issue continually with the American attitude toward the problem of reconstruction: "A pitifully narrow conception of the war just finished . . . ." an "unworthy conception of the federal government and its military power as a *posse comitalus* . . . ." and deplores that so few can see its real significance as a "conflict of ideas and a fight for the principle of absolute justice."

The Germans had participated in this struggle for the "principle of absolute justice" with an intensity of feeling and a con-

centration of effort that could not fail to have a lasting effect on them. It assimilated their nationalism. Before this tremendous American experience European memories faded: after 1864 there was German liberalism, but not the old German nationalism. There were no more efforts to found a national German party. German history and American history had met, and a great and noble part of German history had fulfilled itself in America. The aspirations of a restless generation of Germans had found fulfilment in America—not the fulfilment which they had sought, but in helping to make American history they had become Americans. The report on the Cleveland convention closed with the following words:

I too had felt myself a fugitive, a stranger here. My wishes, hopes, my interests, lay on the other side of the ocean. There was a time when I was not ashamed to confess that the very thought of my bones being buried in this soil was painful to me. Those times are no more. In this great crisis, the longing for the German sod has disappeared—the feelings of bitterness of the fugitive, the stranger. Here, to America, belongs now my heart, my mind . . . I am an American with body and soul. And yet . . . I am a better German for all that.

The radical Democratic movement of 1864 leads directly into the channels of the liberal Republican movement, and under the leadership of Karl Schurtz, the insurgent senator from Missouri and editor of the *Westliche Post*, the Germans in 1872 and in 1876 were united as they had never been united before—united in an American, not a German, party.

Their very conception of civil war and reconstruction as only a phase in the evolution of constructive democracy prevented the moral force of German liberalism from exhausting itself in the reconstruction of the South. American democracy in the making still drew largely from the muddy fountain of instinct, while such instinct in Germany had clarified into a well-developed political and social philosophy. The true German liberal would not waste time gloating over the spoils, nor forget himself and his cause by trampling on what to him had only been the vanguard of the enemy. Constitutional reform, reform of party government, the problem of bosses, of corporations, loomed up early as a problem of German national liberalism in America. There was an unbroken continuity

of thought and effort between the platform of 1854, 1860, 1864, and of 1872 and 1876; between German radical Republicanism, radical Democracy, liberal and progressive Republican movements, as far as the German element is concerned, they have one thing in common: they are manifestations of German national liberalism in America. Their value as an American political force largely depended on leadership, as leadership marked the difference between the Germany of 1848 and of 1870. "Metaphysical" Germans of Louisville of 1854 made American history in 1860; those of 1863-64, in 1876. They frequently failed, and never obtained all they desired. They did not prevent the re-election of a Lincoln, but they made impossible a third term for such a man as Grant, and neither Mr. Douglas, nor Mr. Bates, nor Mr. Blaine ever became president.

## NEWS AND NOTES

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### ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Society was held in Columbus, Ohio, the members of the Society being guests of the Chamber of Commerce and Ohio State University. The American Economic and Statistical Associations and the American Association for Labor Legislation held their meetings at the same time.

For the first time the precedent of re-electing the president for a second term was broken because President George E. Vincent would not consent to re-election on account of his recent selection as president of the Rockefeller Foundation.

The officers elected for the ensuing year are: *President*, GEORGE E. HOWARD, University of Nebraska; *First Vice-President*, CHARLES H. COOLEY, University of Michigan; *Second Vice-President*, FRANK W. BLACKMAR, University of Kansas; *Secretary-Treasurer*, SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, University of Chicago; *Members of the Executive Committee*: EDWARD C. HAYES, University of Illinois; HOWARD B. WOOLSTON, College of the City of New York; MISS JULIA LATHROP, Federal Children's Bureau; CARL KELSEY, University of Pennsylvania; CECIL C. NORTH, Ohio State University; J. ELBERT CUTLER, Western Reserve University. The two last named are members of the Executive Committee for the first time.

The spirit characterizing the meeting was noticeably cordial. The members of the four associations look forward with great pleasure to these annual opportunities for renewing old acquaintances and forming new ones. The numbers attending this year permitted unusually friendly relations. The Deshler Hotel was well arranged for the meetings, and sufficiently protected the meetings of the societies from the general public. The day at Ohio State University was very profitable. The local committee, with Professor Carl E. Parry as chairman, handled the arrangements to the satisfaction of all. The committee succeeded, in a rarely charming way, in making the ladies in attendance feel welcome.

Many remarked upon the high grade of the papers presented. In the annual business meeting, upon the motion of Professor Lucius Moody Bristol of West Virginia University, it was decided to ascertain

from teachers of Sociology how many volumes of the *Proceedings* would be wanted for use in classroom-work as supplementary reading. The Managing Editor has arranged for a special price on the *Proceedings* in lots of five or ten copies.

The paper of Mr. C. E. Russell, on the "Non-Partisan League," proved to be so interesting that he was invited by the president to return to the afternoon meeting on Thursday and answer further questions. This interesting exercise occupied about forty-five minutes.

The Society will hold its next annual meeting in Rochester, New York, as the guest of the University of Rochester and the Chamber of Commerce.

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#### BROWN UNIVERSITY

Harold Stephen Bucklin (Brown, 1910) is Instructor in Social Science at Brown University. Daniel H. Kulp (Brown, 1913) is in charge of the Department of Sociology at Shanghai Baptist College. Herbert K. Dennis (Brown, 1912) is an Instructor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Illinois.

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#### CITY COLLEGE, NEW YORK

City College has adopted a course of required study and group electives in the division of Social Science, leading to preparation for business, law, journalism, public and social service. Elementary Sociology is required of all in this group.

Mr. Julius Drachsler, B.A. 1913, is Secretary of the new School for Jewish Communal Work in New York.

Professor Woolston has been granted leave of absence for the spring term, 1917, to make a study of prostitution in America for the Bureau of Social Hygiene. Professor Maurice Parmelee, formerly of the University of Missouri, will conduct the courses at City College during this term.

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#### CLARK UNIVERSITY

Dr. Arthur W. Calhoun, who was recently appointed Assistant Professor of Political and Social Science in Clark College, has also been appointed Lecturer in Sociology in Clark University. Mr. Calhoun was the first recipient of the Doctor's degree from the Department of Sociology in Clark University, which was placed on a new basis in 1915 with the appointment of Dr. Frank H. Hankins as Assistant Professor of Sociology.

## COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Mr. F. A. Ross has been appointed Instructor in Sociology. His work deals chiefly with statistical phases of sociology. A distinctly undergraduate course has been introduced this year for the first time in Columbia College. Several new courses in Social Science have been added to the curriculum of the Extension Department. One on Elementary Principles of Sociology is given by Mr. R. G. Smith, former Fellow in Sociology. Another on Social Policies is conducted by Mr. F. J. Thomas.

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## COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, TEACHERS COLLEGE

Professor David Snedden, recently Commissioner of Education of Massachusetts, offers two courses of lectures, a practicum, and a seminar in Educational Sociology, and a course in Vocational Education.

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## MASSACHUSETTS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

Mr. Joseph F. Novitski, formerly county superintendent of schools in Brown County, Wisconsin, was this year appointed Assistant in the Department of Rural Sociology of the Massachusetts Agricultural College.

Mr. Charles G. Baird, graduate student assistant in this department last year, gave courses in Rural Sociology in the summer session at the University of Minnesota.

Mr. Russell F. Lund, graduate student assistant in this department last year, is now Director of the work in Agriculture at Rockville, Connecticut.

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NEW YORK UNIVERSITY; SCHOOL OF COMMERCE, ACCOUNTS, AND  
FINANCE

A Sociological Society was organized at New York University primarily for the purpose of keeping the approximately 1,200 former students of the department in touch with each other and with the younger generation of present students. A luncheon at the St. Denis Hotel on October 30 was well attended, and various committees were appointed for drafting a constitution and for nominating officers. The society will hold four meetings a year, two in a near-by hotel and two in the university building at Washington Square.



## NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Professor Ralph E. Heilman, of the University of Illinois, has been appointed Professor of Economics and Social Science at Northwestern University.

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## OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Professor Paul L. Vogt, head of the Department of Rural Economics and Sociology at Ohio State University, has resigned his position to accept that of superintendent of the Department of Rural Work of the Board of Home Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He will have charge of the development of the home-mission work as related to rural and village communities throughout the United States. His headquarters will be at 17th and Arch streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

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## OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

At Ohio Wesleyan University, the enrolment in the Sociology courses this semester is 230. This total does not include the students taking courses on the Social Aspects of Christianity and Social Psychology, which are under the jurisdiction of other departments. Eight courses in Sociology are offered; three are given each semester and two are alternating. The introductory course on Social Problems and Conditions has the largest enrolment, though the succeeding course on the Principles of Sociology is also largely elected.

For two years successively a group of selected students has been working on the problems of the village. Attention has been restricted to the more easily formulated problems and those objective factors in village life which lend themselves most readily to description and analysis. It is the plan to deal next year with the more complex psychological phases and to study human nature and the human factor in community life.

A course on Rural Life alternates with another on The Modern City and Its Problems. Other courses offered are those dealing with Social Evolution, Charities and Corrections, and Constructive Social Agencies and Movements. The latter course deals primarily with those voluntary associations advocating definite legislative programs and promoting particular social reforms. A study is made of the technique of social engineering as it is exemplified by these organizations, i.e., not merely what they stand for, but the methods they use to "put over" their programs.

## UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Dr. Ernest W. Burgess, formerly of Ohio State University, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology.

Associate Professor Scott E. W. Bedford has been promoted to the rank of Associate Professor of Sociology.

Associate Professor Frederick Starr will conduct investigations in Japan and Korea during the entire year 1917.

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## UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO

Professor U. G. Weatherly, of Indiana University, taught in the 1916 summer session of the University of Colorado. The investigation of county jails, which has been started by the National Committee on Prisons, is being conducted in the state of Colorado by Professor F. A. Bushee; sixty-two county jails are to be visited.

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## UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

The Department of Sociology of the University of Florida has gained nearly 50 per cent in the number of enrolled students over any previous enrolment.

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## UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Under the leadership of Dr. R. E. Hieronymus, Community Adviser of the University of Illinois, a series of three Better Community Conferences were held during November and December, 1916; one for central Illinois at Galesburg, one for southern Illinois at Centralia, and one for northern Illinois at Fullerton Hall, Chicago. These conferences are a part of the Illinois "A.B.C. [A Better Community] Movement," and are preliminary to the better organization of all the social forces of the state prior to the next conference to be held at the University, probably in April, 1917.

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## UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Manual C. Elmer was elected Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Kansas in June, 1916. He is working largely along the line of rural sociology, municipal sociology, and social surveys. Mr. Elmer received his B.S. at Northwestern College in 1911; his M.A. at the University of Illinois in 1912, and his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago in 1914. He was Professor of Economics and Sociology at Fargo College, North Dakota, from 1914 to 1916. He gave lectures in Sociology at the University of Minnesota the summer session of 1916. His publications are limited to the *Social Survey of Fargo*, 1915.

Mr. Walter Blaine Bodenhafer was elected Instructor in Sociology, June, 1916. Mr. Bodenhafer received his A.B. at Indiana University in 1911, his LL.B. at the same institution in 1912, and his A.M. at the University of Kansas in 1915. He is carrying on investigations regarding the minimum wage. Mr. Bodenhafer's special work in the University of Kansas is along the line of social pathology, remedial and corrective agencies, and public institutions.

The Department of Sociology has just completed a survey of the liquor and temperance question of Kansas. This has been sent to the state printer for publication and distribution. It takes up the history of the temperance movement, the history of the prohibitory law, statistics of the amount of liquor consumed in a single year in Kansas, relation of prohibition to crime, insanity, health, etc. Last April a social survey of the town of Lawrence was completed under the direction of the Department of Sociology. Professor E. W. Burgess, now of the University of Chicago, directed the field work of the survey.

The Department of Sociology is introducing a new course in Demography, given by Professor W. J. V. Deacon, of the Kansas State Board of Health.

The demand for trained sociologists is continually increasing. Two members of Dr. M. C. Elmer's class in Applied Sociology at Fargo College are now actively engaged in mining camps. Allan R. Carpenter is the employees' representative at Lester, Colorado, and Luther C. Lawyer is the welfare secretary at Walsen, Colorado.

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#### UNIVERSITY OF MAINE

The History Department conducts researches which have considerable sociological interest. At the present time Mr. Oscar S. Smith, a graduate student in the department, is making a study of the social service of the Methodist church in Maine.

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#### UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Mr. Arthur Evans Wood has been appointed Instructor in Applied Sociology at the University of Michigan. Mr. Wood, after graduating from Harvard, spent four years as Instructor in Social Science at Reed College, Portland, Oregon, taking also an active part in social work and investigation and serving on several municipal and state committees. He is now spending his second year in graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania and also serving as secretary of the Intercollegiate Division of the National Municipal League. He undertook last year a

preliminary social survey of Princeton, New Jersey. His work at Michigan will begin in the summer of 1917.

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#### UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Professor A. J. Todd is engaged in a study of the "Labor Turn Over in Charitable Agencies." This is an application of principles of scientific management to philanthropic agencies. The Dean of the Graduate School has appointed a committee, representing the four social science departments—Economics, Political Science, History, and Sociology—to work out a plan for a closer working understanding between these departments. The committee has recommended a quarterly joint meeting of the faculty and graduate students—each department to assume responsibility for one of these meetings each year. The meetings are to be primarily scientific in purpose but will also allow a certain amount of social intercourse.

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#### UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

At the University of Missouri, Professor Charles A. Ellwood has been appointed Chairman of the Department of Sociology for the year 1916-17. Professor Ellwood gave courses in the Principles of Sociology and the History of Social Philosophy at the University of Chicago the first term of the Summer Quarter of 1916. Dr. L. L. Bernard of the same department has been elected Chairman of the History and Political Science group for the present year. Mr. Carl C. Taylor, formerly Instructor in the University of Texas and in Mount Holyoke College, has been appointed Assistant in Sociology. Mr. Taylor gives courses in Preventive Philanthropy and Urban Sociology in addition to teaching a section in Elementary Sociology. Miss Anna Christine McBride, a graduate of the University of Missouri, has received an appointment in the Department of Economics and Social Science at Bryn Mawr College.

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#### UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

The University of Nebraska has set a precedent which should be of interest to other institutions. Recently Dr. George Elliott Howard tendered his resignation, to take effect August 31, 1917; with a view to devoting himself to writing, research, and social service. The Chancellor and the Board of Regents unanimously asked him to withdraw his resignation, offering to raise his salary as professor to that of the highest-

paid dean, requiring him to teach but one semester each year, and granting him leave of absence for the whole of the coming year, with pay. Dr. Howard has accepted.

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#### UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

The most notable feature of the work of the Department of Sociology has been the work of the North Carolina Club, an account of which has recently been published as the *North Carolina Club Year Book, 1915-1916* (University of North Carolina Record No. 140, Extension Series No. 17, October, 1916). This club is now in its third year's work. It meets for an hour on fortnightly Monday evenings for the study of the resources, advantages, opportunities, and social problems of North Carolina. The various Home County Clubs are affiliated with this club.

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#### UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

Professor John M. Gillette has been carrying on research work in the statistics of rural and urban populations during the last two years, more especially in determining the natural increase in population in each kind of community and the force of the facts which determine increase of population in each of the rural and urban groups. This has been worked out for these kinds of communities, not only for the nation as a whole, but relative to each of the nine geographical divisions. The results of this investigation will appear in the publications of the American Statistical Association in December, 1916.

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#### UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

A Sociological Society with a paid membership of 140 has been established during the past year. The society has undertaken in a tentative way the publication of monographs which represent work done in the sociology seminar. The first two of these are: *Legal Training for Social Workers*, by H. J. McClean, of the regular staff, and *Causes of Fatal Accidents on Highways*, by William Smith, a graduate student. John E. Kienle (A.M. Southern California, 1912), Executive Secretary of the Los Angeles Municipal Housing Commission and Chief Housing Inspector of Los Angeles for several years past, has been added to the Sociology faculty for courses in Housing. An extension course in Sociology is being given this year by Dr. George F. Kenngott. The course, which is given in the evening, and for regular credit, is being taken by fifty members of the Los Angeles Public Health Department. A Sociology Journal Club has been founded this year, meeting weekly.

## WELLESLEY COLLEGE

Professor Emily G. Balch is absent on leave. Mr. Donald S. Tucker, for the past two years Lecturer in Economics in Columbia University, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Economics and Sociology for the year 1916-17, in Miss Balch's absence.

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## WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY; SCHOOL OF APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES

James Elbert Cutler, Ph.D. (Yale), Professor of Sociology in Western Reserve University, has been made Dean of the School of Applied Social Sciences. This school was opened for the enrolment of students last September. There are now organized in the school the Division of Municipal Administration and Public Service, the Division of Family Welfare and Social Service, and the Course for Public Health Nurses. This latter is a constituent part of a projected Division of Health Administration. Other divisions or departments of work have also been planned. The courses offered have a direct professional end in view, and the advantages derived from the location of the university in the city of Cleveland are utilized. Research is combined with carefully planned field work, and the field work receives credit in the same way that laboratory work does in the older sciences. The school thus offers the advantages of specialized graduate study combined with practical professional training to men and women who desire to engage in social and civic work, such as municipal and state administrative positions, secretarial work with civic and commercial organizations, and executive positions with various types of social agencies. Students in the undergraduate colleges who select the social sciences as their field of concentration may be able, if they properly plan their work, to complete the requirements for the Master's degree in one year. Students coming from other colleges who have completed similar undergraduate courses may also complete the requirements for the Master's degree in one year. Persons of liberal education and practical experience are admitted to courses in which they have special interest, without reference to the attainment of a degree.

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## WISCONSIN STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, OSHKOSH, WISCONSIN

One of the subjects of investigation of the classes in Sociology has been the way school children spend their time out of school. Four thousand returns have been received and tabulated by schools and grades.

## REVIEWS

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*Poverty and Social Progress.* By MAURICE PARMELEE. New York: Macmillan, 1916. Pp. xv+477.

In this book the author undertakes the impossible. He undertakes to present in a single moderate-sized volume a thoroughly exhaustive (in spite of the author's admission in his preface, it is that or nothing) treatment of one of the greatest social phenomena in all its aspects. The phenomenon which he chooses is poverty. His conception of his task is absolutely correct. He recognizes that poverty is so closely allied with every conceivable phase of human existence that to treat poverty inclusively necessitates examining in detail every other aspect of social life, and indicating the interrelationship which exists. This the author endeavors to do, and it should be stated at the outset that his undertaking is carried out in a scholarly, painstaking, and sensible manner. But it does not succeed because it could not succeed. A brief survey of the scope of the book will make this clear.

In the first two chapters the author discusses the nature of the social organization and of pathological social conditions in general. He then turns to the analysis of the causes and conditions of poverty. The causes are individual and social. Among the individual causes are pathological conditions of the mind and body. These abnormal conditions and diseases are classified and briefly described, and their main causes noted. Among the social causes of poverty are matters of the size and growth of population, the increase and distribution of wealth, unemployment, the sweating system, and political, domestic, and matrimonial maladjustment. Somewhat illogically, chapters on the standard of living and the extent of poverty are sandwiched in the midst of the discussion of the causes of poverty. Each of these causes in its turn receives a somewhat extended examination. The third part of the book, dealing with remedial and preventive measures, follows a similar plan. Social insurance, thrift, pensions, socialism and syndicalism, trades unionism, philanthropy, all sorts of schemes for raising wages and redistributing incomes are discussed. The closing chapter is devoted to social progress and the coming of the normal life.

Now in such a study as this two main faults are practically unavoidable. In the first place, the treatment of the various related topics cannot possibly be thorough, however much it may appear so superficially. In the second place, the essential relationships, which are, after all, the vital thing and the thing the reader is looking for, are either obscured or absolutely neglected in the enormous mass of detail. One has to stop somewhere in such a train of cause and effect, and it conduces to clearness to stop much nearer the central theme than our author does. For example, it is obviously desirable to call attention to the important part played by bodily disease in the causation of poverty. But it adds nothing to the understanding of poverty to go on to an elaborate classification of disease and analysis of its causes. The space so employed might better be occupied by visualizing in a more vital way the actual rôle of disease in the lives of the poor classes. So it is necessary to recognize that many of the causes of poverty are biological, and are to be eliminated only by eugenic measures. But it is not necessary to go into an elaborate discussion of the eugenics movement. There are plenty of good books on eugenics. Furthermore, it is practically impossible to avoid the omission of certain topics which the scope of the book logically calls for. Thus the author has practically nothing to say about the racial causes of poverty, nor those causes which inhere in the physical environment; neither is there any discussion of wage theories. The result of all this is that the reader closes the book with scarcely a single clear-cut idea as to the origin and causation of poverty, nor of how to go to work actually to cure or to prevent it. Finally it must be observed that this plan of writing books involves an enormous amount of repetition in the case of each new topic. Thus if the author's proposed book on crime and vice (p. 452) follows the plan of the book on poverty, fully half of the present volume might be incorporated practically verbatim in the new book. For almost everything that is a cause of, or a cure for, poverty, is also a cause of, or a cure for, crime and vice.

It is easy to criticize a book of this sort, not only as regards its general outlines, but as regards its details. Only a few faults of the latter sort need be noted here. In the first place, the conscious or unconscious imitation of Henry George's famous title is open to question, especially since extremely little is said about social progress in this book. The style is monotonous, and exceedingly pedantic, such expressions as "let us now turn," "we shall now discuss," etc., recurring with great frequency. There is also much repetition, some of it unavoid-



able, but some inexcusable, such as: "It goes without saying that these remarks do not imply that there should be no woman or child labor whatever" (p. 130). "Now it goes without saying that work in itself is not necessarily a bad thing for children" (p. 139). "It goes without saying that woman labor in itself is not a bad thing" (p. 140). Particularly unfortunate is our author's seeming reluctance, in a supposedly scientific treatise, to furnish clean-cut definitions of some of his major terms. Thus, although a definition of normality is tacitly promised on p. 8, none is forthcoming, nor does the author use the concept with entire consistency. Pauperism is another term similarly handled.

Following these extended and rather sweeping criticisms, it should be repeated that there is much of good in the book. The author's attitude toward his subject and toward society is progressive, rather than radical, and his discussions abound in pertinent observations and helpful suggestions, not to mention the enormous collection of facts which he presents. The book is well worth reading—one is tempted to say, more worth reading than writing.

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

YALE UNIVERSITY

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*The Socialism of To-day.* A Source-Book of the Present Position and Recent Development of the Socialist and Labor Parties in All Countries, Consisting Mainly of Original Documents. Edited by WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING, J. G. PHELPS STOKES, JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN, HARRY W. LAIDLER, and other members of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1916. Pp. xvi+631+633+642.

The claim for this book by the editors is that it is the first international and comprehensive source-book in any language dealing with the socialist movement.

The volume is dedicated to all persons who wish to understand the socialist movement as it is.

The purpose of the volume seems to be the convincing of the reader of the importance of the socialist movement, whether he believes in it or not, by the sheer mass of the material collected from every quarter of the civilized world.

The first part is given to the socialist parties of the world and contains twenty-five chapters. These are subdivided into five sections: "The International," "Socialism on the Continent of Europe," "The

Socialist Movement in America," "Socialism in the British Empire (excluding Canada)," and "Socialism in China."

The second part treats of the socialist parties and social problems. This contains twenty chapters, dealing with the modern social problems such as labor unions, general strikes, unemployment, the high cost of living, agriculture, taxation, militarism, the drink question, woman suffrage, etc.

All these pressing problems of our modern life are treated from the practical viewpoint of what the socialists of these various countries have proposed for their solution.

There is no attempt, by the editors of this volume, to reconcile the varying, and sometimes conflicting, views of the socialists themselves, but the reader is left to draw his own conclusions as to what each contributes, and the value of the whole.

After reading this volume through, which is no easy task, though an intensely interesting one, the reader is like one standing on the banks of a great river at flood tide. He sees the value of the theory and its main direction, while at the same time beholding a multitude of ebullitions on the surface, from the contact of the waters with obstructions in the theory itself or with countercurrents from the opposing tides.

So this volume gives us a view of the bigness of the socialist movement, while at the same time it shows the social passion and revolutionary ideas of its leading proponents, as their views come into clash with the conservatism of what is termed the capitalist society.

When the reader has seen the title on the cover, *The Socialism of To-day*, and looks inside to see what it is, he is like a man reading an advertisement of a certain kind of pickles; when he looks further, he finds there are only 57 varieties.

EDWIN L. EARP

MADISON, N. J.

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*Standards of Health Insurance.* By I. M. RUBINOW. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1916. Pp. v+322.

The author of *Social Insurance* adds a brief and comprehensive outline of the principles, the provisions, and the results of the operation of health insurance in foreign countries. The critics who concede the necessity of insurance in Europe and condemn it for "democratic" prosperous America are referred to the statistical evidence that "from four-fifths to nine-tenths of the wage-workers receive wages which are insufficient to meet the cost of a normal standard of health and efficiency

for a family, and about one-half receive very much less than that" (p. 14).

There are concise chapters on "The Principle of Compulsion," "Extent of Health Insurance," "The Scope of Health Insurance," "Medical Benefits," "Money Benefits," "Funeral Benefit," "Optional Benefits," "Bearing the Cost," "Distribution of Cost," "Organization of Insurance," "Administrative Organization," "Financial Organization," "Organization of Medical Aid and Estimates of Cost." Appendixes deal with the constitutionality of health insurance and organization of medical aid.

Of considerable theoretical and practical interest is the way of Dr. Rubinow in urging the "principle of compulsion" (chap. ii). He notes the increasing tendency toward compulsory insurance throughout Europe and summarizes the reasons:

First, the classes in which there is most need and disease do not insure voluntarily. They have no surplus and do not understand the advantages of insurance.

Secondly, illness is a hazard in which industry, individual, and the general organization of society are co-implicated. Justice requires sharing of the burden. Compulsion embodies this principle most adequately.

Thirdly, experience shows that compulsion secures a superior, standardized service.

To appease the belated advocate of an abstract anarchism with his slogan, "Insurance is nobody's business but my own." Dr. Rubinow shows (1) that health insurance is a form of taxation and is therefore a "right" of the state; (2) that its principle is acknowledged in compulsory education and vaccination, and more definitely in state legislation regarding accident insurance; (3) that illness is obviously an economic drain affecting the stability of family and public institutions which must pay for the invalid's support.

E. L. TALBERT

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

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*Occupations: A Textbook in Vocational Guidance.* By GOWIN and WHEATLEY. Boston, New York, and Chicago: Ginn & Co., 1916. Pp. xii+357.

Vocational guidance is receiving much careful study by those who are interested in young people of the ages from twelve to eighteen. Professor Gowin and Superintendent Wheatley have added a valuable

contribution in their book, *Occupations*. This book is well adapted to the junior-high-school period of a boy's life. It is during this period that the boy should get an insight into the social and economic possibilities of the main trunkline vocations of our country. The only way that this information will ever reach the vast majority of boys is through books.

This book is divided into three parts. Part I is a discussion of "Characteristics of a Good Vocation," and "How to Study a Vocation." The suggestions should help those interested in vocational guidance. Part II is a description of the vocations usually listed under the following heads: "Agriculture," "Commercial Occupations," "Transportation," "Civil Service," "Manufacturing," "The Building Trades," "The Engineering Professions," "The Learned Professions and Allied Occupations," "Miscellaneous and New Openings." The description of each vocation taken up is necessarily short, and therefore gives only a very general idea of the vocation. But, even so, the boy reading the short descriptions will get enough to arouse his interest in some of the vocations and cause him to make further investigations.

Part III is given over to short discussions on "Choosing Your Life-Work," "Securing a Position," and "Efficient Work and Its Reward." The suggestions are helpful and should be a part of the education of every boy.

The bibliography given at the end of each chapter and the four sets of "Vocational Libraries" in the appendix make the book a valuable contribution to the literature on vocational guidance.

EDWIN L. HOLTON

STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE  
MANHATTAN, KAN.

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*History of the Working Classes in France.* A Review of Levasseur's *Histoire des classes ouvrières et de l'industrie en France avant 1789*. By AGNES MATHILDE WERGELAND. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1916. Pp. vi+136. \$1.00.

This review of Levasseur's great work appeared first in the *Journal of Political Economy*. In the words of "K. M." in the Preface, it "is not merely an ordinary review. It is rather a running commentary in brief, for which the author himself showed warm appreciation. It throws emphasis on the chief features of the work, and arouses the English reader's and the student's desire for further acquaintance with the original. This is the justification for reprinting it as a separate

volume." The review is in two chapters, corresponding to the volumes of Levasseur's work: (1) "Mediaeval Period," and (2) "Renaissance and Modern Periods." The limitations of the review do not permit of detailed treatment of any of the phases of the history of the working classes, but suggestive references are made to such subjects as the organization of the guilds and their orders; the fraternities, the beginnings of trade unions, strikes, and other devices for winning industrial disputes; wages and conditions of labor; regulations governing production; taxation; coinage and banking; fairs and commerce; attempts at protection; royal manufactories and monopolies; also to the industrial programs of such monarchs as Henry IV and Louis XIV and of such statesmen as Richelieu, Colbert, and Turgot. In the entire course of the review the writer is sympathetic and appreciative of the significance of Levasseur's work, and the publication of this little book should assist in realizing her expressed hope that more students might be induced to read the work reviewed.

ROBERT FRY CLARK

FOREST GROVE, ORE.

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*Marketing Perishable Farm Products.* Vol. LXXII, No. 3, Whole Number 170, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Columbia University, 1916, by Arthur B. Adams, A.M. Pp. 180.

In this volume Mr. Adams has sought to narrow the investigation of the working of the marketing or middleman system down to that of perishable farm products. In the preface he says: "The attempt is made to point out the fundamental economic forces which underlie the marketing of these goods and to suggest methods of controlling these forces so that the cost of passing the goods through the market processes may be reduced." In the six chapters he considers "The Character and Significance of the Problem," "The Present System of Marketing Perishables," "Why the System is a Burden to Society," "Reform of the Marketing Processes or Machinery," "Reduction of Costs of Performing the Marketing Processes," and "Reduction of the Burdens of Marketing by Changing the Nature of the Goods and Area of Production."

The essentials of the problem are: small portion of produced perishables marketed, fluctuation of prices, high prices to consumers, low prices to farmers, and deterioration of goods from producer to consumer. The lowering of the real wages of laborers, and the increasing use of

perishables as food supply make a demand for securing cheaper marketing processes. While various attempts have been made to cheapen the process they have not had much effect (chap. i).

Without a thorough understanding of the marketing system for perishables it would be impossible to detect its weak and strong points. Hence the kinds of markets and middlemen together with the functions performed by each, receive much consideration. Each kind of market, growers' local, wholesale, and retail, has its own kind of middleman. These markets and functionaries have grown up in response to pressing needs. But the system thus evolved does not necessarily depend on the employment of private functionaries acting for private profit (chap. ii).

The social burdens incident to the marketing of perishables are due to (1) inherent characteristics of the goods, namely, their perishability, seasonal production, and production and consumption by small business units, and (2) imperfections in the methods and processes by which they are marketed, such as poor care of goods, inadequate market information, expensively run marketing machinery, and sometimes dishonest middlemen (chap. iii).

An examination of the marketing machinery with a view to discovering how the social burdens imposed by it may be reduced leads to the following conclusions: First, relative to reduction of such burdens by simplification Mr. Adams says: "On the whole, we find that these processes cannot now be very much simplified either by producers, consumers, private middlemen, or co-operative associations." That is, the number of processes cannot be reduced (chap. iv). Secondly, the burdens may be reduced by reforming the processes of marketing by any of the following methods: (a) "the national, state, and municipal governments may, through marketing departments or bureaus, co-operate with, and regulate, the methods and processes of those engaged in the marketing business"; (b) "private middlemen may be supplanted by co-operative associations which carry on the work at less cost"; (c) "elimination of inefficient practices through competition between the marketing agencies" (chap. v). Thirdly, changing the nature of goods through breeding hardier and better varieties of plants and animals, resorting more largely to cold storage, and making a greater proportion into beverages and conserves will secure less perishable and more constant goods. Reducing seasonal production by securing varieties having longer seasons of harvesting, and by widening areas of production of goods. Specializing communities for the production of certain

goods which they can produce to advantage, thus securing a larger number or a better distribution of, marketing centers relative to producers (chap. vi).

The author has produced a valuable work. It is analytical, not dogmatic, keeps in view the facts, and is constructive. It overturns preconceived opinions and demolishes the positions of some writers and many agitators. The reader of the work has the sense of dealing with something substantial and trustworthy and feels that he has secured a much better foundation for judging the case of the much maligned marketing or middleman system.

JOHN M. GILLETTE

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*The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life.* A Study in Religious Sociology. By ÉMILE DURKHEIM. Translated from the French by JOSEPH WARD SWAIN. New York: Macmillan, 1916. Pp. xi+456. \$4.00.

Most of the essays on Australian social organization which have been inspired by the books of Howitt, Strehlow, and Spencer and Gillen have laid most stress on clan organization and the marriage system. The present volume concerns itself chiefly with the religious aspects of Australian sociology. M. Durkheim believes that the true explanation of totemism is the religious one, and he has taken the Australians as the basis of his study of religious sociology because he is convinced that they, being of the most primitive type, carry us nearest to the sources of religious life. His initial position is that we shall be least likely to err if we assume that religious phenomena are to be taken literally, for all primitive religions "hold to reality and express it," and "there are no religions which are false." This is the basis of his objection to the animistic and the nature-worship theories of the origin of religion. Moreover, primitive religious concepts do not necessarily involve the supernatural, for miraculous interventions are, to primitive men, a part of the natural order. The central fact about religion is that it is "something eminently social. Religious representations are collective representations which express collective realities." In all religions there are two comprehensive categories, beliefs and rites, and all involve a classification of phenomena in two groups, the sacred and the profane.

Now it is in connection with the totemic symbol that Durkheim finds the clearest separation of the sacred from the profane. He differs

from the majority of recent scholars in making the totem the religious center about which the clan is formed, for he insists that clan-relationship is not based on blood-relationship. Totemism is really an elementary religion, holding latent those ideas which later will develop into conceptions of divinities. Among most of the Australian tribes the religious idea has as yet hardly developed beyond the conception of an impersonal religious force, or a quasi-divine principle immanent in certain classes of men and things and thought of under the forms of animals or plants. The totemic object is the symbol of the clan, much as the flag is the symbol of the modern nation. While utterly rejecting Tylor's theory that tribal or clan totemism is a form of ancestor-worship, Durkheim holds that the individual totem, which is a quite different thing, has the same characteristics as the ancestral spirit. To ancestors also is ascribed credit for the tribal culture. These culture-heroes are an intermediate type between the ancestral genius and the later tribal god, and they have had their share in developing a sense of tribal unity.

It cannot be said that M. Durkheim has entirely escaped two pitfalls which have caught so many recent students of social origins. He occasionally reads back into the savage mind something of the abstruse mental processes of the critical scholar, and he attempts to find inclusive generalizations which shall cover the most heterogeneous and often contradictory facts. However useful may be the "sacred-profane" classification, it does not follow that "the religious life and the profane life cannot coexist in the same unit of time" (p. 308), for very many religious rites, as much among the Australians themselves as elsewhere, have a distinctly economic and utilitarian basis. It is no doubt true that the gradual separation of the two concepts resulted in the setting aside of feast days and holy days, but these are clearly not primordial.

Less open to question is the theory that religious taboo (interdict, as M. Durkheim prefers to call it) receives its chief sanction from the need of separating the sacred and profane. This "negative rite" marks the beginning of asceticism, which is rightly held to be a primary and essential element in religion, rather than a late and abnormal one. But it is in the "positive rites" of early religion that the greater social institutions, as well as science itself, are found to have their origin. These rites among primitive people are almost the only means of expression for the group consciousness.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I treats of "Preliminary Questions," and particularly of theories about the origin of religion. Part II discusses "Elementary Beliefs," by which is meant totemism.



One chapter contains a valuable critical analysis of the theories of Tylor, Wilken, Jevons, Frazer, Lang, Hill-Tout, and Boas. Part III discusses "The Principal Ritual Activities." M. Durkheim has certainly not made good all his objections to the views of Tylor and Lang, nor has he here, any more than in his preliminary studies, published some years ago in *L'Année Sociologique*, made out a wholly satisfactory case for his own theory of the origin of totemic groupings. That three such scholars as Frazer, Lang, and Durkheim, using identical materials, should arrive at entirely diverse results is a proof, not only of the intricacy of the subject, but also of the imperfection of our present knowledge of it. For instance, how shall we explain those cases where the totemic objects are natural phenomena or heavenly bodies, when all our theories presuppose plants and animals? Or what shall we conclude about the "Arunta anomaly," even with all that Lang and Durkheim have said in seeking to explain it? M. Durkheim's views have at least the merit of consistency. He is conscious that his theories do not cover all the facts of totemism as found among the American Indians. He explains this by the claim that American totemism, as we actually know it, represents an advanced type of the institution when its primitive elements had either begun to disintegrate or had perhaps become corrupted by contact with European ideas.

ULYSSES G. WEATHERLY

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

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*Introducing the American Spirit.* By EDWARD A. STEINER.  
Chicago: Revell, 1915. Pp. 274. \$1.00.

These days of world stress are yielding not a little literature of national self-examination. To this swelling store Dr. Steiner adds a volume characteristically interesting and stimulating, if less distinctive and slightly less optimistic than his early works.

He believes that "we are not loved as a nation because we are not understood, and we are not understood because we do not understand ourselves, and we do not understand ourselves because we have not studied ourselves in the light of the spirit of other nations." So, as one who came here years ago, "a product of Germanic civilization, knowing intimately the Slavic, Semitic, and Latin spirit," and as one passionately devoted to America, who has been the "*cicerone* of distinguished Europeans who came to study various phases of our institutional life," he offers "these unconventional studies" as an introduction

to the American spirit, not only to his critical European friends, but to those Americans who do not realize how priceless is the spirit of the nation.

With the exception of the last chapter, the book is an account of the author's experiences in piloting across the continent the German "Herr Director and his charming wife." Together they study the American spirit in the skyscraper, the tenement district, the crowd, the school and college, the church, the club, and in a score of other manifestations. With delicious humor and clever anecdote, the author brings out his patriotic concern that his friends shall see the good in the nation and not simply the obvious defects, his sense of failure at most points in this endeavor, his friends' indictment of us, his own fervid defense and his own misgivings.

He finds menace to our American spirit in the threatened break in unity suggested by the "hyphen" controversy, in the waning discipline among our educated classes, in the call to arms which spells militarism, and especially in our lack of democratic spirit in our relation to those strikingly different from us in race. This most serious challenge the American spirit may not prove able to meet; but this is a time, not for despair, but for a determination "to make this country capable of winning the loyalty of all its citizens."

P. S. PEIRCE

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

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*The Motherhood Manual.* By MARY L. READ, Director of the School of Mothercraft, New York City. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1916. Pp. xvii+440. \$1.25 net.

This book is a comprehensive handbook of information for mothers, teachers, nurses, and all those concerned directly or indirectly with the care of children. It is the outgrowth of five years' experience in the School of Mothercraft in New York City and brings together in an exceedingly clear, comprehensive, and concise way the wealth of knowledge in modern science bearing upon the child. Other books have done this for special phases of child care, but none, so far as the writer is aware, for the entire field as completely as this. It deals, not only with the entire régime of infant care, but also with the care and training of children up to twelve years, and not merely with their physical care, but with their education, games, play, toys, and the more subtle development of personal and social habits that are so important for the future of the child.

The information is conveyed in a style that makes misunderstanding by the average person almost impossible, and it is based upon the accepted facts of modern science. This is notably true in the case of the portions devoted to nutrition, which is so specialized a field in itself, but it is also true of the psychology of play, the psychology and physiology of the development of the young child, and other matters. Valuable features of the book, not to mention more, are the "Children's Typical Physical Régime," p. 124, and the "Curriculum for Babyhood," beginning on p. 248, in which the intellectual and play interests, on the one hand, and the curriculum in the home and at school that will develop them, on the other, are given in detail.

The bibliography at the end of the volume should also be mentioned, including, as it does, not only a complete reference list on all subjects treated in the book, but also a selected list of children's books for different ages.

It is a matter for congratulation that the modern facts of the science of child care as here brought out are made available for the large class of well-to-do mothers whose doors are not open to the social worker and the investigator, but whose ignorance of these matters is oftentimes quite as great as that of the women who have had no opportunities to learn them at all.

FRANCES FENTON BERNARD

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*Married Women's Work. Being the Report of an Enquiry Undertaken by the Women's Industrial Council.* Edited by CLEMENTINA BLACK. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1915. Pp. vi+202. 2s. 6d. net.

The value of this book consists rather in raising questions and problems connected with married women's work than in presenting definite, well-organized, conclusive evidence thereon. It gives the results of an investigation of married women's work covering a wide territory in England and a great variety of work, but the material is given largely in the form of case histories; it has not been organized or classified in its presentation. Nor can we estimate its value or significance, since we are not definitely informed as to the method of investigation or selection of cases, nor the basis of classification of material. For example, the chapter titles of the book run as follows: "London," "Charwomen," "Wage-Earning Wives in a Slum," "Yorkshire"; the London chapter is divided into sections on various industries, but

whether these industries include all London in which married women work, or if not, how these were selected, is not stated. One section, for example, begins with the indefinite statement, "Four cases of upholsteresses appear."

However, the material as presented does seem to agree quite uniformly in providing evidence against several widely accepted theories regarding the work of married women outside the home—as that the wages of men tend to be a family wage, and that homes and children tend to be neglected when married women work outside. In the large majority of cases here given the married women work because of the inadequacy of the husband's wage, and again, in the greater number of cases homes and children were in better condition where mothers did work than where mothers did not work.

The great and striking fact which this investigation emphasizes, as do so many others, is inadequacy of wage for both men and women and irregularity of employment for men. Conclusions are that "until the pay of men is much better than at present, any attempt to prohibit the work for wages of wives would intensify hardships that are already cruelly severe," and that, "in households where poverty is not severe, such prohibitions would be without excuse, because in these households the mothers who work are not found to be overdriven, the children are found well cared for and the houses clean, comfortable and—comparatively speaking—spacious."

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## RECENT LITERATURE

### NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

**Official Statistics and the War.**—From the point of view of preparation as well as conduct of the war, Germany's official statistics have been of utmost importance in efficiently handling the military, sociological, and economic problems. Without the information furnished to military and civil authorities with regard to needs and stores of provisions, calamities in this predominately economic struggle would have been unavoidable. Several investigations have been made during the last two years in order to obtain a reasonable estimate of the resources and the food supply of the country. Results have not always been satisfactory. Heavy fines had to be imposed for misinformation given by profit-greedy speculators; a great deal of suspicion on the part of the people had to be overcome, and the efficiency of the investigators as well as methods had to be improved. Finally, however, the support of the people was more readily obtained and a number of food restrictions became unnecessary. In many instances special statistical departments have been attached to army units, and most of the statistical offices have had to assume administrative duties. Very valuable information with regard to consumption has been gathered, and the service of the departments has helped to defeat England's starvation policy. Since the soul of statistics is comparison, international statistics are bound to play an important rôle in the re-establishment of the international relations now so woefully destroyed.—Friedrich Zahn, "Die amtliche Statistik und der Krieg," *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, November, 1915. Z. T. E.

**The War and the French Universities.**—It is desirable to face facts openly even though they may be grim. In the destitution caused by the war there will be tendencies to regard the higher education as a luxury which must wait until the most pressing evils have been healed before it can claim support. Hence the utility of the higher education must be kept before the public. Very calamitous is the loss of such great numbers from the ranks of both faculties and students. In the immediate demand for other forms of activity after the war, ambition will be likely to flow in other than scientific lines. Some take an aversion to pure science because they have falsely conceived it to be a child of German *Kultur*. But science is international. We have not sufficiently recognized the high achievements of French men of science. With our resources shrunken as they will be, we must economize through co-operation between our schools and other intellectual agencies. We must guard against letting our scholars adopt the arid or narrow standards in vogue in Germany. After the war the technical education must be nourished. The stress of war and subsequent reconstruction may reduce the number of students who have no serious purpose. At present, many women are creditably making their way into the higher schools both as teachers and students. Foreign nations have for three generations been learning from Germany in higher scholarship. We may expect that in the future such nations as the United States will come more and more to France, and that we shall receive benefit from them.—Louis Liard, "La Guerre et les universités françaises," *La Revue de Paris*, May, 1916. C. C. C.

**The English Prison System and What We Can Learn from It.**—Great Britain has an astonishingly small amount of crime, the United States an appallingly large amount. Much of the gradual diminution of crime in England should be placed to the credit of the prison system, and from this system the United States might well learn the following lessons: (1) the jails or local prisons of a state should all be under state control and co-ordinated with the other penal institutions by being brought under one common board of control; (2) the reformatory spirit should permeate the entire prison system, manifesting itself in the grading and classification of all prisoners

in proper facilities for labor and education, and in conditional release; (3) the prison-labor problem is soluble, both for local jails and central prisons, by a proper combination of the state-use, public-works, and state-farm systems, without appreciable competition with free labor; (4) prisons should be freed from partisan politics by securing a civil service law which would put the appointment and promotion of their officials strictly upon a merit basis.—Charles A. Ellwood, *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, May, 1916. M. C.

**Community Music.**—By community music is meant music in which all the people of the community take part, music which is produced by certain members of the community for the benefit and pleasure of the others, and music which, while actually performed by paid artists, is nevertheless somehow expressive of the will of the community as a whole. The record of choral singing in America shows a constant endeavor to attain grandiose results rather than to foster the love of choral singing *per se*. We should all have music at our own firesides—the place where all good things should begin, and where we find the community in embryo. Then every opportunity should be used to get large groups of people to sing—in church, on Memorial Day, at Christmas time, at patriotic gatherings, and at dedications. What a splendid expression of devotion, of commemoration, of dedication, of sacred love for those who died in our Civil War there would be in a thousand voices raised as one in a great, eternal memorial hymn! At Plattsburg last summer, where so many patriotic and fine spirits gathered for military instruction, it seemed a futile thing that they should, as they marched, whistle a fine military tune. Whistling seemed entirely inadequate and inappropriate in comparison with the fine ringing song they might have uttered. If a community will only organize its own singing society, it can not only become self-expressive, but it can give the most wholesome of diversions. It creates for the community a sort of brotherhood. It welds together socially disorganized groups and may be used to develop a true democracy.—T. W. Surrence, *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1916. E. E. M.

**Land-Tenure Reform and Democracy.**—The American spirit of democracy was originally the product of equality in opportunity and economic independence. For a time the continuance of this spirit was insured by the existence of a large supply of unoccupied land upon which any man who so desired might settle and maintain a degree of independence. In recent years a change in the form of land tenure has taken place. Tenantry is increasing. For obvious reasons the ideal form of land tenure is ownership. The opportunity to acquire land makes for initiative, independence and citizenship. Tenantry leads to rural deterioration economically, politically, socially, educationally, and morally. Democracy depends, then, upon the widespread ownership of the land by those who cultivate it. The problem is now being attacked by reforms of the land-credit systems. Already in seven states constructive legislation on the subject has been enacted. Each of these state laws provides for long-term loans on the security of farm lands, and for the issuance of bonds on the collective security of farm mortgages. They differ, however, in the machinery to be employed to effect this. Some depend upon the organization of local agencies, others upon a program of state aid. There is a place for both kinds of legislation, but the government should aim to supplement rather than to supplant private initiative. At present there is a distressing irregularity in the methods advanced. Many states seem to be plunging in blindly without an adequate appreciation of what the different phases of the problem involve. The problem is one that should be left to the federal government rather than to the state governments, since the federal government is in a stronger position to carry through an effective program. The problem is a national one, and should therefore be handled in a more uniform way than would be possible under state control.—George E. Putnam, *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1916.

R. W. S.

**Hereditary Nomadism and Delinquency.**—Nomadism, or the wandering impulse, is a hereditary racial character, and the transmission of this character has definite bearing upon social problems. Analysis of the family histories of 24 truants who were also delinquent in other ways shows a large proportion of nomadic persons. Of 312 persons studied, 30.4 per cent were found to be affected. A similar analysis of the family histories of 24 non-nomadic delinquents shows very few cases of nomadism

among the relatives. Only 4 out of 318 persons, or 1.2 per cent, were affected. Nomadism in delinquent boys is often closely associated with other offenses, such as stealing, burglary, drunkenness, and sex immorality, but these offenses are also found in non-nomadic delinquents.—J. Harold Williams, *The Journal of Delinquency*, September, 1916. H. C. C.

**The Barbarian Prototypes of Some Motifs of Art.**—It appears that in some instances it is possible to trace the motifs of works of Christian artists of the Middle Ages back through the Gallic and Roman art to the early Celtic barbarian art. Such cases reveal an evolution of motif and, perhaps, a more striking change in the interpretation of the motif. Thus, the representation of "Daniel in the Lion's Den" may be traced back in this manner to barbarian art, where it symbolizes an entirely different conception. Daniel represents the sun, and the lions about his feet represent fires emanating from the sun. The whole is thus a symbolism of barbarian sun-worship. Other cases show the importance of going backward to find the original motif and additional proof of the evolution of motif.—W. Deonna, "Prototypes de quelques motifs dans l'arte barbare," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, March-April, 1916. C. L. N.

**Timidity and Age.**—What is the relation of timidity, the sentiment, true or false, which a being takes when he perceives his singularity, to age? Timidity is pronounced in adolescence because the youth recognizes his singularity with respect to his mature associates and feels the difference in his sentiments, in sight, and status. Children do not feel their divergence from their superiors to the degree which will give them the timid attitudes of youth. But timidity is distributed through all ages, and it may be marked in old age. The life of the aged person tends to be automatic and he is ridiculous in the Bergsonian sense. He feels himself susceptible to ridicule, a fact which is a criterion of timidity. The timidity of the youth is hesitant and awkward; that of the aged person is self-confident and cynical. The latter comes from weak nerves, not from lack of experience. Age is never in itself the cause of timidity. Timidity is always capricious and accidental. One is timid with A and not with B, for no good reason.—L. Dugas, "La Timidité et l'Age," *Journal de psychologie normale et pathologique*, May-June, 1916. C. C. C.

**The Moral Bases of Civilization.**—In the presence of the terrible war which seems to be threatening the entire framework of Western civilization we may well ask, What are the ultimate bases upon which this civilization rests? There have been various explanations of these ultimate bases in the past, some of which have perhaps been sufficient when judged from the individual point of view, but not when judged from the social point of view. That is to say, they may have explained what governed individuals in their behavior, but they have broken down in regard to group behavior. This appears to be true of the explanations when religion is used as the ultimate basis of civilization. It appears that after all Buckle was most nearly correct when he based civilization on the economic conditions. The civilization of the future to possess stability must rest on the existence of socii whose producing powers are unhampered. This must necessarily mean that they enjoy universal suffrage, freedom of buying and selling, etc. This will tend to lead to the disappearance of the present types of political groupings, and to intra-nationalism. This will eventually solve the problems of group struggle and abolish war.—Henri Lambert, "Les Bases morales des civilisations," *Journal des Economistes*, August, 1916. C. L. N.

**The Combative Instinct in Christian Experience.**—Christian experience has drawn heavily upon military forms of speech for its expression, from the Epistles of St. Paul to the modern street songs of the Salvation Army. Yet warlike attitudes and expressions present a sharp contrast to the attitudes and teachings of Jesus. This contrast raises the historical problem of how the borrowing took place and the more fundamental psychological question of the relation between the combative instinct and Christian religious experience. The latter problem can best be comprehended in terms of the Freudian doctrine of sublimation, which is an ethical rather than a psychological concept. This approach is justified by the close connection which exists between the sexual and the combative instincts. Both are of significance in a genetic

study of religion, and both are represented in sublimation in the highest types of religious experience. In Christian experience the specifically religious element, that of union with God, is a sublimated sex instinct, while the sublimated combative instinct persists in the moral struggle against evil. Man has the desire for struggle strongly imbedded in his nature, and Christianity, which invites to moral conflict with evil, offers a splendid field for the exploitation of a sublimated combative instinct. To defective sublimation must be charged the sharp contrast between high ideals and the brutal methods sometimes used in their realization.—Pierre Bovet, "L'Instinct combative dans l'expérience chrétienne," *Revue de théologie et de philosophie*, May-August, 1916. H. E. J.

**The Genius of England.**—England is individual because of her position and the process of selection of her conquerors. Race differences still show: yet all races—Iberians, Celts, Anglo-Saxons, Danes—have been blended. The Normans were the most fatefully decisive of all, because they had learned severe organization and justice, but yet had kept themselves in many respects like the English. Other immigrants have come, attracted by freedom, and have helped to enrich the race—Germans, French Huguenots, Dutch, and Jews. Topography has helped in this blending; yet race predominates over environment. The great figures in politics are from the midlands, where there was greatest mixture. The great soldiers have come from the West, the great sailors from the East. The fair element rarely makes good dramatic artists. In art the Westerners are idealists, those from the East are naturalists. In Literature the West is extravagant but finished, the East crude and heavy. In Shakespeare these varied qualities were fused because he came from Warwickshire, the heart of England.—Havelock Ellis, *North American Review*, August, 1916. J. P. S.

**The Mind of Woman.**—The question of the mental characteristics of women has been much narrowed down in recent times. In the past women were taught to seek knowledge through men; the importance of children, church, and cooking was not recognized. Sexual differences are consistent with sex equality. Men have greater reserves of energy, hence, more abnormality both in genius and in mental weakness. Dr. Cora Castle finds that only 868 women have done anything which history records as worth while. Women have lacked opportunity. On the other hand, there is a smaller percentage of geniuses among women now than in the eighteenth century because opportunity destroys genius. There are more abnormalities among men because of greater variability. It is hard to get data on comparative efficiency of the sexes, and opinions balance each other. Dr. Heymans of Groningen concludes, after investigation, that the chief difference is one of degree of emotionality, but this difference may be removed by race culture.—Havelock Ellis, *Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1916. J. P. S.

**A People's War and Their Education.**—The first high hopes of a real moral and national rebirth have not been realized. Selfishness has shown itself in unscrupulous price-raising so that it has had to be regulated by the government. Soon after the outbreak of the war a great deal of dissipation appeared again and life in the large cities was as empty and thoughtless as ever. But men and women have again assumed their natural positions. After this war Europe will need many strong, true mothers who have again realized what the highest duty and the highest joy of woman is. A quickened religious life is indicated everywhere, and spiritual and moral values have come into the foreground. Only after the war is over will the experiences of the millions at the front become known.—Dr. Karl Löhmann, "Volkskrieg und Volkserziehung," *Geisteskampf der Gegenwart*, January, 1916. C. C. J.

**Development and Catastrophe.**—All the prophets of the new era dealt with catastrophic analogy as the dominant factor in the coming crisis. Yet just as the Christians of the first two centuries, so the Social Democrats found themselves forced to put in the place of catastrophe the idea of gradual development; both catastrophe and development are indispensable for a healthy process of progress. Life begins with the birth throes and ends with the agony of death. Catastrophe is only a sudden unveiling of the life-process. War, as a catastrophe, is only the dramatic climax of a fight long before in existence. It is foolish to speak of the bankruptcy of Christianity.



The present war, in all its cruelty, is neither more nor less Christian than the life-process of which it is a part. According to the prophets, from Amos to Carlyle and Ruskin, it is the crisis which ushers in the new. Religious faith, however, is necessary to give strength enough to hold out during the crisis and in the fight, to prepare the way for a new era, and to believe that the new will be the better.—H. D. Hall, "Entwicklungsprozess und Katastrophe," *Christliche Welt*, January, 1916. Z. T. E.

**War and Human Progress.**—War is being loudly proclaimed as necessary to human progress, the claim being advance on biological and historical grounds. When closely examined, the biological argument fails, for it is not an argument but an analogy, and an imperfect one at that. Recourse to the historical argument is not more satisfactory, for all that can be said to be proved by history is that a race which does not fight when a proper occasion arises is likely to be subjected or absorbed. But such an outcome does not prove its inferiority as regards culture. War necessarily involves a waste of material resources and a reduced vigor and efficiency of the next generation. It also entails a lessened attention to pure science and art and, through too much emphasis upon discipline, involves some loss of individuality and initiative. Progress must come, not through war, but through co-operation and mutual confidence that will remove the causes of war.—James Bryce, *Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1916.

E. R. B.

**What Must Our Church Learn from the Present War?**—The immobility and stiffness of the church have disappeared during the war. It has adapted itself to the needs of the people. For the future we do not expect a separation of church and state, but the church must become one of the people, one that is liberal, tolerant, and really serves. As such it can include the most conservative as well as the most liberal. The preaching of the evangelical church must be German in spirit; that is, there must be a better psychological interpretation of Christianity in the modern sense. The church must be a real one, that interprets God to man and shows the way toward the good. She must show the way in which love must go in war as well as in peace. She must be a constructive critic of all cultural values, for real culture always has a religious basis.—Dietrich Graue, "Was muss unsere Kirche im gegenwärtigen Kriege lernen," *Protestantische Monatsschrift*, April, 1916.

C. C. J.

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Business correspondence should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

Communications for the editors and manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Entered as second-class matter, August 14, 1895, at the Post-office at Chicago, Ill., under the Act of March 3, 1879



# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

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VOLUME XXII

MARCH 1917

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NUMBER 5

## THE SOCIAL COST OF SOUTHERN RACE PREJUDICE

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In the end the solution of the southern race problem will come chiefly through education; but it will come primarily through the education of the white race. This may seem a hard saying; yet it is the conclusion reached after a conscientious study of the culture-standards of the white people of the Old South as tested by the criteria of world-culture. It is of course essential that the negro be efficiently educated; that he have and use the best means for the training of his hand and mind. He must have free opportunity to claim a full share in the spiritual and material heritage of the past. Only in that way can arise the new cravings, the new wants and ideals, which spell advancing civilization. At the best the raising of a people's ideals is a slow process; but what if through ignorance and mob-mind the dominant race erect a formidable barrier against the ascent of the race lower down on the culture ladder? The white people of the South hold the point of vantage, and they must therefore bear the higher responsibility. They possess the superior intelligence and the greater wealth which their vastly larger opportunity has yielded. They should be wise leaders in the mighty task of race-adjustment. That they have thus far decidedly failed in the function of wise leadership is due to their

retarded culture. Blind devotion to the dogma of the natural inferiority of the black race has cost the white race dearly. Perforce it has thus become a laggard in moral, economic, social, and scientific progress.

That result was inevitable under the condition just mentioned. Southern writers, with curious persistence, continue to exalt the quality of the culture-standard of the good old slavery days. "The finest civilization, Sir, that the world has ever seen!" Who has not heard it? This is a grave mistake. Relatively, a slave-ridden society cannot attain the finest civilization. The terms cancel each other. Its social ideals and customs are necessarily backward; and how can a noble literature arise in a community when all that is finest in the literature of the outside world is a reproach to its basic morals? In fact, for nearly a hundred years the intellectual energy of the South has been absorbed in the defense or protection of its cherished race-dogma; and the resultant sterility of thought in other directions has not yet been entirely remedied.

#### A PERVERTED PSYCHOLOGY THE CAUSE

The writer's views have been molded chiefly by his experiences in five states of the South. One cannot dwell long in such centers as New Orleans, Savannah, or Charleston without becoming aware of the singular obsession of southern thought. One's sympathy is quickened by the near view of the hard lot of the whites resulting from the catastrophe of the Civil War. Estates ravaged, fortunes ruined, pitiful makeshifts of gentle men and women to gain the daily bread! The situation is often pathetic. Far more pathetic, even tragic, because of its evil consequences, is the incessant harking back to the injustice and suffering caused by the northern invasion and conquest. These grievances are almost sure to be the burden of every conversation. Public discussion and even books of literary worth, such as those of Thomas Nelson Page, are pervaded by the sad lament or the indignant protest. With almost childish helplessness and inconsequence the "carpetbagger" and the "scalawag" are raised as a shield whenever the failures of the present, whether economic, social, or ethical, are alluded to. In fact, the South is facing the past. While it is looking backward

the possibilities of the future are not perceived. While it is fighting over again the battles of the Civil War the many-sided fight for social regeneration is feeble or misdirected.

The majority of the leaders of white society in the South are attempting the hard feat of advancing backward while heart and mind are turned toward the dead issues of the past. With almost religious fervor they persist in reopening the closed chapter. Perfectly natural, of course. Possibly any other people under similar conditions might yield to the same weakness. That is not the important lesson which the situation teaches. Seeing that it is a weakness, however human, a weakness which is hindering the progress of the South, why not make a heroic effort to overcome it by facing the other way? At least, why not join the group of new statesmen who, in opposition both to the old aristocracy and to the new democracy led by Hoke Smith, Tillman, and Vardaman, are earnestly striving to do this very thing through exorcising the fatal obsession?

Such a revolution must be preceded by a sounder education of the whites. In reality southern thought is vitiated by a strangely perverted psychology. Straight thinking is the essential condition of straight acting. Now, an observer in the Old South soon gains the impression that the logical faculty is in abeyance. With the exception of a few works published recently, even the best books written by southerners on the race question give evidence that the faculty for straight thinking is sadly warped and enfeebled.

The dogma of the inherent race-inferiority of the negro, on the validity of which in effect the South has staked its social welfare, is a signal proof of the existence either of this mental perversity or else of the arrested culture for which that dogma is responsible. It is safe to affirm that among scholars competent to render an authoritative judgment the ancient doctrine that some races are by nature inferior has been rejected. Every argument advanced in its support has been tested and found wanting. Even Sir Henry Maine's notion of naturally non-progressive races, like its elder sister, the belief in an inherited curse, has been relegated to the limbo of worn-out superstitions. The Japanese have long since effectually disturbed the complacency of Aryan pride; while the

Chinese, another "non-progressive" race, seem destined soon to administer even a greater shock to occidental self-conceit.

"That may be all right for other races; but, Sir, the southerner, who lives with and therefore understands him, knows that the negro is an exception." That answer would have a familiar sound; but is the negro an exception? To say the very least, investigation has put the burden of proof upon those who assert it. Every year brings stronger support for the new doctrine of the potential equality of all races. Peoples differ in their planes of cultural development, not in their inherent capacity for development. Races are low or high according to their rung on the ladder, not according to their ability to climb if given the same freedom of action. Under the eye of the expert, the existing differences in mental or moral status between brown and yellow, black and white, Oriental and Occidental, appear as the resultants of variations in environment, institutions, experience, opportunity. There is no sound reason for believing that the negro does not share in this equal potential chance for civilization; that he may not react to this mainspring of human hope. The proverbs of the natives of the Guinea coast, the ancestors of so many of the southern freedmen, reveal a capacity for abstraction, for generalization, equal to that of the Anglo-Saxon makers of Shakespeare's folk-lore; and similar evidence is accumulating in every direction.

Nevertheless, the white southerner is cocksure that the negro is a lower order of creation. However else they may differ in opinion, all parties and sects, from Virginia to Florida and from Georgia to Louisiana, are agreed that God made the black race of poorer clay. True, in the last quinquennium there have appeared a small number of southern men and women with trained minds who are releasing themselves from the iron grip of this paralyzing sectional tradition. A literature revealing the world-standard of scientific thought is slowly arising. Under leadership of educational statesmen, such as those constituting the "University Commission on Race Questions," the emancipation of the whites from their mental bondage may sometime take place. As yet the sway of tradition is practically unbroken. The writers that are molding public opinion in the South seem to be untouched by modern

research in ethnology, anthropology, and race-psychology. In this respect the polished Thomas Nelson Page is at one with the violent Shufeldt, the cruel and reckless Dixon, the bold and unflinching Tillman or Vardaman. In concluding his study of *The Negro: The Southerner's Problem*—a book whose deft but superficial arguments are shaping the stock phrases of southern conversation—he affirms as the first principle in the solution of that problem “the absolute and unchangeable superiority of the white race—a superiority . . . not due to any mere adventitious circumstances, such as superior educational and other advantages during some centuries, but an inherent and essential superiority, based on superior intellect, virtue, and constancy.” He does not “believe that the negro is the equal of the white, or ever could be the equal”; for, as he boldly asserts, “race-superiority is founded on courage (or, perhaps, ‘constancy’ is the better word), intellect, and the domestic virtues, and in these the white is the superior of every race.”

Here we have an authoritative expression of the race-cult of the southern white caste. Yet if one would but lift his gaze above Mason and Dixon's line he might find some curious facts hard to reconcile with his belief. Was not the French feudal lord as firmly convinced of *his* “absolute and unchangeable” superiority to the white hind that served and fed him? Does not the haughty Russ condemn, hate, and persecute the Jew, once the chosen of the Lord? In solving *his* race problem does not the landowning descendant of the old feudal baron in Sicily insist on the same basic principle of his heaven-born superiority to the starving peasants whom he despises and pitilessly exploits, although they may be as white as himself? Is not the proud Magyar of Hungary just as cocksure as is his brother in Virginia that the solution of *his* race problem depends on holding sacred the principle of his “absolute and unchangeable” superiority to the Croatian, the Slovak, even the Rumanian, although Kossuth was a Slovak and the Rumanian in large part derives his blood and his speech from the old Roman masters of the world! This is the so-called “state-idea” upon which the dominant Magyar aristocrat stakes his future social welfare. To him the other peoples of Hungary are “inferior” and not competent to govern themselves. According to one of his

sayings, "a Slovak is not a human being"—a "notion," remarks Booker T. Washintgon, "that seems to spring up quite naturally in the mind of any race which has accustomed itself to the slavery and oppression of another race."<sup>1</sup>

So far from its being the essential factor in the solution of the southerner's problem, the dogma of race-inferiority is proving an almost insuperable barrier to its right settlement. If the criteria of world-culture and world-experience may be trusted for guidance, the first principle of race-adjustment is not a fixed formula of relative race-values. Rather it is such an organization of the community life as shall develop all the faculties of the composite population to their highest point of efficiency and permit their harmonious employment in doing the community's share of the world's work. A few examples may serve to reveal the psychological predicament of southern thought in trying to fit social action to an impossible formula.

Having accepted as a test of the validity of all policies—economic, social, or political—a race-dogma which does not square with world-judgment, it becomes needful to exclude outside criticism. The obsession is almost universal that only the southern whites can understand the negro. It would be just as reasonable to reject Bryce's criticism of American politicians or American institutions; for who that does not live with them can understand them? While the southern white stubbornly insists that the negro is the "southerner's problem," he seems inclined to deny the black southerner a full voice in its solution. In reality the white southerner does not know the negro. His peculiar institutional relation to the negro and the dogma by which that relation is justified have by no means tended to clarify his vision. It is another case of not being able to see the forest for the trees. Is there any real convincing evidence that adherents of the dogma have ever made any serious scientific study of the negro? Where is the ethical, psychological, anthropological, or economic monograph, the result of accredited modern scientific methods, produced by a representative of the southern white caste? Indeed, he could hardly approach such a study in the right spirit without violating the

<sup>1</sup> Booker T. Washington, *The Man Farthest Down* (1912), a very able discussion.

dogma which bars the path that alone can lead to scientific truth. In this case, the open mind as to the race-quality of the negro, which science would demand of her votary, might prove a fatal concession. Nor is this an imaginary mental embarrassment, as will presently appear.

A similar case of mental confusion is afforded by the general attitude of the southern whites regarding slavery and emancipation. Sadly they will tell you that slavery was an evil and that they would not have it back if they could. Yet the whole trend of daily conversation shows that they hardly believe what they say. It almost seems that this one great concession to world-ethics is made under protest. They are never weary of singing the charms of the halcyon days when the bondman knew his place and was not "uppish." In particular the black "mammy" is glorified. Who has not heard a hundred times of the wondrous affection existing between the children of the master and their black nurse! A veritable "mammy cult" has arisen, the implication being that freedom has failed to produce such ideal relations between the races as were fostered by slavery. The negro, we are assured, has much retrograded since emancipation. For a short time, it is conceded, some progress was made; but this was because the original freedmen had the advantage of the beneficent discipline which their former white owners had bestowed.

Yet the facts show that in the half-century since emancipation the black people have made amazing progress materially and spiritually, while the rate of advancement is rising. They are swiftly gaining control of agriculture, the chief source of southern wealth. In 1913 in that region were 890,000 negro farmers of whom 218,000 were the owners and cultivators of 15,702,579 acres of land. In addition, about 85,000,000 acres were tilled by black laborers and tenants.<sup>1</sup> Professor C. H. Brough, of the University of Arkansas writes:

Educationally the negroes of the South have made remarkable progress. In 1880, of the negro population above ten years of age, 70 per cent was illiterate. By the end of the next decade this illiteracy had been reduced to 57.1 per cent. During the last ten years of the nineteenth century there was an increase

<sup>1</sup> Professor William M. Hunley, of the University of Virginia, in *The Human Way*, pp. 26-35; cf. Professor E. C. Branson, in *ibid.*, 41-55.

of the negro population of 1,087,000 in the school age of ten years and over; yet, despite this increase, there was a decrease in illiteracy of 190,000. In 1912 there were over 2,000,000 between the ages of five and eighteen, or 54 per cent of the total number of educable negro children, enrolled in the common schools of the former slave states, and the percentage of illiteracy among the negroes is only 27.5.

All this has been achieved, be it remembered, under a very inefficient school system and with much less aid from the state than that given to white children. The progress in the winning of worldly goods is equally surprising. According to another southern writer.

In 1863 the total wealth of the negroes of this country was about \$20,000,000. Now their total wealth is over \$700,000,000. No other emancipated people have made so great a progress in so short a time. The Russian serfs were emancipated in 1861. Fifty years later, it was found that 14,000,000 of them had accumulated about \$500,000,000 worth of property, or about \$36 per capita, an average of \$200 per family. Fifty years after their emancipation only about 30 per cent of the Russian peasants were able to read and write. After fifty years of freedom the ten million negroes in the United States have accumulated \$700,000,000 worth of property, or about \$70 per capita, which is an average of \$350 per family. After fifty years of freedom 70 per cent of them have acquired some education in books.

Such a "picture as that is surely good cause for pride and an eloquent assurance as to the future."

Race prejudice knows no logic. In countless ways the vision of the southern white is distorted by his dogma. It gives him a grotesque image of the negro, physically, mentally, morally, and in all his social relations. Possessed by the idea that the black man is by nature inferior to the white man, that his capacity for mental growth is restricted by biological laws which no environment, however good, can overcome, he ignores the findings of modern science and explains away all opposing evidence. Hence any notable achievement of the negro he credits to mere imitation, not to native talent; or else he ascribes it to a "bastard infusion of white blood." The "negroid," the "half-caste," the "mongrel," serves in place of evidence. Under the "hothouse culture" of the "negro universities," we are told, a "strange hybrid race" has

<sup>2</sup> Professor William M. Hunley, University of Virginia, *The Human Way*, p. 29, quoting Monroe N. Work, *Fifty Years of Negro Progress*.



resulted—"strange ethnologically, psychologically, mentally, and in their social caste"—a race which in "exceptional cases" has "almost produced prodigies." These "racial hermaphrodites"—to draw further upon the lurid epithets of the editor<sup>1</sup> of *The Race Question and Southern Symposium*—"socially coddled by Beacon Hill aristocracy and educationally pampered by northern philanthropy," have "wrought a remarkable influence upon the development of the colored race, and in many regards a most malign influence."

In fact, the white southerner's obsession regarding the natural inferiority of the African has given a queer twist to his views on negro education. Persons of ordinary culture admit the social necessity of providing schools for black children; but they do so with hesitation. They dread the phantom of social equality. On the other hand, the majority of the southern whites are opposed to negro education. Apparently the "only way to prevent the evil effects of the negro domination which the South dreads is to educate, educate, educate. The southerner will scoff at this statement. He takes the position that the negro is so nearly savage he cannot be bettered; he honestly believes that the slightest tinge of education not only destroys the usefulness of the negro as a laborer, but injures him morally and makes him a menace to the community."<sup>2</sup> In his distorted fancy, education—the lever of civilization for the other races—cannot lift the negro.

Unmindful of the fact that in all civilized lands those who have no property are taxed, not directly, but indirectly, for public education, the southern white boasts of his generosity in paying tribute for negro schools. His delusion is exposed by a southern scholar whose vision is clarified by scientific training:

It is a matter of common knowledge that in the division of the school fund the negro is not fairly treated. Politicians have won many votes by advocating that the moneys be divided in proportion to the direct contributions to the treasury by the respective races. They are either ignorant or else they deliberately blind themselves to a fact that every student of elementary economics fully understands—namely, that the taxpayer is not always the

<sup>1</sup> R. W. McAdam, whose magazine came into existence, seemingly, to justify the Atlanta race-riots of 1906.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond Patterson, *The Negro and His Needs* (New York, 1911), pp. 192-93.

taxbearer. The white man pays many taxes whose burdens rest upon the black man's shoulders either wholly or in part. Whether the man who hands the money to the tax collector is white or black is a matter of minor importance. That our taxes as at present administered fall most heavily on those least able to pay is everywhere recognized, and from this it must follow that the negro, in proportion to his ability, bears a greater burden from taxation than does the white man. Professor Charles L. Coon, of North Carolina, has demonstrated that the education of the negro is no burden on the white race, at least in the states where statistics are available for determining the question. Forty per cent of the children of school age in eleven states are negroes, and yet they receive only 15 per cent of the school fund. Only 53 per cent of the negro children of school age in the South ever enter a schoolhouse. There is evidence that in some communities the negro is actually being taxed to support white schools.<sup>2</sup>

The white southerner is the victim of autosuggestion. The least hint or implication of race-equality causes a "disaggregation of consciousness" and throws him into the hypnotic trance. His hypersensibility regarding his superiority of blood sometimes approximates megalomania. In spite of the teachings of modern science, he seems bent on classifying the negro as a subhuman animal. His self-consciousness resembles that of the social "climber" who is really afraid that without eternal watchfulness he cannot keep the coveted place among the élite. Desperately, with ludicrous though pathetic zeal, he denies to black people the conventional titles of "Mr." and "Mrs." and ostracizes the northern visitor who uses these terms of courteous address. In the same spirit, to preserve the integrity of the white caste, he defends with "hard logic" the policy of "Jim Crow" segregation; although, naïvely, he may permit the colored nurse or chaperone to cross the race-deadline and sit with the white child in the favored end of the street car.

Similar mental perversity is displayed by the southern white in accounting for the results of the physical and social environment of the negro. On the average the negro death-rate, for instance, is nearly twice as high as that of the white; and "the diseases which exact the heaviest toll are consumption, pneumonia, scrofula,

<sup>2</sup> Professor W. G. Scroggs, University of Louisiana, in *The Human Way*, p. 71; cf. Coon, *Public Taxation and Negro Schools*, in part reprinted in *Atlanta University Publications*, No. 16, pp. 120 ff.

syphilis, and infantile diseases." What is the cause of this greater mortality? The scientist would seek for it in social and environmental conditions; the southern white finds it in the lower vitality or resisting power of the black stock. According to Frederick L. Hoffman,<sup>1</sup> the "vitality of the negro may well be considered the most important phase of the so-called race problem"; for "it is a fact" that "of all races for which statistics are obtainable" the "negro shows the least power of resistance in the struggle of life." "Mr. Hoffman's prepossessions," says Professor Josiah Morse, of the University of South Carolina, "have patently led him to commit the fallacy of 'false cause.' For it is also a fact that there is more poverty among the negroes, more illiteracy and ignorance of the laws of health, modern sanitation, and personal and public hygiene; that their living quarters are inferior, their physical environment less sanitary, and that a much larger percentage of their mothers are breadwinners." Since these are the causes "of disease among all peoples, the world over, why may they not account for the excessive disease and death-rate among the negroes?" Moreover, the United States Census for 1900 proves that in this regard the negro is simply a human being, amenable to the same influences as is the white man. According to differing conditions in that year the negro urban death-rate varied from 46.7 in Charleston, South Carolina, to 18 in Cleveland, Ohio. Again:

The death-rate of the Chicago negroes is lower than that of the whites in New Orleans, Charleston, Savannah, Atlanta, Mobile, and Memphis; that of the Boston negroes is lower than the white rate in Charleston; and the negro rates in Philadelphia, Indianapolis, and Chicago are lower than the white rates in both Charleston and Savannah. The Savannah white infantile mortality is higher than the negro rates in Pittsburgh, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Chicago, and Boston. In the northern cities, too, the negro rates approximate more nearly the total rates than in the southern cities. Furthermore, there has been a constant decrease in both the disease- and death-rates for the negroes in all the cities, both south and north, during the past thirty-five or forty years.<sup>2</sup>

Blinded by the same fatal obsession, the southern white indicts the whole black race for the guilt of "criminal instinct," while very

<sup>1</sup> Hoffman, *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Morse, in *The Human Way*, pp. 59-61. Consult *Atlanta University Publications*, No. 2, on negro mortality.

often inadvertently he bears witness to the honesty and high moral character of individual negroes. "Pilfering is a hereditary trait in the negro race," solemnly asserted the white president of an industrial school for blacks in Charleston. A few minutes later, caught off his guard, he told the writer a story to show the pecuniary trustworthiness of his colored janitor. Every educated person, in his right mind, now understands how great a rôle bad social conditions play in the etiology of crime. He knows, too, that criminality among the negroes varies according to such conditions no less and no more than it does among other races, whatever the color. To the white southerner criminality is an inborn race trait of the African. "Sir, the negro has no moral sense," is the dictum one hears a thousand times during a sojourn in the South. "The 'nigger,' Sir, has no ethical nature at all," exclaimed a timber contractor in Georgia; and then, an hour after, while discussing another topic, he proceeded to praise warmly the fine honor and loyalty of his Florida brother's negro "hands" who "would not steal his money if they found it strewn on the ground."

This brings us to the root of the matter. The false dogma of the inborn "moral uncleanness" of the negro race is a powerful hindrance to social progress in the South. Its fruit is the continuous tragedy of negro lynching; and in various ways the contagion of violence thus produced is releasing the subconscious beast in the lower strata of the population, both black and white. That lust is a racial "instinct" in the negro—uncontrollable and ineradicable—is the sinister lesson taught by the novels, the dramas, the essays, the newspapers, and the political demagogues that have shaped public opinion in the South. The most suggestive epithets are devised to kindle the passions of the mob. "In the negro's crime of crimes," we are told, "there is a certain element of atavism, reaching back with animal instinct to the jungle nature of his ancestors." The "future of the negro in the South is altogether dependent on the crime of rape."<sup>1</sup> According to the mayor of a Mississippi town, "the ruling passion of the negro criminal is to despoil white women, and no white woman feels safe in her home, nor daughter under the parental roof without a protector and a

<sup>1</sup> R. W. McAdam, in *The Race Question and Southern Symposium*, pp. 6, 12.

double-barrel shotgun. . . . I confess partiality to the pure, sunny-haired Anglo-Saxon girl over the beastly Senegambian. I belong to the white race, 'The heir of all the ages in the foremost ranks of time.'<sup>1</sup>

Now the facts show that this "terrible psychology" of the African is an illusion born of race prejudice. The negro is not unique regarding the "crime of crimes." Under similar conditions the white man is just as guilty as the black. In the South he has been far more guilty, because the relative helplessness of negro women has exposed them to his lust. The history and statistics of lynchings are enlightening. According to Dr. W. D. Weatherford, field executive secretary of the Robert E. Lee Hall of the Blue Ridge Association—speaking at the Southern Sociological Congress, 1916—the lynching habit has spread among the southern whites through what we may call suggestion-imitation, beginning with the whipping of Indians, negroes, and whites for misdemeanors.

After the war, it seemed necessary to mete out immediate and harsh punishment to negro men who molested white women. Then it was an easy step to lynch a negro for murder, and finally for smaller offenses. From this it was no difficult step to lynching a white man for an assault on a woman, then it became easy to lynch a white man for murder, and so the process has gone forward, ever increasing in facility and excuse.

In the first quarter of 1913 were reported 13 lynchings of negroes, but not one was for the crime against women. After showing that between 1882 and 1903 only 34 per cent of the lynchings of colored men were for the alleged "awful crime of assault on white women," the courageous southern writer just quoted administered the following salutary rebuke:

We white men must start a crusade against the white vultures who prey on colored girls. Immorality with colored women is not nearly so prevalent as it was before the war. In fact, comparatively speaking, it is a thing of the past, but any man who knows the facts knows full well that for every white woman assaulted by a negro man, there are a number of colored girls who are seduced by white men. If there were fifty white women assaulted by negroes in 1916, I have not a doubt there were many times that many colored girls

<sup>1</sup> W. A. Holman, in *The Race Question and Southern Symposium*, p. 34. For a good discussion of criminality among negroes, see *Atlanta University Publications*, No. 9 (1904).

seduced by low-down white men. . . . We of the white race must brand every white man who seduces a colored girl as a fiend of the same stripe as the negro who rapes a white woman.<sup>1</sup>

Would it be wise, in view of these facts, to jump to the conclusion that the white race is "by nature morally unclean" and should therefore be rigidly segregated in order to protect from defilement the women of African blood?

#### ASSIMILATION, NOT SEGREGATION, THE SOLUTION

It is perfectly clear to the sympathetic student of social life in the old slave states that a perverse psychology is costing the South very dearly. The tremendous power of the mass of suggestion presented to consciousness through the daily and hourly repetition of the vicious phrases giving expression to the dogma of race-inferiority could not fail to have a harmful effect. It has caused mutual distrust and antagonism between the races which seemingly—whether they so will or not—must continue to dwell together. Had they not looked at the situation through the distorting glass of race prejudice, the southern whites must have perceived that the freedmen stood in sore need of all the aid and inspiration which the more fortunate class could give them. Instead of inspiration, they got discouragement and contempt; instead of having his self-reliance and self-respect stimulated, the negro was told that he was made of inferior clay and could never hope to reach a high plane of achievement. Could the constant repetition of such a suggestion fail to be terribly depressing to the ambition of an ignorant, superstitious, and propertyless people just released from bondage?

The hard task of material and social reconstruction which confronted the southern people after the war constituted, one might believe, a challenge to the closest sympathy and co-operation on the part of the two races. Agriculture, industry, education, every branch of culture, demanded team-work of the most efficient kind. A false sectional philosophy, a perverse provincial psychology which ignores the teachings of modern science, has hindered the full realization of such united effort. Of course from the outset there were intelligent persons in the South who knew the truth. In

<sup>1</sup> *Survey*, May 20, 1916, p. 196.

recent years there are distinct signs of an intellectual awakening. At last, under the wise leadership of a growing number of men and women with modern ideas, the southern mind is being released from its obsession. The political demagogue, whose capital is the reckless appeal to race prejudice, is slowly losing his grip on the popular imagination. It is becoming more and more clear that the supreme need of the South is a more efficient, up-to-date education of its white youth. It goes without saying that the education of the negroes is a social necessity. Excellent models have been provided, for instance, by R. R. Wright, in Georgia, and by Booker T. Washington, in Alabama. It is even more important, because of their greater responsibility, that the whites be properly trained for their just share of the world's work. The provincial tradition of culture must be replaced by the world-standard. How shall this change be brought about?

First of all, the new education must have as its ideal, its goal, the social, the cultural, assimilation of the two races. The sojourner in the South is struck by the slight progress made in the chief processes of socialization. Until a few years ago hardly more than a beginning was made in the great social services which measure the march of civilization in the North and in other lands. Ask the "average" citizen, for instance, why associated charities are not organized, juvenile courts established, the chain gang abolished, the slums cleansed, public playgrounds opened, a modern system of sanitation installed, better living-quarters provided, or compulsory education sanctioned, and he will refer you to the existing segregation of the races for an explanation. It is clear that these and similar efforts for community uplift require sympathetic human co-operation. In the white southerner's view that would be a step toward the social assimilation of black and white human beings, to prevent which he has steadily and sternly erected the race-barrier.

Now social assimilation is a psychic fact. It does not necessarily mean amalgamation, which is a physical fact. Social assimilation means primarily the sharing of the same cultural ideal, while amalgamation means a mixture of blood. The two facts are confused in the southerner's mind. For him assimilation

spells miscegenation—legal or illegal—"that foul apparition that stalks about in the noonday of the negro's racial hopes." So far as illicit miscegenation is concerned, it is patent that it is chiefly the white man's crime. So far as intermarriage is concerned, the "foul apparition" is more the creature of the excited brain of the white than it is the goal of the "negro's racial hopes." Growing race-consciousness and race-pride are raising before the negro's vision a quite different goal; and, besides, for the eugenicist skin-color is by no means a matter of chief social moment.<sup>1</sup>

Decidedly the striving for racial segregation is retarding both the material and the moral progress of the South. "Jim Crowism" is not only bad social policy, it is often economic robbery. On the southern railways the colored passenger pays the same price as the white passenger pays for much better service.

This unfair treatment of the negro by common carriers is inexcusable. No honest southerner would countenance a white merchant's selling his negro customers inferior goods at the same price at which he supplied his white patrons with a better article. Yet we allow our railways to do practically the same thing with impunity. Such a policy can only engender bitterness in the negro, and if persisted in it may put in jeopardy the whole principle of racial segregation in interstate travel.

According to the southern scholar just quoted there are other examples of dishonest discrimination against the negro. Such are the unfair division of the school fund, the excessive rent charges for "abominable housing facilities," and the unjust penalties imposed by the courts.<sup>2</sup>

The South should rid herself of an ideal which makes it hard for her people—white and black united by the tie of mutual respect and common ideals—to stand shoulder to shoulder in a mighty "drive" for the speedy mastery of her splendid resources. To achieve this result her education must be socialized. She needs fewer schools where the military virtues are accented and expurgated textbooks used, and more schools where the white youth, both men and women, may get vocational training. In particular,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. B. Davenport, in *Eugenics Record Office Bulletin*, No. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Professor W. O. Scroggs, of the University of Louisiana, in *The Human Way*, pp. 70-77; cf. the enlightening chapter of Mrs. Hammond in *Black and White*, pp. 46-89.



much more attention than now should be given to economics, anthropology, sociology, social psychology, and the other social sciences. The taboo must be lifted from the free scientific handling of the race question. That it is already being lifted no one can doubt who is familiar with the books of such writers as Mrs. Hammond or Dr. Weatherford, or with the remarkable papers read at the Southern Sociological Congress. The sudden outbreak of savagery in Georgia, where during the first seven months of 1916, it is reported, thirteen negroes were done to death by white mobs, may be due, like the witchcraft craze at Salem, to special local suggestion; and, as in the case of that belated mania, it need surprise no one should the shock given by the present homicidal epidemic react for the better upon the more enlightened social conscience of the South. A saner public opinion is surely forming. Moreover, the "overwhelming majority of southern women have always repudiated the need of mob-murder for their protection."<sup>2</sup> The solution of the race problem seems really in sight.

<sup>2</sup> Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

## CLASS AND CASTE

### II. GRADATION

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✓ The existence of social grades is shown, not so much by the assumption of superiority by some, as by the fact that others acknowledge such superiority. *Plebs* may gird at the pretensions of *patricians*, but their eagerness as individuals to be admitted to patrician circles betrays their secret sense of inferiority. A true social hierarchy is as real to the lower grades as it is to the higher.

In the simpler human groups one finds a temporary grading based on *seniority*. Among the Eskimos, the Bushmen, the Australians, the Fuegians, the Veddahs, the Dyaks, the Caribs, and many other nature peoples, there is marked deference to the aged. Among the Homeric Greeks experience was the only education and age alone gave that. The counselors of the king were called *gerontes* or elders, although in war time few of them would be old. The basing of distinction on age is reasonable enough in early times when there are no short cuts to wisdom via the record of other men's experience in books. Generally the older man has seen more and has heard more of other men's experiences.

In the barbarian stage of culture, people are graded chiefly according to the dignity of their employments. The leading honorific employment is *fighting*, which is a better test of prowess than work and is graced by an element of exploit. The warrior class regularly lords it over the working class, which includes, of course, all the women. The taproot of the European feudal nobility was not landholding, but military exploit. One did not lead fighting men because he held a fief; he held a fief because he led fighting men. As the old saw put it, "who would be a gentleman let him storm a town." Although in Western Europe feudalism has been dead a third of a millennium, its values standard still influence a third of the human race.

Closely related to martial pursuits is *government*, which has always been an honorific occupation. The notion that those who govern are servants of the people has played but a late and slight rôle in the history of the state. Generally, those who have to do with government regard themselves as ruling rather than as serving. They enjoy prestige because they are able, not only to shun all pursuits tainted with vulgar usefulness, but obviously and irresistibly to impose their wills upon other men. The service of the state has been so honorable that often even its petty officials are looked up to by private persons much superior to them in real importance. The military-dynastic prestige of states like Prussia and Japan exalts even minor civil officials above leading merchants and professional men. The reason why Great Britain has been able to recruit for her colonial empire her ablest and best-trained young men is that in the eyes of the English upper caste government is much more honorable than business. The type of man who in this country works to the head of a great business, in England spends his best years in exile and is content with an occasional visit home and a little money rather than forfeit his caste in "trade."

The *professional offering of sacrifice and prayer* is another honorific occupation. At first, to be sure, rites are so simple that the petitioner approaches his god directly. But in time it comes to be considered prudent to have the sacrifice offered by someone who can do it in a workmanlike way, and who is believed to enjoy divine favor. In Homeric Greece the priest was generally a man who by repeated sacrifices and services had made himself dear to a god and had then set up an altar on his own account, or else he was a noble to whom his fellow-tribesmen had confided the care of a common shrine. As a supposed expert in "getting results" from a sacrifice the priest could command fees, so that he stood high, not only from his favor with the god, but also as a man of substance. In Homer's eyes all priests were rich.

Not only does the priest as servant of a mighty potentate enjoy a social standing which reflects the exalted station of his master, but he becomes the parent of various intellectual pursuits and learned professions which in time win no small credit. In Greece

there began to be visible a scholar's pride, and it was a Greek who protested that the mathematicians of Sicily degraded their science when they applied it to the problems of machines.

Among the economic employments *agriculture* has generally stood higher than trade and manufacture, and *wholesale trade* higher than retail trade. In England a nobleman may engage in banking or wholesale trade without loss of dignity, but he may not keep a shop. It is a paradox that a people which keeps going by trade and shopkeeping has no epithets more damning than "tradesman" and "shopkeeper." In Venice, however, a commercial city-state, the rich merchant did not quit trade on being ennobled, but combined with success the rôles of tradesman and patrician.

Industrial employments, on the other hand, have been demeaning. Through a large part of the world today the stigma on manual labor keeps the proud unproductive, incites them to hatch innumerable schemes to live without work, and prompts them to offer desperate resistance to any move which seems to endanger their system of living off other people. In China and Malaysia the well-to-do wear their fingernails long in order to advertise their exemption from labor. Frequently the nail is six or eight inches in length, supported by a silver case, and in some instances it reaches a growth of twenty inches. To the oriental mind, what offends most is work that soils the hands. The copyist or clerk will starve rather than turn to begriming tasks. The professor of engineering has to speak sharply to his surveying students to get them actually to carry chain and to drive stakes, for they deem it "coolie work." The old-school mandarin looks upon the foreign mining engineer as a kind of coolie because he soils his hands. For this reason, when, a few years since, the Chinese students began to return home with American degrees, an effort was made to rank those with a *technical* education lower than those with a *liberal* education.<sup>1</sup>

In South America everybody "who is anybody" shuns physical labor as if it were an infection. In Argentina the American machinery expert setting up steam threshers has to check his impulse to doff his coat and "pitch in" lest at evening he be put off with the peons in the barn instead of sitting at the ranchman's

<sup>1</sup> See Ross, *The Changing Chinese*, pp. 336-37.

table. The observatory assistant considers it beneath his dignity to unpack a box of precious astronomical instruments just from Paris, so turns the job over to a stupid peon. In Peru university Seniors in mining engineering who had been given the run of an up-to-date mine under an American engineer refused to follow him in donning overalls and operating the greasy machinery. Their idea of a gentleman's technical education was to stand by in clean raiment and watch the machine go while the expert explained its operation. The German professor of high-school chemistry finds great difficulty in inducing his students to perform with their own hands the assigned laboratory experiments.

In our South the presence of the ignorant and servile negro has built up strong reaction habits respecting manual labor. The old-time gentleman farmer rode about his plantation on horseback and often gave the closest attention to farm work. But under no circumstances would he doff his coat and wield an implement himself. After the Civil War many of this class, having lost their slaves, were obliged to till their land themselves. To the southerner, the pathos of this experience lies, not in the fatiguing nature of farm work, but in the mortification it brings to men bred in planter traditions.

How the disdain for manual labor overpowers one like a creeping paralysis may be seen from what befalls the American workman in Hawaii:

The presence of Orientals demoralizes some white mechanics. A carpenter wants a board and tells a Japanese to get it, then he finds it convenient to have the man saw it, hold it in place, nail it, and so unconsciously he gradually begins to confine his own activity to the mental side of his trade alone, to the entire exclusion of any further muscular exertion than is necessary in order to keep out of the way of his Asiatic helpers. This flatters his race pride, he begins to associate an idea of degradation with the manual part of his craft, and he becomes morally and physically unfit to ply his trade under the conditions surrounding him.<sup>1</sup>

Still lower than handicraft is menial labor. Probably our northern colleges are the only higher institutions of learning in the world where a student can wait at table and tend furnaces without becoming a social outcast. In missionary schools in China pupils

<sup>1</sup> Bulletin of the United States Department of Labor.

at first refused to bring in chairs for the seating of guests; it was "coolie work." In Cuzco, Peru, the ladies in the English mission hospital lost caste with the Peruvian ladies because they had been seen sweeping the walk and dusting the windows. The inference ran: "They must have been servants in their own country." So, too, the Chinese of Chengtu inferred that the French officers they saw walking about in the streets—instead of being borne in chairs—"must be coolies at home."

In Peru the ambitious cholo apes the "decent people," shuns real labor, and seeks a light, clean-cuff, ill-paid job rather than work as carpenter or smith. He will stoop to any parasitism, accept any lick-spittle dependence, in order to avoid honest sweat, and be able to wear white linen, swing a cane, and play the dandy on street corner or in church porch. In Chile, where the master-aim is "to live at the fiscal teat"—to use a local phrase—the poor flee useful labor at the first chance. "My mozo," said a Valparaiso physician, "who came raw from the hacienda seven years ago, a mere ragamuffin glad to carry a bag for a dime, is now so uppish that he won't be caught in the street with a parcel in his hand, let alone carrying a box on his shoulder.<sup>1</sup>

The disgrace of manual labor is felt most in a society composed of the descendants of conquerors and conquered, for here such labor is the badge of the beaten and servile element. In Spanish America, at least, race pride is very clearly the root of the gentleman's horror of work. Aversion to menial service, on the other hand, may be strongest when the spirit of democracy makes each too proud to be at the beck and call of another. This is why it is so difficult to induce native American young women to aid in the household save under the name of "help" and as quasi-member of the family rather than servant. The scarcity of native-born domestics is largely owing to the unwillingness of many housewives to forego the airs and condescension of the "mistress." The higher social position of factory girls explains why, the country over, domestics with board earn about the same wages as mill girls without board. The latter are willing to take two-fifths less pay in order to spare their self-respect. That working girls at their dances sometimes hang out the sign "No servant girls admitted" is not quite so undemocratic as it appears. The same feeling accounts for the great difference in popular attitude toward the

<sup>1</sup> Ross, *South of Panama*, p. 168.

millionaire who marries his stenographer and the one who marries his cook. The one affair is romance, the other comedy. It is significant that occupations which minister to the body—that of barber, hairdresser, surgeon, masseur, manicurist—were once humilific, and they have risen in dignity only in the degree that the service came to be associated with skill and training.

As we recede from the barbarian mind what one *does* matters less than how much one *has*, so that the principal basis of gradation becomes *wealth*. In Homeric Greece the distinction between poor and rich was marked. Kings were always wealthy, and their riches had no doubt much to do with their elevation. In republican Rome the basis of recognized inequality was wealth. The figures yielded by the "census" fixed one's rank. To the Roman it seemed perfectly natural that the rich should constitute the aristocracy; still, he recognized that time added to the respectability of wealth and felt a certain contempt for the *parvenu*. Only slowly might one work up into the aristocracy, for advancement from grade to grade was regulated by strict laws. To raise one's family a single step was the ambition of a lifetime. Under the Empire classes were yet more distinct. At the theater or hippodrome each man had his place marked according to his rank. Knights could not mix with senators nor plebs with knights. The senator had a purple band on his toga; the knight wore a golden ring. The senators were *clarissimi*; the knights, *egregii* or *illustri*.

Distinctions of wealth tend to blend with and reinforce the invidious distinctions among employments. The rich strive to reserve to themselves "noble" occupations, such as warfare, government, sport, exploration, learning, the fine arts. If they do not exclude the commoner, they make access to such pursuits costly. Thus knighthood has always been reserved for the cavalry arm, since only the man of means could provide himself a mount. For the gallant foot-soldier there has been no such recognition. In the same way the wealthy have monopolized, so far as they could, all but the minor posts in government, the motive being, not so much to control the policy of government to their own advantage as to gain prestige. At Oxford and Cambridge universities, the training schools for the British ruling class, the students are obliged to live

like gentlemen in commons or in private apartments quite as expensive. There is no place whatever for the poor young man, let alone one who is "working his way." In the same way in England preparation for the learned professions has been made needlessly costly in order to keep an advantage for the sons of the well-to-do.

Wealth *acquired* confers far less dignity than wealth *inherited*. Thus in early Cincinnati, then a packing center, Theodore Parker observed that, while the aristocracy of the town was unquestionably founded on pork, it made a great difference whether a man killed pigs for himself or whether his father had killed them. An American at a Scotch house-party recounts that the butler went about among the guests inquiring of each how many acres he had inherited, in order to seat them properly at dinner.

The secret of the distinction is that the money-getter is thought of as having slaved and served for his money, but in a generation the sweat by which it was acquired has dried, the tricks resorted to, the toiling, lowly beginning, the fawning for favors or orders or contracts or patrons or customers, have been forgotten. Visible exertion, solicitude, and eagerness have been replaced by the cold unanxious calm of opulence. The money-getter is accessible, the wealthy may be exclusive. The one has negotiated, mutilated, even sacrificed, his personality for gain; the other has absorbed the wealth into his personality.

Often one kind of wealth confers more prestige than another. In the pastoral stage the size of one's herd is what counts. "In the lower stages of culture," remarks Nieboer, "a rich man cannot build a palace or keep a motor car or buy pictures; he can only show his wealth to the public by keeping a large number of men or domestic animals continually running about him."<sup>1</sup> In feudal society the extent of one's landed estate was decisive, whereas in modern society it matters little what kinds of property are represented in one's sheaf of securities. Nevertheless, in England no millionaire is really in line for social and political recognition until he has planted himself on his country estate, while a like fondness for rural property as a social springboard is showing itself among rich Americans. It is noteworthy that through the Middle Ages

<sup>1</sup> *Slavery as an Industrial System*, p. 406.



the rich Jews, being obliged to keep their wealth in *unseen* mobile form—money, jewels, etc.—never got from it the consideration which land ownership conferred.

#### DERIVATIVE CRITERIA OF SUPERIORITY

Even when wealth is the bedrock of superior social status, one's actual rating depends on certain conventional tokens of opulence. Among these are:

*Scale of living.*—An obvious lavishness contributes to high social repute. In dress, furnishings, equipage, and especially entertainment, good form fixes standards which are costly to attain. Any skimping, any sign of concern as to expense, is damning. Phrases like "cheap skate," "A cheap coat makes a cheap man," are charged with contempt for frugal spending. The outworking of the principle of conspicuous costliness appears in the disdain of the useful as compared with the "ornamental," in the value of mere rarity, in the insistence on "stylishness," in the esteem of material above form and in the preference for the handwrought over the machine-made.<sup>1</sup> People of limited means who aspire to "be somebody" are by this principle forced into a hollow inanner of living which sacrifices comforts, even necessities, to show a façade type of expenditure resulting in "Queen Anne front and Mary Ann back."

*Abundance of personal service.*—The rendering of menial service even to one's self degrades. In the Old South the planters kept great numbers of house servants to wait upon them. Before the war a southern representative expressed amazement in Congress on learning that a northern colleague blacked his own boots, and declared that no "gentleman" could do a thing like that. On the other hand, Abraham Lincoln, on being greeted with "Why, Mr. President, do I find you actually blacking your own boots?" replied "Well, whose boots *should* I black?" It was a German philosopher who thought to give socialism its knockout blow by declaring it would result in universal having-to-black-your-own-boots (*Allgemeinstiefelputzenmüssen*).

<sup>1</sup> See Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, chap. v.

In India the cheapness of servants results in incredible standards of being waited on. A little Anglo-Indian girl at her first tea in England was observed to be weeping. It came out that never before in her life had she been expected to *stir her own tea*. In the same way the aristocratic spirit of the later Roman Empire showed itself in the fact that the men of the senatorial families kept about them an incalculable number of servants, and never appeared in public without a cortège resembling an army. But even today at the older English universities American Rhodes scholars are looked at askance for doing for themselves things which the British student has done for him by his "scout." Incapacity to exist without the services of menials is looked upon as a requisite of gentility.

In South America today no first-class passenger carries his bag between cab and railway coach. In hotel or club the guest is respected by the servants to the degree that he will be waited on. If he does things for himself, he is despised and insulted. The Peruvian lady goes to church attended at a respectful distance by a small servant carrying her prayer book and umbrella. The Argentine astronomer shrinks from looking after and covering his instrument. The American rector of a Peruvian university had to set an example of self-help in order to rid his students of the idea that in their archaeological excursions they must take along servants to care for the horses and prepare the meals. Since being served is a mark of gentility, it will be long before South Americans take kindly to the "self-serve" cafeterias so popular among us.

*Ceremonial cleanness.*—As means of giving servants enough to do there grow up among the wealthy standards of cleanness which are quite mystical compared with that hatred of dirt which shows itself in the Dutch, Yankee, or Japanese housewife. Thus, in order that his hands may be immaculately clean, the man who tends door in a fine family is kept from the heavier labors of the household. Then he is supplied with a tray to receive the visiting card in order that even his clean hands may not touch it, and finally, the hands which hold the tray are covered with white gloves.

*Abstention from all useful employment.*—Not to have to do anything for a living is signal proof of a fortune exempting one from the

common lot. The gentleman may be very busy, but he will be busy with his pleasures, his sports, his hobbies, his philanthropies, his public services; not with gainful pursuits. If he does anything remunerative, it will be work of the desk, not of the tool. The distinction roots, no doubt, in the contrast of intellectual with manual, of plan with performance, of giving orders with taking them. But it is possible that the age-old scorn of manual labor has sprung in part from its repulsive associations, e.g., sweat, grime, bad odors, ill-kept teeth, uncared-for fingernails, and neglect of the body. If so, it may gain dignity with the appearance of educated, well-paid men who, nevertheless, work with tools. In the well-groomed electrician or engineer who still gets his hands oily, manual labor loses its old offensive associations. If handwork generally were performed by well-read, self-respecting, cleanly people, no doubt the stigma on it could not be sustained. From this point of view, the cheapening and diffusion of the bathtub, the shower-bath, underclothing, the toothbrush, the nail scissors, the safety razor, and the leather shoe are democratizing society by sapping the very basis of class distinctions.

*Good breeding.*—A leisure class always gives great attention to the arts of social intercourse and cultivates the impulses appropriate to pleasure association. Those "to the manner born" despise *parvenus* as lacking the gracious self-effacing ways of "gentle" folk, and insist that nothing but breeding can form the soul of the gentleman or lady. When wealth shifts to new families, dignity, quietness, and refinement are the emphasized assets of the old element. For instance, an English traveler visiting Frankfort in 1803 observes that the nobility there lose no opportunity to point out

the distinctions that ought to be made between their families and those of the Bourgeois, who, though they have by commerce or some profession equally ignoble attained great wealth, which enables them to live in a style of magnificence unbecoming their rank; yet their noble neighbors insinuate that they always retain a vulgarity of sentiment and manners, unknown to those whose blood has flowed pure through several generations, unmixed with that puddle which stagnates in the veins of plebeians,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Moore, quoted by Giddings, *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, p. 265.

A hundred years later a visitor in Charleston, South Carolina, remarks:

The highest society of Charleston displays contempt toward the plutocrat. Although at its most exclusive functions may be seen a seamstress or a street-car conductor whose family, impoverished by the "War between the States," has in no way lost its social status, the merely rich are inexorably excluded. No newspaper there would venture or care to print an account of these exclusive assemblies. The social set that provides the standard of social taste and tone for the city would not tolerate the sycophancy of the "yellow journals" that devote whole columns to what rich women wear at the New York Horse Show.<sup>1</sup>

*Possession of an ornamental culture.*—Another test by which the born members of the leisure class fend off the pushful bourgeois is the possession of lore and skill which the self-made have had no time to acquire. Such lore will be as remote as possible from the knowledge underlying the useful arts and professions. It will have to do with means of self-expression and sources of enjoyment rather than with the utilitarian branches. Thus Dill observes of the aristocracy in later Roman society:<sup>2</sup>

This class, separated from the masses by pride of birth and privilege and riches, was even more cut off from them by its monopoly of culture. An aristocrat, however long his pedigree, however broad his acres, would have hardly found himself at home in the circle of Sidonius if he could not turn off pretty *vers de société* or letters fashioned in that euphuistic style which centuries of rhetorical discipline had elaborated. The members of that class were bound to one another by the tradition of ancestral friendships, by common interests and pursuits, but not least by academic companionship and the pursuit of that ideal of culture which more and more came to be regarded as the truest title to the name of Roman, the real stamp of rank.

*Learning*, however, may serve as a quite independent basis of distinction. Among the ancient Irish it appears to have possessed a great social value. High honors and rewards were conferred upon the poet, teacher, or historiographer. In body-fine and social rank the several grades of learned and professional men were on a level with the chieftain grades. Kings promoted their tutors to high positions and during an interregnum the regent was a cleric and poet. In the later Roman Empire, also, learning appears to have shone by its own light:

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Abbott, *Religious Life in America*, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Dill, *Roman Society*, p. 161.

The senatorial class prided themselves, as we have seen, on their culture quite as much as on their birth and opulence. And they held in corresponding estimation the class whose business it was to maintain the literary tradition. Symmachus, at the beginning of the century, and Sidonius, towards its close, were aristocrats to their finger tips, valuing even to excess hereditary rank. Yet both Symmachus and Sidonius admitted freely to their inner circle men who owed their position solely to literary skill and dexterity of the kind then admired. They lived on terms of fraternal intimacy with men whose days were spent in the drudgery of the classroom.<sup>1</sup>

In China public monuments are erected to eminent teachers and commemorative arches record the pride of a town in a son who has won honors in a state examination. In Germany productive scholarship enjoys such prestige that a stream of first-class ability continually pours into university careers, while in the United States it is so little appreciated that the universities fail to get their share of talent.

#### PERSONAL RATING VERSUS SOCIAL CLASS

What, it may be asked, is the relation of the social gradation I have been describing to the ratings men continually make of their fellows on the basis of *ability*, *success*, and *character*? The answer is that while such differences greatly influence men in their treatment and trust of one another, they do not of themselves create social grades. Sometimes the social hierarchy pays no heed whatever to such values. At best it takes account of them, but not as if they were the natural foundation of social grades. We consider a society as remarkably healthy in tone when the man of unusual achievement, the poet, artist, thinker, or explorer, has entrée to the highest social class. But one never finds such a class composed entirely of achievers, irrespective of their pecuniary means and style of living.

Character, too, may be given no little weight in placing one in the social scale. The hero or saint, the founder of a religious order or a new philanthropy, is likely to be a privileged person, above all conventional distinctions. On the other hand, the rich or well-born who shows himself mean or craven, makes himself ridiculous, or flouts the current moral standard may be cast out from his social

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 337.

class. Nevertheless, such concessions of class to common-sense personal ratings should not blind us to the fact that definite and inheritable social gradings *never* rest on practical-worth differences among individuals, but always on impersonal differences in respect to employment, function, wealth, and the conventional signs of wealth.

#### RESULTS OF GRADATION

The recognition of permanent worth-differences affects the classes in various ways:

1. *The inferior is required to repress all signs of emotion in the presence of the superior.*—Thus in Japan under the old régime the code of a military camp governed the contacts between classes. Talking in the presence of the superior, or laughter, or curious questions, or expressions of surprise—anything revealing the slightest emotion on the part of the humbler—was considered discourtesy and punished with great rigor.

2. *Personality is very unequally developed in superior and inferior.*—Says Gulick of Old Japan:

There was no redress for the peasant in case of harshness. It was always the wise policy, therefore, for him to accept whatever was given without even the appearance of dissatisfaction. This spirit was connected with the dominance of the military class. Simple trustfulness was, therefore, chiefly the spirit of the non-military classes.

While, therefore, it is beyond dispute that the old social order was communal in type, and so did not give freedom to the individual nor tend to develop strong personality among the masses, it is also true that it did develop men of commanding personality among the rulers. Those who from youth were in the hereditary line of rule, sons of Shōguns, daimyos, and samurai, were forced by the very communalism of the social order to an exceptional personal development. They shot far ahead of the common man. Feudalism is favorable to the development of personality in the favored few, while it represses that of the masses. Individualism, on the contrary, giving liberty of thought and act, with all that these imply, is favorable to the development of the personality of all.<sup>1</sup>

3. *Status, not bargain, regulates dealings between superior and inferior.*—Says Gulick:

The idea of making a bargain when two persons entered upon some particular piece of work, the one as employer, the other as employed, was entirely

<sup>1</sup> *Social Evolution of the Japanese*, pp. 121, 375.

repugnant to the older generation, since it was assumed that their relations as inferior and superior should determine their financial relations; the superior would do what was right and the inferior should accept what the superior might give without a question or a murmur. Among the samurai, where the arrangement is between equals, bargaining or making fixed or fast terms which will hold to the end, and which may be carried to the courts in case of differences, was a thing practically unknown in the older civilization. Everything of a business nature was left to honor and was carried on in mutual confidence.<sup>1</sup>

4. *Fines and indemnities are graded according to social status.*—

The Babylonian code of Hammurabi fixed damages with reference to the social class of the injured man. With the rise of class distinctions in early Europe the rates of compensation came to be different among persons of different classes. The *Wergeld* or social value of a man constituted the basis for fines and indemnities, and every man had a *Wergeld* fixed by law. Thus in the code of the Alamans the life of a freeman is valued at 160 sous, freedman, 80, slave, 40. The Visigoths fix for the life of a freeman a compensation twice that for the life of a freedman. The Frisians make a long tariff of indemnities for every sort of blow, then add: "these figures are for freemen. For nobles multiply by three, for serfs take half." According to another Germanic code, the fine for a blow that breaks a tooth is for a noble 15 solidi, for a freeman 5, for a slave 2.

5. *The inferior comes to be regarded, not simply as of less worth, but as existing for the sake of the superior.*—In a Vedic metaphor describing "the altar of the King's state," the priests and the nobles are the bricks, while the common people are "the filling between the bricks." In the political thought of the slaveholding South the planter and merchant class were the people for whose benefit society existed—the "Spartans"—while the slaves and manual laborers were to the social edifice what mudsills are to a house.

In the Orient woman has worth, not in her own right, but as a means to an end, that end being the gratification and comfort of the male. Her lot is summed up in "the three obediences," viz., to father, then to husband, lastly to son. "A woman," says a Japanese manual on ethics, "should never weary of yielding to her

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

husband, must form no friendships or intimacy save as sanctioned by him, must obey her husband with fear and trembling."

Where the spirit of the Old South survives in its purity, an elaborate "lady" worship fails to conceal the universal unconscious assumption that God placed women here for the sake of the men. The male sex has obviously shaped the ideals girls are taught to realize, but the female sex has had little share in shaping the ideals boys are taught to realize. It is a matter of course that women should find their mission in serving, pleasing, and inspiring men, but no one suggests that the male sex has its end in anything it does for women. Its end is within itself. The young woman must cultivate a conciliating and caressing manner, and avoid opposing or disagreeing with men. If she has opinions she dissembles them, and if she has learning she hides it lest male irritation blast her with the reproach "unwomanly." To please men she must wear delicate and flimsy clothes, no matter what they cost her fingers or her purse, and shun the plain but convenient "tailor-made" garments. Male opinion frowns on the widow who remarries as putting her own happiness above loyalty to a man's memory; but no one thinks less of the widower who remarries. The divorced man goes everywhere, but the divorced woman is ostracized no matter what her justification. The men hold under constant surveillance the reading, acquaintance, and activities of their womenfolk, and expect the woman to subordinate her own notion of what is proper for her to the judgment of her nearest male relative. The assumption is that woman's repute and standing are of more consequence to her menfolk than to herself.

Again, the conception of the inferior as mere means to the life of the superior may apply to the significance of common people for the gifted. This view is raised by Renan in the words: "The bulk of humanity lives by proxy—millions live and die in order to produce a rare élite, the masses do not count, they are a mere bulk of raw material, out of which, drop by drop, the essence is extracted."



## ETHICS AND THE NEO-MALTHUSIANISM

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It was part of Comte's philosophy that a positive science, cold, rigid, and practical, was to take the place of religious dogmas and creeds in the regeneration of society. Paley would reduce all social questions to expediency. With him those changes should be introduced which appear expedient. John S. Mill, who taught a philosophy without a soul or feeling and viewed man as struggling with his fellow-men without pity or conscience, would regulate all social activities by the most heartless exactions. Herbert Spencer elaborated a whole system of ethics and social science without need of religion.

The writer claims that no basic principle of social questions can be considered apart from religion. He refers, not only to the revealed religion of the Old and New Testaments, but to the relationship of the creature to the Creator evinced by reason. Natural theology relies upon reason to prove the existence of God. Ethics based upon reason points out the duty of the creature to God, to himself, to his fellow-man, and to society. The conclusions of natural theology and ethics, while not relying on the authority of the Bible, cannot in the nature of things be opposed to the teachings of the Sacred Book, or of the church; for truth is one, whether it is derived through the reasoning faculties of man or comes as a direct revelation from God.

Neo-Malthusianism of its very nature stands condemned both by religion and by the light of natural reason. We shall here restrict our paper to the consideration of the latter.

To be sure of our terms, what is neo-Malthusianism? When Malthus advocated birth limitation he did so on the plea that if the human race continued to develop in the same proportion as it was then developing, the earth would not be able to support the teeming millions who would soon swarm upon its surface. He

was ignorant both of human ingenuity and of the earth's productivity. Looking back at the question calmly and scientifically, it is strange indeed to see how his false teachings were snatched up and propagated by the leading social and economic writers of the day. Men were frightened into the belief that the gaunt specter of hunger was already at the door. Catholic social thought was never drawn into the vortex of Malthus' teaching. It has long since lived to see its own vindication.

But the teaching of Malthus has again appeared—neo-Malthusianism. Again it advocates the limitation of the birth-rate, not because the earth cannot support a more numerous human race, but because it seeks for a healthier race, a more perfect race, a more fit race. When families reproduce many of their kind the children do not reach full physical development. Fewer children and stronger children is its claim. Reduce the family to three or four and let these three or four be better cared for, better educated. This is neo-Malthusianism. It agrees with the old Malthusianism in the restriction of the family, but it holds out different motives.

We might approach this question from many viewpoints. What are the obligations of men and women to assume the duties of married life? Once married, is there any obligation to raise a family? Do economic conditions or ill-health excuse them from these obligations? However, we shall here consider one phase of the subject: When husband and wife make use of their marital rights, is it morally wrong by any means whatever to prevent conception or the birth of children?

The Creator has put within human beings certain tendencies and appetites for their good and preservation. The cravings of the appetite for food have their normal place. If properly satisfied, they give strength and health to the body; if abused, they injure the body. Will anyone hold that gluttony is in no way a moral question, or, being a moral question, that it is right? Will anyone assert that the old Romans were right when at their orgies they went from the banquet and vomited what they had eaten and returned to gorge themselves with peacock flesh and other dainties? Such a practice had become a custom with the

wealthy patrician families. Its very recital is disgusting. Was it simply a matter of health or a revolting practice? No, it went deeper. It was wrong because it was an abuse of nature. Nature intends hunger and appetite to rebuild the ever-weakening system; the glutton makes use of the satisfaction of the appetite for mere sensual enjoyment. Gluttony may be wrong for secondary reasons. It destroys health and brings on bodily pains and hastens death. All these things it does; but it is wrong and morally wrong because it is a misuse of nature. It takes the appetite which nature has put there for a wholesome purpose and abuses the appetite for sensual enjoyment.

Nature, too, has implanted the feeling of thirst. Like that of hunger, it is intended for the rebuilding of the body. Is it wrong to make it a means of sensual pleasure? Will anyone say that drunkenness is not an evil? Will anyone say that it is perfectly licit for a man to shut himself up within his own home and get beastly drunk, and remain so for days, provided that he does not come forth and interfere with others? Will anyone say that he has a right over his own body and may abuse it as he wishes, and that it is no one's business? Does not the drunken man do something that is intrinsically wrong—wrong whether he is alone or with others, wrong whether he is seen by others or not, wrong in itself? And in what does the wrong consist? In this, that he is acting against nature, abusing nature, taking the thing which nature intended for one purpose and using it for another.

Why is self-abuse wrong? Why is prostitution wrong? Is it simply a custom to call them wrong? Can they ever be right? We dissent entirely from those pragmatists who hold that there is no intrinsic evil, that morality and goodness are matters of custom, that what is wrong today may be right fifty years from now. Self-abuse and prostitution have always been wrong, are wrong, and always will be wrong. They are wrong from their very nature. Why? For the same reason that gluttony and drunkenness are wrong. They are against nature. They take those feelings or passions which nature has implanted in the human species for a good and holy purpose, namely, the procreation of the race, and they debase these passions to mere sensual pleasure.

Herein lies the fundamental wrong in these two curses of humanity—self-abuse and prostitution. It is true that they bring on sickness, insanity, and mental sufferings, they propagate the most horrible and loathsome diseases; but these are secondary consequences of the evils. Primarily and fundamentally they are wrong because they are a misuse of nature.

Why is an artificial restriction of birth a moral wrong? For the same reason that drunkenness is wrong, and gluttony is wrong, and self-abuse and prostitution are wrong. It is the same kind of evil, but it is a greater evil, for its relationship is more sacred.

It is an abuse of nature, it is taking an action which nature meant for the propagation of the human race and degrading it to an action below the brute; for the brute never makes use of such an action except for producing its kind. This artificial restriction happens between those who should have only the holiest respect for each other's person. Dire indeed are the consequences which nature demands of those who thus abuse her gifts and blessings.

These consequences are moral and physical. The moral outcome is the loss of conjugal love, the breaking of family ties, want of respect for each other in the consciousness that they are the willing participants in a heinous crime. The physical consequences fall hardest upon the female sex, leading gradually to a complication of evils and ending in sterility.

Advocates of neo-Malthusianism cannot escape these arguments. In fact, they do not attempt to meet them. The reasons which they bring forward are based upon selfishness; and their assertions are untried and unproved. We hear of mothers of fourteen or more miserable children of whom only one or two survive. There are no doubt such instances, and there are just as many instances of weaklings in families of the rich. Reference is often made to the foreign-born. But let me ask, Who are doing the manual labor in our country? Are there any signs of degeneration among these foreigners? Their ways may not be our ways—many of them are aliens among us—but they are strong of limb and muscle. Hughes in his *Tom Brown at Rugby* turns aside from his interesting story to tell the English people that they need the Browns. So do we need the Italians, the Poles, the Russian Jews

—we need all those who have come from large families. Why is the old Puritan no longer with us? Because he practiced birth restriction and disappeared from the land which should have been his. In that thoughtful book *Two and Two Make Four*, Bird Coler writes: "A century and a half of eugenics would leave the Catholic church alone in the field" (Preface, p. xii). He might have added that a century and a half of birth restriction has left the Catholics in possession of the larger part of the New England colonies.

In referring to the Catholic church in connection with birth control, I wish to point out again that I have not made use of any dogmatic teachings, although they are convincing and in harmony with sound deductions of reason. Others have given the Catholic church the credit for being the chief opponent of this social movement. Writing in the *Survey* (November 18, 1916, p. 165), Dr. Adolphus Knopf says:

I must not fail to say a word about our Catholic friends and those of other faiths who are so strongly opposed to any teaching or making public the means of contraception and limiting family increase. Let us have no word of reproach because millions of Catholics hold these views.

We accept the compliment from Dr. Knopf; and it is a real compliment. We Catholics are opposed to this social movement of birth restriction. We believe that it is against the natural law, and, being so, has no further claim. Not only will it not give us a healthier, a better generation, but it will be a slow suicide for the generation that advocates it. What would you think of the man who sought to build up the name of his family and its position in society by stealing an immense fortune. He succeeds; he is honored; his family is honored! Would you praise his success? And will you praise those who seek to elevate the human race by doing violence to the sacred instincts of nature. Woe to the nation that attempts it; for strangers will come in and fill the empty houses.

Australia and New Zealand are pointed out as countries where the experiment of birth restriction is successful. But the practice there is far from being universal; moreover, they are comparatively new countries, and the warm blood of other lands is flowing into

them. It is too soon to pronounce upon the experiment there, and the same must be said of Holland. Better examples are France and Germany. Fifty years ago the two countries had about the same population. Birth restriction has been practiced in France, but not, at least to the same extent, in Germany. The latter country has about twenty-five million more people than France. Have the Germans deteriorated in physical strength? Are there any marked changes for the better in the moral or physical status of the French? Had other nations not rushed to the aid of France, the Germans would long ago have been masters of Paris. No one can deny that if birth restriction is practiced in France for another half-century the nation will take its place as a second-class power. Has it a single definite gain? Are not its losses such as to bring a curse upon it?

After giving many authorities who favor birth control Dr. Knopf concludes his article as follows:

I believe in birth control, that is to say, birth limitation, based on medical, sanitary, ethical, moral, and economic reasons. I believe in it because with the aid of it man and woman can decide when to have a child, work and prepare for its arrival, welcome it as the fulfilment of the heart's desire, watch over it, tenderly care for and educate it, and raise it to be what every child is destined to be—a being, happy, healthy, strong in mind, body, and soul.

If we but use our God-given sense to regulate the affairs of the government and family wisely and economically, this great world of ours will be one of plenty and beauty, where the good will predominate over the evil and the children born of it will become men and women only a little lower than the angels—images of their creator.

*Riffe* { Let us not confuse the issue. This neo-Malthusianism advocates artificial prevention of conception while man and wife are making use of marital rights. Married people can refrain from the use of these rights, and in that sense there is no ethical objection to family regulation; in that sense they may decide when to have a child. They should restrain themselves in conjugal relations.<sup>1</sup> This is in keeping with the mandates of nature and the Creator. In this way children born to them will be little less than angels. But if these same parents make use of their marital rights, and

<sup>1</sup> Thomas J. Gerrard, *Marriage and Parenthood—the Catholic Ideal*. New York: Wagner. Chapter vii, on "Conjugal Restraint," deserves careful reading.

at the same time by contraception prevent conception or bring about an abortion, they are sinning against nature. The husband is no better than the man who frequents the brothel to satisfy his lower appetite, and the wife is no better than the prostitute who sells her body for immoral purposes. Man and wife are here imitating the most degraded actions of depraved society. Wedlock in no way gives them the privilege of abusing nature and frustrating the essential end of matrimony.

In his paper Dr. Knopf refers to the infant mortality among children of the poor at Johnstown, Pennsylvania. To the disgrace of our civilization be it said that the toiling classes of Johnstown and elsewhere in the United States have been overworked and underfed. And they have been underfed because they have been underpaid. We do need a propaganda for the poor man, but it is not a propaganda to restrict his offspring, but a propaganda to give him a decent wage—a wage that will enable him to have a home, to clothe and feed his family; we need a social insurance in its best forms; we need co-operation and profit-sharing—all these things we need to give the toiler the just reward of his labor. Then will infant mortality, tuberculosis, and poor housing disappear. Neo-Malthusianism has no solution for the complex social evils of the poor man. It is a doctrine that is ethically wrong and will come as a curse to the nation that adopts its false and misleading principles.

In conclusion, birth restriction will never meet the approval of the Catholic church. Individuals in that church may be misled by those who advocate it, but it can never become general within the church. If then those who are without the church should adopt this ethical code, and if it should become general with them, they will be the losers. Their progeny will gradually disappear from the face of the earth, while other and more fruitful nations will possess the land.

## IS PATRIOTISM IMMORAL?

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Is patriotism immoral? There are many persons who sincerely think it is; and there is a still larger number of persons who feel sorely embarrassed if asked to show reason why it is not. This is a very old problem, at least as old as the Greek Stoics of the fourth century B.C., who taught that we should love mankind, but that preference for a single country is both irrational and selfish. It is also very modern, very urgent in a world which has witnessed during two terrible years the crime which an intensified nationalism can produce. Surely all thinking men should endeavor to state to themselves just what they believe on this matter. In the attempt to state it they may reach a wholesome consciousness of the intellectual muddle with which they have so far been content. The issue, in a nutshell, comes to this:

A.B. is the citizen of a highly organized state in this highly competitive period of the world's history. He has an intense desire that his own country shall surpass all others. He hears that trade is slipping from her to a rival, and he is distressed; he hears that she has captured some line of manufacture which once belonged to her neighbors, and he is elated. Similarly he wishes that his own state may acquire all the territory that she can, may become more and more dominant in international politics, and may win all wars, good and bad, in which she chooses to engage. Another way of saying this is that he hopes all other countries may be less prosperous than his own, that their standard of comfort may be lower, that they may lose territory to her advantage, that they may be less influential in the ever-recurring rearrangements of the globe, and, especially, that in any war which may take place they shall be beaten to their knees. Whether it is for the interests of mankind, of civilization, of progress, that his state or that the other state should win the leadership, does not for a moment trouble



him; anyone who raised such a question in his hearing would be at once sneered at as "doctrinaire" or abused as "unpatriotic." Our patriot will, indeed, yield a grudging assent to the view that his country should be "just" toward other countries, but he will feel suspicious and impatient of the man who presses such a point; he will assume with unvarying complacency that the justice in a particular case lies with his own side, seldom even looking at the reasons which point in a different direction. He will approve pieces of statecraft when they are practiced by the leaders of his own nation against another nation, which he would brand as robbery if they took place in the business life of individuals. And he will extend the largest indulgence to the faults of a prime minister, provided all his dishonesties have been in furtherance of "the public advantage."

It is probable that when stated in this bald way the position of nationalism would be disavowed by all. But it is also clear that in practice such is the view which nationalism presupposes. And our question is whether the patriot is *necessarily* a man of this type, or whether we can so redefine his character that we may keep patriotism in our list of virtues, not stigmatize it as a vice.

To settle this point we must, I think, undertake a historical regress. Certain elements from the past have gone to form in us what we now call love of our country. At bottom this is a natural endowment, coming to us with the same inevitableness as love of family or even love of self. But throughout those secular periods which we regard as "epochs" in the education of the race man's congenital impulse in this direction has been guided in various ways, colored by various ideas, disturbed by other and competing attachments, transformed through successive social or ethical or religious systems. The most important currents which have thus operated upon us have been those which have come from three sources—from Athens, from Rome, and from Galilee. Thought received at once a stimulus and an upheaval at the rise of Christianity and again at the revival of learning. It is scarcely too much to say that when we think of patriotic feeling we think of it in the concepts, and when we speak of it we speak the phrases, either of classical antiquity or of Christian ethics. Some at least

of the confusions into which we fall are due to the transference, without criticism, of such ideas and such language from one age to another.

## I

In savage tribes we find a communal sentiment, whose various objects may be more or less successfully distinguished, but which cannot itself be further analyzed. Primitive man entertains a peculiar affection for the place where he was born, for the people to whom he is akin by blood, for the community whose customs he has assimilated and whose language is his mother-tongue. Professor Westermarck has illustrated this at length from the Red Indians, from the Fijians, from the Solomon Islanders, from the natives of the Australian Bush. Even if you descend right down the scale until you reach a people in whom moral ideas can be discovered only by a sort of microscopic analysis you will find, if not nationality, at least the root out of which nationality springs. If I may coin a word, you will find at least "tribality." And it often assumes even there a vainglorious form. The Eskimo, for example, believes that the first human being was a failure of the divine skill. God looked at him when he was made, and resolved to do better next time. He cast the misfit aside, calling him "Kobluna," that is "the white man," and braced himself for his real masterpiece in the Eskimo. This unreasoning instinct of attachment does not seem to grow weaker until civilization is far advanced. Even there only very exceptional men appear to be without it. Diderot thought the recognition of special duties to one's country was quite immoral; did not the human race endure forever, while a fatherland was perishable? Voltaire could find in patriotism only two elements, each of them ignoble, namely, self-love and prejudice. Lessing regarded it as "at best but an heroic weakness which I can very readily dispense with." And everyone knows Dr. Johnson's epigram: "Sir, believe me, patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel."

But among the mass of men, both savage and civilized, love of country is very much alive. It rests in part upon the surviving, though now largely fictitious, sense of blood relationship. Where

shall one now look for a pure racial stock? The shifting of population for purposes of trade, the facility of intercourse between nation and nation which improved means of transit has provided, the intermarriages once unknown but now frequent—these and many other causes have gone far to destroy the old homogeneity. The mere growth of a state in size necessarily weakens the sense of kinship. The unity of a village is hard to maintain when the village stretches out into a city and when the city becomes only a fragment in a kingdom. Mr. Graham Wallas tells of a Yorkshire schoolmaster who pointed out to him how the railway had linked together the scattered hamlets in that county, and who declared that the people's affection for place and home had visibly waned. "Almost in the words of Morris and Ruskin he began to urge that we should pay a cheap price if we could regain the true riches of life by forgetting steam and electricity, and returning to the agriculture of the mediaeval village and the handicrafts of the mediaeval town." George Eliot has a similar reflection in *Daniel Deronda* when she tells us that "a human life should be well rooted in some spot of a native land. . . . The best introduction to astronomy is to think of the nightly heavens as a little lot of stars belonging to one's own household." Yet, George Eliot and Wallas notwithstanding, we have all seen that a powerful sense of kinship may be kept alive even in a world-wide empire. It is preserved by identity of language, by identity of government, by identity of custom, by all that goes to make up what we call the *temperament* of a people. We may account for it in part by the law of association. The old fable ran that a tribe consisted of those who were sprung from a common ancestor. Thus wherever a social order was found the sense of kinship became strong. Indissoluble association grew up between the idea of common citizenship and the idea of a common origin, just as two persons really unrelated but brought up together from childhood will come to think of each other as brothers. Subsequent discovery that no such ties exist will be powerless against the feeling which has thus been engendered.

So much for the raw material of patriotism—patriotism in its instinctive stage. But in time, when man has ceased to act upon

mere instinct, when he has begun to criticize his actions, he feels the need to justify this very impulse by which he has been moved. For it often comes into conflict with other purposes and other interests which are dear to him. Why is the individual called upon, and how far is he called upon, to sacrifice himself for his country? Why should the good of his supposed kinfolk be more important to him than the good of anyone else? Why should he make their quarrel his quarrel and their enemies his enemies? These are questions which, one is not surprised to learn, occurred first to the Greeks, and one of the answers which the Greeks gave has penetrated deeply into the thought of the modern world.

In conflict with the common opinion, I do not believe that the stimulus which the Greeks gave to patriotism was by the force of their shining example. Strong reasons have been assigned, especially by Professor Mahaffy, for the view that the current idealization of classical Athens in this particular contains much more poetic fancy than historic truth. But at all events the Greeks excelled as incomparable *analysts* of virtue. They made patriotism self-conscious, reflective, rational. That which elsewhere was mere gregarious impulse became for the Greek something for which he could give a reason. For example, if you had asked a Persian in the train of Xerxes why he was willing to fight and die for the great king, it is safe to say that your question would scarcely have been understood. Such loyalty was to him a matter of course, and if he had understood you at all, he would doubtless have replied that he was following the custom of his ancestors and obeying his ancestral gods. But if you had asked an Athenian why he fought for Greece against Persia, he would have replied that he was fighting for liberty, and if you had asked an Athenian of sixty years later why he fought for Athens against Sparta, he would have replied that under the Athenian constitution life was more free, laws were less galling, larger opportunity was given for individual self-development; he would have spoken in almost modern language about a conflict of ideals, about democracy versus oligarchy, about individual rights versus militarism. To him loyalty had ceased to be a matter of course. In short, it was the Greeks who took for us the immense step of making patriotism depend, not on

the accident of birth in a particular community, but upon the moral value of that community to the well-being of the individual citizen.

There is a very remarkable passage in Isocrates where this conception is definitely put forward. It is in the famous *Panathenaic Speech*, composed for delivery at the great national festival, and at a time when internal strife had torn the Greek communities asunder. Let the Hellenes revive, he exclaims, the united enthusiasm of earlier days; let them put petty quarrels out of sight, dwelling rather upon the things which constitute Greek as against non-Greek civilization. These characteristic things were seen above all at Athens, namely, order, good government, the culture of the individual, art, poetry, the refinements of life. "We have brought it about that the name of Greek is more appropriately given to those who partake of our Hellenic education than to those who are connected with us by the ties of blood."

Thus, speaking of course very roughly and generally, one may say that the reflective Greek justified his patriotism by the thought of his own civilization as inherently superior to that of the rest of the world. The Athenian loved Athens, less because it had been the home of his fathers than because it was the home of his own ideals. He was a democrat, and he admired a constitution under which every freeman had an equal chance of rising to public office; he had a taste for art, and he liked to be in a city where artistic genius was furthered at the public expense; he valued leisure, and congratulated himself that his lot had been cast where slave labor provided him with the necessities, and where there was no burden of compulsory military training. He loved his country, not so much because it was his own, as because it was a *superior* country; and if he had persuaded himself, as Plato did regarding Sparta, that some other state was better, his loyalty was open to change.

This point of view had its intellectual merit, for Greek civilization was actually in advance of any civilization elsewhere, and the Athenian type was likewise ahead of the rest of Greece. But it had its moral defect, for the inference was quickly drawn that the rest of Greece might fairly be exploited by the Athenians, and

that the rest of the world might fairly be exploited by the Greeks. In the very speech to which I have referred, Isocrates urges a buccaneering expedition against Persia—an expedition in which the whole of cultured Hellas might join, very much as a German of our own day advocates piracy by the exponents of *Kultur* against the Slav. That the patriotism of a Persian was worthy of respect never entered into an Athenian's calculation. That a Greek should not plunder Greeks, much less enslave them, was a doctrine to which Isocrates could easily rise; but neither he nor any other typical child of his race ever dreamed that a Greek should not plunder and enslave an Oriental, or indeed that a freebooting expedition to the East had any greater moral guilt than the hunting of a wild boar.

When we pass to the Macedonian period we become aware of a changed atmosphere. In the short and wonderful life of Alexander the Great a new sort of national spirit begins to appear. We get the first hint of what we may call "aggressive culture"; the idea that a highly civilized race should not hug in isolation the thought of its own superiority, but should lift its neighbors to a higher plane by force, spreading at the point of the sword those institutions, modes of government, ways of organizing life, which had hitherto been its own exclusive possession. Previously the East was to be attacked in order to enrich the victorious Greeks; it is with Alexander that we get the first project of attacking the East in order that it may be remodeled after the Greek likeness. He is the author of pan-Hellenism, a thing which corresponded in many details with what we now call pan-Teutonism. In Egypt, in Silicia, in Babylonia, all over the world, he would establish Alexandrias, each of which should become a center of high civilization for the barbarous natives. Greek teachers should educate the inferior race, just as German teachers would today reconstruct the municipal government of Constantinople. First the sword, then the school.

To this project, which remained largely unfulfilled through Alexander's premature death, the Roman became in a sense the heir. But the Roman national spirit was at bottom very different. For what the Greek called culture the Roman had as much

contempt as he had for the Greeks themselves. His feeling was disclosed, for example, when Mummius gave his celebrated order to the carrying vessels which had to transport statuary from Corinth after the sack of that city in 146 B.C. If the statues were lost or injured, he said, the carriers must "replace them with others of equal value"! Plainly works of Greek art were as much outside the ken of a Roman general as Greek institutions were outside the range of his sympathy. A hundred scornful references show the attitude of the conquering toward the conquered race; at Rome they were allowed to be the versatile comedians, the barbers, the physicians, the secretaries, of that higher racial class by which they had been enslaved. But they are uniformly spoken of as decadent, untrustworthy, dishonorable, unfit to be any longer a nation.

The key to this scorn lies in the fact that Roman patriotism had just those elements both for good and for evil which Greek patriotism lacked. From the beginning it rested, not upon partnership in culture, but upon partnership in conquest; it had the virtues and the vices of a military régime. It was the self-consciousness of a victorious people, and it set the pattern of that national sentiment which we have come to describe ever since as "imperialistic." Its poet was Vergil; the *Aeneid* is a religious epic, taking as its central theme the destiny of Rome as decreed by heaven and as wrought out by the sterling Roman character. Divine foreordination to a world-sovereignty, the evolution step by step of those qualities which fitted for universal rule, the irresistible fate under which all nations must bow before Rome—these give their fundamental idea to Vergil's work. He does not, indeed, conceive the Roman task as purely one of conquest; it is conquest followed by organization, by discipline, by the establishment of a world-order, or what was afterward called the "Roman peace." But his feeling was very different from that of the Greeks, and it has been at least as influential in shaping modern thought on the subject. In their case aristocratic contrast with the rest of mankind forbade, until the time of Alexander, any desire to spread through the barbarian world that culture which was Hellenic. The Roman, on the other hand, felt it his mission to coerce mankind into a

Romanized type. But he also conceived his nationality in sharp antagonism to the rest of the world.

## II

Upon every pagan conception of patriotism, very especially upon the two conceptions to which I have referred, Christianity acted as a solvent. It seemed to the onlooker that among those over whom the new faith gained influence all the natural impulses which had in the past held communities together had suddenly become extinct. It was not only that the primitive church was unpatriotic, it was violently anti-patriotic; the feeling called patriotism was boldly denounced as unworthy of those who had been baptized. The Christian was a citizen of nowhere. "Nothing," said Tertullian, "can be more entirely foreign to a Christian man than the affairs of the state." Renan has pointed out that this carelessness about the land of one's birth extended even to the country which had been the cradle of the faith, that Judaea and Galilee were as indifferent to the disciples as were Greece or Rome. The most obvious sign of this spirit was the fierce resistance against enlistment in the Roman army; ecclesiastical penalties were inflicted upon a soldier who returned from a campaign, and at least one of the great persecutions arose from the systematic effort of the church to put obstacles in the way of recruiting. When the emperor Nero laid the blame for the burning of Rome upon the Christian community in the metropolis, he could at least produce evidence that the destruction of the city would cause no grief to that portion of his subjects. When, in the invasion by the Goths the pass of Thermopylae with all its glorious memories was surrendered without a blow, a contemporary writer insinuated that it had been betrayed to the enemy by the monks. "It is more probable," says Lecky, "that the monks had absorbed or diverted the heroism that in other days would have defended it."

The grounds of this hostility toward national spirit are too numerous to be discussed just now. I must content myself with mentioning those which sprang from moral causes and which have persisted to this day. Christianity had introduced a ferment of principles with which the pagan patriotism could not readily con-



sort. The old emphasis had been laid upon the state and her fortunes; the new was laid upon the individual and his salvation. Greek and Roman had celebrated the glories of war; Christianity assigned a fearful guilt to the shedding of blood. Eminence in culture, fitness for imperial dominion, were confronted with the claim that not many mighty, not many noble, are called, and with the principle that henceforth there shall be neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free. Over against the authority of kings and emperors there arose the spiritual authority of conscience, an *imperium in imperio*, and the first blow was struck in the age-long struggle of Church and State. The admiration which had centered round the pagan ideal of the hero became transferred to the Christian ideal of the saint.

Here then, as it seems to me, are the four stages which it is most significant to notice in the growth of intelligent patriotism throughout the Western world. First came the primitive material devotion to home and kindred and language and institutions, the spirit of the tribe with no recognized limit to tribal demands upon the individual member. There followed the reflective stage of questioning, when a rational ground for such personal sacrifices is asked for and insisted upon. The Greek solution is that, without the things which the civilized state provides for the citizen, life would not be worth living, and that consequently these are things for which one may even dare to die. It declares that patriotism rests upon community of culture, that your loyalty is due to that type of institution which safeguards the mode of life which you value—your freedom, your education, your equal rights, your unimpeded self-development—in a word, the privileges without which an Athenian would have preferred to be dead. One merit of this answer is that it can be applied everywhere; that if, for example, the subject of an oriental despotism has no desire to be free, to be educated, to have equal rights, if tyrannic rule gives him the sort of life he desires to lead, then he may well be loyal to his oriental despot. But the Greek would have added, with Aristotle, that such patriotism is only so called by courtesy, for the Persian or the Egyptian had no "state" toward which he might be patriotic. The thing he called his "state" did not exist

for him; he existed for it. So deeply was Greek patriotism penetrated by the thought of the community as an instrument to further the individual life. The answer of the Roman was different. He had not the Athenian reflectiveness, and he had not the Athenian individualism. But he conceived himself as the partner in a world-empire, as one of a race chosen by destiny to subdue, to organize, and to dominate mankind. Yet amid their differences Greek and Roman agreed in this—they nurtured patriotic feeling, as Nietzsche would have aristocracies everywhere to sustain their pride, by dwelling upon the “pathos of distance.” They defined their own superior type, whether of culture or of arms, antagonistically to the rest of the world. It was because they did so that the conception cherished by each of them came into violent conflict with the moral forces of the church, with the doctrines of racial equality, of universal good-will, of mutual forbearance, and mutual help. It is because the modern world alike is heir to all of these competing ideals that our doctrine of nationality has become so thoroughly confused, and that patriotism remains among our “problems.”

### III

How deceptive are the phrases under which we attempt to mask our real difficulty in this matter! For example, at the commencement of the present war Professor Münsterberg laid down the proposition that not one of the belligerents is really to blame, for each is seeking to develop its national spirit. Each individual citizen, he argues, is simply doing his duty when he backs up his own side. And in so saying Professor Münsterberg might fairly appeal to some current formulas of patriotism, such a formula, for instance, as that which has been so glibly repeated, “My country, right or wrong.” Yet how monstrous is the ethical outlook from which such a statement must proceed! Seven nations arranged in two hostile groups, each group killing the other by hundreds of thousands month after month and year after year, yet no one morally to blame! Is not this to reduce the relations of civilized states somewhat lower than the morality of a dog fight? Yet how are we going to escape it unless we boldly say that whether in

a particular case a citizen should support his own country or not depends entirely upon what his country is doing? To say this means a thorough revision of many of our patriotic mottoes. It means the revision of that motto which so often passes as a truism, the motto so often quoted from Lord Strathcona, that every man's first duty is to prepare himself to defend his country. Does not any healthy conscience at once protest that everything turns upon whether his particular country is worthy to be defended? If we think for a moment of countries which are not in the least worthy of defense, countries on whose behalf it were a thousand pities that any honest man's blood should ever flow, do we not realize that the very opposite of our motto may well be the case? I should say that a decent-minded Turk, if there are decent-minded Turks, would be much more in the line of his obligation before God if at the present moment he prepared himself to attack his country might and main. Which of us would not gladly shake the hand of any rude Bashi-Bazouk who would throw "loyalty" to the winds and head an insurrection against Enver Pasha? It is true, in a sense, that a soldier's first duty is obedience, but if even a Death's Head Hussar had turned his sword on the German lieutenant who shot Miss Cavell, should we not feel that Death's Head Hussars retain some element of nobility? And what nonsense do we read in some of our newspapers, written in what pretends to be a charitable and magnanimous spirit, to the effect that one cannot blame the German public for following their leaders; they are "patriotic," forsooth; as if we did not know in our hearts that any German who stands by his country today in the things she has done must have an atrophied moral sense! Only four years ago, in that prophetic book, *The Anglo-German Problem*, Dr. Sarolea well said that a re-examination of the ethics of nationality is one of the most urgent tasks to which the thought of our time could address itself.

Through such confusions we can see the light of day only by going back upon the source from which the inconsistent principles have been derived. That a man must back up his country in a war of aggression, that those who share in a common culture must observe such an *esprit de corps* as to stand together against the

cultures which they think lower than their own, that one must so immolate his personal judgment as to support his state in every collective purpose, good or bad—these are doctrines which have come to us from pagan antiquity, which were suited to the moral climate in which they grew up, but which no sleight of tongue can reconcile with the morality which we now profess. They belong to the conception of every race as antagonistic to every other, of one people's gain as necessarily another people's loss, of all-inclusive world-dominion as the destiny of a single stock. If we have passed beyond that conception, let us disavow at once the immoral maxims which are rooted in it.

But in repudiating the formulas of a pagan patriotism we do not repudiate patriotism itself any more than we repudiate family affection when we say that a dutiful son need not support his father in a course of crime. A man has duties to all the world, but he has special duties to his own flesh and blood, just because the ties of natural feeling enable him to serve his family with an effectiveness which he can show nowhere else. Thus, too, the members of a single nation, united together by bonds no less fundamental than the bonds of a household, can do their best work for mankind by developing their nation along its own line of progress, drawing forth its special powers, fulfilling its special function in the world-commonwealth. But in the one case as in the other no duty is more urgent than that of rebuking the faults of those for whom we chiefly care. It was not Lord North when he screamed about "loyalty to the flag," it was Lord Chatham when he blessed the American arms and prayed that "some great disaster may overtake this country," who was the true British patriot. And the day is surely coming when Karl Liebknecht will be revered by Germans as the Fatherland's most genuine son.

We simply fall into one morass of contradiction after another when we attempt to defend the spirit of nationality by arguments which will not apply to all nationalities alike. The only patriotism which can be accounted objectively a virtue must be the patriotism of him who both allows and encourages the foreigner to be patriotic too. What we believe in for ourselves we must also believe in for our neighbor. And if this is to lead to anything

else than ever-recurring scimmages for trade and territory, we must have in mind a system under which the nationality of each is placed under the joint guardianship of all. If it be said that such civilization seems today farther off than ever, the answer is surely this—that to restore or to establish such a world-scheme is *the* purpose of the Allied Powers, that for this they have faced unparalleled sacrifices, and that it is for them to take measures that what they have done shall not be in vain. It will be in vain if they allow themselves ever to absorb the spirit of that accursed nationalism which they have set out to destroy. But it will be a success worthy even of all the blood which has been shed, if we shall see the birth of a patriotism never before acknowledged among men—a patriotism which makes the nation not less than the individual do homage to the Golden Rule.

## A THEORY OF RURAL ATTITUDES

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It is quite generally recognized that, on the average, rural people have certain psycho-social characteristics more fully or less fully developed, as the case may be, than has the general run of the urban population. Occasionally we find these traits referred to collectively as the "rural mind." A careful distinction should be made here. In general mental equipment the farmer is not different from other people. He possesses the same fundamental processes and powers of thinking and has, so far as we know, the same general neural organization. It is not, therefore, his "mind" which is different in any fundamental or inherent sense of method. It is in his judgments and attitudes which he has built out of experience and training that he departs from the standards and viewpoints of others. His psychical differentiation is in the last analysis a social rather than a biological one. For this reason we refer to these collective traits as "attitudes" rather than as "mind," because of the more inclusive reference of the former term.<sup>1</sup>

The origin and causation of these differences in attitude may properly be considered from a number of standpoints. If we appeal to hereditary differences, it is obvious that there are no distinctions of this sort between ruralite and urbanite sufficient to account for the differences in attitudinal traits. Traditions and customs, especially of occupational and associational sorts, may well account for a larger number of differences in attitude. Conventions become localized and persist within the limits of certain types of environment. But if we are considering an occupational class or group as a whole, we must account for the origin even of the conventions themselves, which are perpetuated and which continue to influence the culture and attitudes of the rural people. The explanation of

<sup>1</sup> This use of the term "attitude" as distinguished from "mind" we owe, I believe, to Professor W. I. Thomas.

these attitudes, it would seem, must ultimately be discovered in the occupational environment and life-activities of the country dweller. It is out of the conditions of his existence, and the demands that they have made upon him in the struggle for existence and for progress, and out of the limitations which they have placed upon him in these same endeavors, that we must seek in the main for the genesis and continuance of these attitudes. Of course, we must also consider the influence of social suggestion arising from without the limits of his group. In our day there is a flood of new suggestion influences coming from the city through various publicity and contact channels, and these are greatly modifying the attitudes of the rural people. But it must not be forgotten that these forces of social suggestion coming from without are destroying the typically rural attitudes of mind rather than building them up. At most they are reconstructing, when they are not destroying, them. It is therefore in the occupational and living conditions of the farmer that an ultimate explanation of his attitudes must be sought.

As to the identity of these attitudes there is little dispute. Conservatism, more or less disregard of scientific method, religious and political orthodoxy, emotional intensity with consequent high suggestibility along the lines of his conventional interests and attitudes, individualism, a certain inaptitude for the so-called finer distinctions in humor and sentiment, and a frugality and thrift which sometimes border upon parsimony are traits which most people acquainted with the contrasts between urban and rural life would believe are a characteristic of the farmer.

1. Farming for the most part has not been a scientifically directed occupation, though it is constantly becoming such. The farmer has not been accustomed to plan his crops and cultivate the soil with his mind intent upon soil physics, chemical formulas, and the problems of supply and demand in relation to world or national markets. Farming has been for him at most an art, and often it has been merely artless. The nearest approach to science has been, on the one hand, a sort of rule-of-thumb methodology, which even in our day, for large masses of the rural population, has not progressed far, if at all, beyond the empirical observations of the old

Roman writers on husbandry. On the other hand, agriculture has made a sort of pseudo-approach to scientific method in the form of the application of magic to planting and tillage. Many farmers still plant their crops and make hay by the moon. The farmer has not generally had a scientific attitude either toward his occupational activities or toward the other phenomena about him. His conventional thinking has been liberally mixed with superstition. Thus we have a very concrete illustration of the profound influence of occupational adjustment upon the thinking of the occupational group. It constitutes a sort of occupational psychosis.

The city man may be quite as unscientific in another way, owing to the narrowing influences of mere rule-of-thumb and monotonous processes in his own industry, which fail to stimulate him to any deep curiosity regarding the world in which he lives. But the city man is on the whole much more likely to use or to see used a considerable number of the scientific processes, and he is more likely to entertain a more or less logical appreciation of some of the general chemical, physical, economic, and psychological principles which lie back of his particular occupational processes. Thus, however incompletely, he comes to think more fully and more broadly than the average rural dweller. Of course, the modern farmer is coming more and more to use machinery, to deal with the chemistry of soils, and to study markets, and he also is coming to think in terms of science instead of in the symbolism of magic and custom. The result is that he grows in an appreciation of the wider problems of nature and of life. He begins to lose his narrowness and dogmatism and his imperviousness to new ideas. It is no reflection upon the farmer that he has not developed applications of science to his business. Agriculture has not been so organized as to make it possible to work out such applications through experimental methods. Special institutions, such as agricultural experiment stations, had to be developed for these purposes in order that the applied sciences of agriculture and horticulture might be carried back to the farmer. In those cases where voluntary organizations of farmers have financed experimental work in agriculture there had previously been a high degree of development of conscious co-operation in the farming population.



2. Since the farmer's chief business is to draw food values directly or indirectly from the soil, the great majority of farmers are cut off from close contacts with cultural centers. In the present development of our civilization none but the larger cities and those smaller ones in which universities are located—and these constitute only a partial exception—can be called true centers of culture and science which are available to the general public. Thus the farmers as a class are quite effectively isolated by distance from the broadening and culture-developing contacts of our civilization, while perhaps the majority of city dwellers have these within easy reach and make use of them to a considerable extent. This fact goes far in helping to explain the narrowness of the rural mind, of which so much has been said. This want of breadth of outlook, due to isolation, is an indirect rather than a direct effect of occupation, but it is quite definitely traceable to it. The farmer is not narrow in his thinking because of heredity, though some have put forth this extreme explanation, but because in his isolated habitats he is necessarily out of the current of vital and stimulating and creative thinking.

But it is hardly true to say that distance from cultural centers is the sole factor in producing this isolation; for the distance element is now being minimized, if not eliminated, through the aid of the rural free delivery, the telephone, circulating libraries, extension lectures, and other related agencies. The effectiveness of such aids to rural culture, however, is and probably always will be sadly limited; for the daily newspaper, the current magazine, and the popular book which are likely to reach the farmer through the mail or the circulating library carry but a minimum of that deeper culture which really marks the educated man with a broad and functional outlook upon the world. The extension lecture is doing more, if in a somewhat limited and often technical field, and in the future may do its transforming work even more effectively. But the fact still remains that, whatever exception we may make in behalf of the small percentage of college-educated farmers, the vast majority of farmers are still woefully narrowed by the geographical isolation to which they are subjected owing to the inherent character of their occupation.

3. Occupation operates no less effectively in a slightly different manner to influence the farmer's attitudes through what we may call occupational, as distinguished from geographical, isolation. The labor which he performs is of such a character that it must be done habitually or at least quite often by individuals working separately rather than in groups. Whether it be plowing, harvesting, doing the chores, or hauling the produce to market, the farmer's occupation is relatively a solitary one. He is denied that stimulating intercourse and thought-contact which the city man can ordinarily enjoy in his work because he labors as a member of a group rather than as an individual. The result is that the farmer thinks out most of his problems alone, or they are thought out for him and passed down to him by the agricultural expert. In either case there is a certain loss. If someone else does his thinking for him, he misses the general and cultural background which is in the agricultural expert's mind; he fails to get the scientific connection and stimulus which should be invaluable to him and to society because of the broadening effect and the efficiency which it would create in him. Without it he is more or less the rule-of-thumb operator performing at the dictation of the man above, who knows and appreciates while he directs. On the other hand, if he is left to do his thinking alone, he not only fails to get as far along as he might if he had the help and suggestion of his fellows, but he fails to develop that most invaluable of all traits in our civilization—facility in co-operative thought and action. This is undoubtedly the greatest evil of the farmer's solitary occupation, but it is difficult to see how it may be effectively avoided. It makes him an individualist both in ethics and in activity. Not being accustomed to sharing his ideas and problems with others, nor being accustomed to work shoulder to shoulder with them, he does not develop facility in basic methods of contact and co-operation. To this more than to any other one cause is due the farmer's aloofness from co-operative enterprises even when his own interests are definitely at stake. He does not feel comfortable in working with others because the techniques have not become second nature with him. He is likely to be suspicious of his neighbors because he is not with them enough to understand them and their motives.

Even when the farmer does enter into a co-operative undertaking this trait of enforced individualism only too frequently foreordains its failure. He lacks the technique of getting along with others throughout a continuous operation. He is used to doing things by himself, to acting on his own initiative without any considerable reference to others. If he fails to keep faith, nine times out of ten it is not because he lacks a due respect for his word or believes on principle that contracts are not binding, but because it is not in his muscles and nervous system to work in harness. His habits of action lie in other directions and the stimuli which set them off into action have more individual than social or co-operative connections. He fails in teamwork because his mind is not trained in it. Here the city man has an advantage over him which it is difficult to find a method of overcoming.

4. Again, his occupation is more or less seasonal even when he follows a more distinctively diversified type of farming. There are periods of hard, rush work often extremely trying even to the robust man developed in an outdoor occupation, but especially wearing upon the person of delicate organization. Such periods are followed by times of slackness, when the work is light but at the same time confining. These facts profoundly influence the type of culture and recreation of which the farmer can avail himself. Except in special-type farming, such as exclusive grain-raising, he is not able to leave his farm to go on long trips seeking changes of scene and of ideas. Even in special- or single-type farming such an opportunity is the exception rather than the rule. Consequently his leisure activities must be performed at home, reaching at most into trips of only a few hours or days to the near-by city or town. He hardly has a chance to develop an interest in art or science or literature. If he reads at all outside his own occupational line—and such reading even of government bulletins is rather exceptional—he is likely to limit his literary pursuits to a current magazine of the cheap sort, or to a popular novel, or a book of jokes.

✓ His recreation, however, is not likely to be of so tame a character. He is bred to an active life physically, in which play of muscle takes the leading part. If he is healthy in body, it is scarcely feasible for him to change his physical habits abruptly from

strenuous toil to colorless indoor pursuits. When not at work, he either lounges and sleeps around his fire or under the trees, and grows corpulent and listless intellectually from overeating and underexercise, or he turns to a form of recreation which is largely of the muscular, bodily activity type. The old-time country gentleman amused himself with horses and hounds. The farmer of today occupies his leisure time in games of skill and strength, in motoring, hunting, and fishing; or if such entertainment is lacking, in dissipation, which so often gives the desired tang to unoccupied muscle and nerve when more normal expression is not available.

Correlatively, his occupation does not call for vigorous mental exertion, or, rather, as at present organized it does not call forth a great degree of intellectual activity among most farmers. When he does have leisure from his regular routine, he is therefore little fitted to substitute mental for physical exercises. This explains in large part why the abundant time at the disposal of the farmer in winter is so poorly employed. The farmer more than any other class of physical laborer might become proficient in the serious thought of his age through technical magazines and good books, but serious reading tires him unduly and bores him dreadfully.<sup>1</sup> He is not used to it. His energy runs to muscles more than to speculative thinking.

Along with this disinclination to mental exertion in a literary way usually goes also a lack of subtlety in thinking. His humor and his sentiment both lack the finer touches of the highly imaginative person. In love he is ardent but relatively speechless, and his acts of devotion more often take the form of strenuous exertion and stoical silence than that of artistically phrased sentiments of a delicate character. Directness is his greatest virtue in matters which he deems important, and this even to the point of rudeness. He enjoys a joke, especially if it is on someone else, but his humor is mostly of the obvious sort, dealing largely in practical jokes and horseplay. Especially is this true of the cruder and more rustic types. Of course, the educated farmer who has been accustomed to cultural contacts, and who has developed intellectual habits as a means to occupational advancement, has advanced far beyond the cruder attitudes here described.

Many of these traits apply to the city man, especially of the lower occupational grades, almost if not altogether as well. But they also characterize the rural dweller, and in their central reference—the country man's lack of subtlety and indirection—they have been used most frequently and most effectively to create a semi-mythical rural type. The conception of the countryman as a purchaser of green goods and gold bricks has probably been overworked, but even this caricature illustrates the basic idea. His lack of penetration of deception is closely akin to his failure to perceive the deeper subtleties of humor and the richer niceties of life.

This sudden transition from hard labor to unoccupied leisure occasionally has most serious results for the farmer. Feeling the organic need for some strong and definite stimulus, he sometimes yields to the temptation to supply this want by means of vices such as hard drinking. From these he secures a nervous and physical reaction not wholly unlike that which he was accustomed to obtain from hard physical toil. This sort of transition from labor to vice is also found among city laborers who are for one reason or another forced out of employment into idleness.<sup>1</sup> One of the chief values of community recreation and athletics is perhaps of this negative sort, that they provide a normal instead of an abnormal method of utilizing surplus energies.

5. The farmer has often been contrasted with the city man on account of his greater degree of conservatism. That the ruralite is less willing to try experiments in political and social affairs, especially where revenue considerations are involved, is not merely a popular illusion. It is well evidenced by the voting records of the two divisions of the populations. The politicians not infrequently trust to the rural vote to kill off movements or reforms, especially those which have reference to taxation, labor conditions, and sanitation, which threaten to put a stop to the good old ways of doing things which have proved profitable to the defenders of special

<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful if Dr. Wilson's theory, that hard drinking among pioneer farmers was due to the emotional disturbance caused by change of occupations (*The Evolution of the Country Community*, p. 6), is wholly accurate, at least in the form in which it was stated by him. This hard drinking was more probably due to the emotional disturbances arising from relative idleness and to lack of a normal social intercourse, when not due to the survival of drinking customs.

interests. It is also customary for state legislatures facing both horns of the political dilemma formally to pass industrial and social reform bills, and then to turn them over for a referendum to the farmers, who they feel confident will undertake the responsibility of disposing of them.

This greater conservatism of the farmer can be explained in part by reference to some of the factors already mentioned, in particular to his geographical and cultural isolation and to his lack of close co-operative contacts in his industry. But these factors are not sufficient to explain the whole situation. In some cases isolation and lack of co-operative contacts work in just the opposite direction. Through ignorance they may and do easily breed rashness and radicalism in certain fields, especially where the class interests of the farmers are involved, which clearly shows that they do not always work for conservatism. A notable instance of this opposite tendency is the free-silver craze of the late nineties. Though this movement had its roots in the desire of the rural West for cheaper money with which to pay off farm mortgages, it owed its vogue, on the one hand, to the ignorance of economics which characterized the farmers, and, on the other hand, to a radicalism born of class interest which had finally been aroused. Also, the much better balanced and earlier agrarian movement for legislative justice, especially in regard to railway transportation rates, illustrates the ability of farmers, in spite of their isolation and individualism, to co-operate in a large (if somewhat loose) political way in the interest of radical reforms. The recent movements in North Dakota and Canada afford even better illustrations of this fact, though it must be admitted that such co-operation as has arisen came as the result of very strong feelings of resentment consequent upon oft-repeated injuries.

The more potent factor in producing the conservatism of the farmer is the sensitiveness of his industrial life to political programs and procedure, though his lack of understanding of new movements, due to his isolation, always plays a large part in his failure to support them. He is conservative for the same reason that the capitalist engaged in financing machine industry is conservative, because political and social changes, however good they may be for society

as a whole and in the long run, necessarily hurt individual industries, because they make more demands for industrial readjustment than the flexibility of the industries can stand. The industrial capitalist has an advantage over the agricultural capitalist in that he usually better understands the nature of the changes which will be produced by new laws, and can therefore better adapt himself. The farmer is not usually efficient in economic analysis, but he believes that he has observed that, after one or another party has gone into power, or after certain laws have been enacted, the prices of his products dropped, or demand fell off, or taxes increased, and therefore on general principles he condemns the whole scheme of experimentation in lawmaking or of legislation. The recent reactionary tendencies of the Wisconsin farmers, so long accounted true progressives, seem to have been due primarily to the rapid increase of tax levies in that state. This increase in taxes was a very concrete fact. But the connection between such increase in the tax bill and the future improvement of the state through the many reforms and the improved administration thereby made possible was not so obvious. The farmers had not been trained in their schools or elsewhere to appreciate the wider problems of government concretely enough to give their assent to radically increased expenditures even for the best and most enduring progress.

The very indefiniteness in the farmer's mind with respect to the causal connection between new legislation and economic depression adds to the intensity of distrust with which he regards new programs. If his understanding were better, he would be better able to discriminate, as the industrial capitalist already does, to a greater extent between those programs which do and do not affect him adversely. But owing to his lack of this power of discrimination, which is due to his want of training in economic and social analysis, his general attitude of prejudice against legislative movements for social welfare is utilized by the capitalist classes as a basis for misinforming him through their press with regard to the actual merits of many issues which would be to his general advantage.

But even under the most favorable conditions of understanding and analysis the entrepreneur either in agriculture or in manufacturing and commerce is destined to be a conservative merely

because changes in the organization and activities of society as a whole must reflect themselves in the industries and cause readjustments there which are always embarrassing to the man whose industry is already formed. These social changes affect him relatively directly, and they affect him all the more seriously the less he knows of the relations of his particular industry to the social and industrial world in which he lives. The average farmer knows all too little of these relationships. Furthermore, the smallness of the margin of credit and capital which is available in the small-farm industry, and the very great difficulties involved in changing from one crop or routine to another—difficulties both of technique and of finance—make the problems of readjustment in agriculture relatively greater perhaps than they are in machine industry.

On the other hand, the great masses of the city dwellers are not entrepreneurs but wageworkers. They are never satisfied with the rôle which the capitalist assigns to them. "So their quarrel is not with change, but with the world as it is. True, they are affected by social changes which depress industry, but they are affected indirectly, while the capitalist is reached directly. The wage-earner is perhaps on the whole no better able to analyze social and economic causes than is the farmer. At least he does not analyze indirect connections better than the farmer analyzes direct ones. Consequently he is more likely to be content with blaming the capitalist for his condition and with allowing the matter to drop there than he is to seek in his thinking for some remoter cause, such as reputed "overlegislation" or "sentimental lawmaking." He is a radical with respect to the existing order because he is not a property-owner, while the farmer and the capitalist are frequently conservatives because they are owners of industries sensitive to new legislation involving economic readjustment. Their respective attitudes grow out of the self and class interests of the two groups, however dimly conscious of them they may be.

6. The ruralite is also known for his religious conservatism. This hostility to new ideas in matters of theology is in part due to the isolation from the broad cultural contacts referred to above, to the farmer's relative lack of reading habits, and to his unscientific attitudes and methods in general growing out of his particular type



of occupational contacts. These causes of conservatism have already been sufficiently discussed. <sup>1</sup>There is still another and at least an equally important cause of conservatism. The closeness to nature of the farmer, bringing him directly into contact with the concrete processes of growth, transformation, and decay, gives him a mystical or religious bent of mind.<sup>2</sup> At first thought this may seem paradoxical, for we are likely to suppose that there could be no better soil for the cultivation of the scientific outlook and the critical viewpoint than in the observation of nature at work in her naked simplicity. For here are found in action the very processes with which science deals, uncloaked by a veil of verbiage and gratuitous reflection and description. But concrete as science itself is in its method and in the new view which it opens up to the mind, it is the product of abstraction. Scientific principles and generalizations do not lie uncovered on the face of nature merely to be observed in order to be apprehended. The concrete data are there, but the unity which lies back of nature's concreteness and directness, which constitutes science, is not to be seen merely for the observing by the unaided eye. Science or generalization is to be derived from nature only by abstraction—by collection, systematization, classification, and logical analysis and synthesis—in short, by means of the statistical method plus interpretation. Now this is just what the untrained dweller upon the soil does not do to nature. Our primitive ancestors did not do it, and the modern farmer who has not been scientifically trained does it only to a slight extent. To each of these the concreteness, vitalness, even the personified mystery of nature, overpowers the orderly abstract in her. Nature, as the mathematician, chemist, physicist, and bacteriologist see her, can scarcely exist for the person whose attention has always been upon transformations without obvious process and upon changes without visible causation. For the old-time farmer the seasons came and went, the corn sprouted and grew, matured and died. He saw the result, but he did not see the concrete process. The naked eye could not see it; only scientific abstraction can comprehend it as a physico-chemical process. Not seeing

<sup>1</sup> Cf. T. N. Carver, "Ruraldom, the Realm of Real Religion," *Rural Manhood*, IV, 35-36.

science, he saw mystery instead, for the thinking mind must have unity and causation of some sort back of all its experiences. The nearness to nature of the farmer therefore has made him mystical and religious rather than scientific and abstract.

The city man, especially of modern times, works with machines, or at least with transforming processes, which are for the most part purely physical in character. The method of these operations and transformations is perfectly obvious. There is no mysterious growth and decay in which the result but not the process is seen. The city machine-worker has his attention primarily upon the process, and it is tangible and visible to the naked eye. There is then a very close connection between the direct occupational contacts of the farmer and his mysticism and his theological attitudes, which, over and above his isolation and his lack of reading, render him conservative in religion. To be sure, the modern farmer is coming more and more to abstract his operations away from the concrete interrupted appearances which confront him. He is becoming constantly more scientific and the mystery is gradually fading. At the same time his traditional religious attitude is waning, but it is doubtful if it will disappear entirely.

Not only does the failure to analyze the process of growth and decay with which the farmer is so intimately connected occupationally predispose him to a religious and mystical attitude in general, but his environment is such that the traditional religious beliefs and dogmas in which he is brought up make a stronger personal appeal to him than they do to the average city man. The relative hardness of his life impresses him strongly with the stern and puritanical attitudes of the powers that watch over him. He is close enough in actual experiences to the type of life described in the Hebrew Scriptures to enable them to make a tremendous appeal to him and to cause him to accept them as a source of thought and inspiration. Thus the religious dogmas and conventions under the influence of which he was brought up tend to be reinforced in him.

But with all this occupational and pseudo-experiential basis of mysticism and theological conservatism the farmer is quite capable of becoming a religious radical. Most of the powerful but simple

sects and crazes, such as Millerism, the so-called "Holy Rollers," or the doctrine of the gift of tongues, are of rural origin. At least it is in the country that they get their chief following. Altogether it may perhaps safely be said that the rural population is much more radical in regard to variations in religious beliefs than in matters of civic, social, or economic change. However, we must note a certain limitation here. The radical nature of rural attitudes in regard to religion does not partake of a denial of traditional religion as such to anything like the extent which is found in an urban population. The radicalism is rather in the nature of heretical variations in belief or in emotional expression, usually in the direction of the more primitive beliefs approximating to magic and mysticism on the one hand and leading to an intensification of emotional expression and appeal on the other. This fact is entirely in keeping with the theory of the occupational connection as set forth above.

But aside from this fact, why should the farmer be inclined to variation in religious belief at all, or at least to a greater degree than he is in economic matters? As was noted earlier, economic radicalism is checked by the nearness and obviousness of adverse consequences. There are no such inevitable empirical consequences of radicalism in religion. To deny religion or theology altogether might indeed have very grave consequences, possibly in this world and inevitably in the next. But to differ from other interpreters—which may be translated subjectively to mean to see the truth as it really is—brings only good, not evil, here and hereafter. Since such a change in subjective attitudes does not involve an objective readjustment of society and industry which reflects back upon the individual welfare—such as does occur when laws rather than opinions are changed—religious radicalism, within bounds short of atheism, has no apparent or obvious evil consequences.

At the same time the holding of radical religious views by the ruralite is favored in a negative way by the fact that he ordinarily lacks a scientifically critical attitude of mind on questions of causation. Mere analogy makes a tremendous appeal to him because he cannot analyze it into its contradictory elements. Emotion rather than fact sways him here. Such can in a measure be said

of the city dweller also, except that his chances of coming in contact with conflicting and mutually destructive preachments are vastly multiplied by his smaller degree of isolation.

7. There is some difference of opinion as to the relative emotionality of the rural dweller. There seems to be good evidence, however, that the conditions of rural life are more likely on the whole to give an emotional coloring to attitudes than are urban conditions. However, no general or sweeping statement can be made in regard to a matter which necessarily varies so greatly under different circumstances. The mechanical equipment for manifestations of mob life is greater in the city, and this doubtless explains the frequent occurrence of mob violence and other crowd manifestations in urban communities. Some have mistaken this easier and consequently more frequent expression of mob activities in the city to indicate a greater emotionality there than in the country. The present writer is convinced that such is not the case. The outbreaks known as lynching parties, fights at picnics and other country gatherings, the frequency of feuds in rural districts—feuds of the bloody sort in the more primitive sections and of the silent kind in other regions—seem to indicate that upon occasion violence and anger are as indigenous to the country as to the city.

The emotions of the ruralite are more repressed, and at the same time they are more powerful when they have occasion to break forth. This repression of emotion is due to the farmer's isolation and to his conventionality; for the farmer is a very conventional person within the range of his activities and values. His isolation makes him introspective with the consequent tendency to mull over his ideas until they overpower him with conviction through their constant repetition in consciousness. A single impression must of necessity frequently serve as the basis for his conclusions and conduct, because his isolation prevents him from multiplying impressions and checking up on his attitudes and beliefs. If the impression is an annoying one, such as the belief that his neighbor is mistreating him, it gathers force constantly with introspection, and he selects out of his previous experience all those incidents, unchecked by further direct investigation, which support his impres-

sions. Thus he becomes a victim of auto-suggestion owing to his isolation and introspective habits.

The city dweller, on the contrary, multiplies impressions as he multiplies contacts, and therefore has little chance to introspect on the smaller matters of life. The multiplicity of his contacts gives an outlet for expression and dissipates any emotional complexes which tend to jam the channel of his thoughts. It is the solitary person, as has been shown repeatedly, who becomes a victim of his own prejudices and convictions. The average city man reserves only the more private of his thoughts and experiences for the domination of conviction and prejudice. His convictions with regard to the more common or surface experiences in life are washed away by the constant impact of discussion. He can have convictions on the minor matters of life only when they are conventions common to his group, and therefore removed from the field of discussion. The ruralite, however, is but little in the field of discussion, and his conventional attitudes are numerous. Consequently his convictions are deep and emotionally based. They grow strong from the introspection upon which they feed.

This rather fundamental qualitative difference in the attitudes of the ruralite renders him decidedly more suggestible along conventional lines than is the urbanite. Through his introspective auto-suggestion his opinions on religion, on politics, and on certain conventions of personal conduct, the distribution of authority and income in the family, or his belief in the unfriendliness of a neighbor may assume in his consciousness the semblance of a verity which is not to be disputed. His dogmatism in regard to such matters is a matter of common remark. The result of this attitude is that he is easily suggestible along the line of his convictions, often to the point of the ridiculous. One of his dogmas, growing out of his occupational isolation and his mistrust of others, is that of self-dependency and self-sufficiency. He acts as well as thinks along the line of preserving his own interests and individuality. At one time this individualistic attitude may lead him to place the small apples in the middle of the barrel, and on another occasion it may cause him to purchase a gold brick. His lack of scientific or analytical training prevents him from checking up on the gold brick, and

his lack of social insight prevents him from seeing how dishonest marketing operates as a severe tax upon the profits of his industry.

8. The traditional frugality of the farmer cannot be said to be true without exception. However, dislike for the alienation of wealth and the exercise of foresight are traits doubtless more frequently encountered in the country than in the city. The causes for this are numerous, and some are worthy of mention. The most important of these is the fact that until recently at least the farmer's income has been primarily on a commodity basis rather than a monetary one. He produced things, while the city man received wages or a salary. His wealth, therefore, consisted of a wide range of commodities which must needs be conserved with a great deal of care. This care was all the more necessary because his commodity income was irregular. At least he received it at long intervals, and it was subject to such elements of chance as those of season, drouth, insect enemy, destruction of property from physical causes, and the like. On the contrary, the machine-worker's income has a sort of automatic regularity and inevitableness which cause it to seem but a part of the economy of his condition and circumstances to get one instalment out of the way in time to make room for the expenditure of the next. The expenditure of money is so much a matter of routine with him that he thinks little of it.

Closely connected with this fact of the irregularity of the farmer's income is the seasonal nature of his occupation. The succession of the seasons influences the farmer much more directly and powerfully than it does the urbanite. There are seasonal trades in urban industry, but these affect only a relatively small portion of urban workers. Wages ordinarily go on regardless of season, but for the farmer there is a very long period of consumption quite apart from the shorter period in which income is received. This cultivates in him a high degree of foresight. From the necessity of laying up his winter stores and his next season's seed supply he comes to have a heightened respect for the value of all commodities, even for the smallest. However, with the change in the farmer's economy from his old self-sufficiency to the modern tendency to produce for the markets, and his consequent tendency

to live on the basis of his bank account rather than from his accumulation of visible stores, has appeared a tendency toward a breakdown in his habits of frugality and thrift, which brings him closer in this respect to the typical urbanite. The facts that the farmer is still generally a property-owner rather than a wageworker, that the conditions under which he gains his subsistence are relatively hard and exacting, and even the mere fact that he has abundant space in which to store things, all doubtless contribute in some degree to produce in him his tendencies to save.

To summarize the conclusions of this paper, it may be said that on the whole the farmer's attitudes affect the character of his practical adjustments in life in a number of characteristic ways. His conservatism in matters of science causes him to accept the beneficial advances in his industry with great hesitation. In the early days of the movement to foster scientific agriculture the farmer could scarcely be interested, and still he hangs back unduly, especially with reference to the adoption of improved methods of marketing and co-operation in general. His individualism in this latter connection is therefore perhaps more negative than positive, for his occupational isolation has prevented him from acquiring the techniques of collective action, and his school system has not presented him with a knowledge of the techniques of collective management. His individualism has made him highly suggestible in the line of his own interests as he sees them. His two types of isolation, geographic and occupational, and his faulty school system have prevented him from developing a social or civic attitude of mind in most respects. Consequently he often falls victim to the wiles of the conscienceless politician, or falls into the ruthless hands of the middleman and the skilful exploiter under numerous guises. His peculiar emotional convictions and biases growing out of his isolation and introspection render him peculiarly suggestible along the lines of his convictions and supposed interests, especially in the direction of his traditional politics and theology. This last is heightened by his mystical appreciation of nature and his experiential inability to generalize or to reconstruct nature on the basis of scientific analysis. This same emotional instability and impulsiveness render him particularly open to appeals of the

concrete and personal sort. In hospitality and kindness to his friend or friendly neighbor he is excelled only by his primitive prototype of the tent and the plain. Yet at the same time his mind is more than ordinarily closed to general programs of social welfare because he lacks breadth of social vision. The personal relationship he can feel and see, but the social relationship he has not yet learned to generalize because it has not yet come completely enough within his experience.

If one were setting forth general rules to guide the demagogue or the social worker in making an appeal to the rural population, they might be stated in something like these words: Appeal must be made to the farmer on the basis of his self-interest rather than on that of social welfare; on the basis of his personal sympathy rather than on that of social utility; on the basis of his religious and political convictions and in the terminology of catch-phrases, symbol, and shibboleth rather than on that of formal scientific principles. Yet it would be quite inaccurate to say that an appeal for the better things of life cannot be presented to the farmer. On the contrary, there is perhaps no industrial class more conscientious within the limits of its thinking. It is true, however, that discrimination must be used in making appeals to the farming classes on behalf of constructive proposals.<sup>4</sup> The angle of approach must be adapted to the farmer's experience and prepossessions; that is to say, his mental attitudes must be taken into consideration.

It should be said, of course, that the attitudes here attributed to rural people do not apply in equal degree to all members and classes of the rural population. The intention here has been to strike an average or a mean, since it is obviously impossible in a single paper so to qualify a generalization as to take into account each variation in a field so complex as that of rural life. The more intelligent and better educated types of farmers, those who are making a business of scientific farming largely after the model of the better organized businesses of the city, have in very large degree, if not wholly, dispensed with the traits and attitudes here described. Ultimately, perhaps, we may expect most of these traits to disappear from the great masses of the rural population. If we can so reorganize rural life as to abolish the worst forms of



isolation—at least of geographic isolation—and introduce a knowledge of science and of the economy of social relationships into the equipment of the farmer, and multiply his facilities for normalizing contacts and group expression, we may expect his conservatism, individualism, and abnormal suggestibility along lines of interest and conviction in large measure to disappear. This would mean that the differences of attitude between ruralite and urbanite would be minimized, and that therefore another large source of social misunderstanding and conflict would be diminished or removed. Many agencies are already at work in this direction. The press, including the newspaper, the magazine, the agricultural journal, and the scientific book and bulletin, is constantly increasing its activities. The newspaper as at present controlled perhaps of all these agencies contributes least to the awakening and redirecting of the farmer, but the agricultural journal is coming to appreciate its opportunities. The agricultural extension service, the rural libraries, the rural clubs, and social centers are all busy disseminating the fundamentals of science through practice and instruction, and are bringing people into closer touch personally, thus lessening introspection and bringing in a newer and wider experience of social relations and relationships.

Of all these agencies perhaps the rural church and the rural school have the largest possibilities for good. The rural church, when properly reorganized and when its soul has been born anew, should be able to provide leadership and inspiration for all sorts of movements and programs of value to the rural community. The revitalized rural school in its turn, through a curriculum which is constructed with due regard for the needs of the rural community,<sup>1</sup> and a plant adequate to the various community needs, will be able to give a concreteness and adequacy of detail and technique to the new physical and biological and economic and social sciences in their relations to rural life which will perhaps go farthest toward the removal of the old attitudes and the substitution of the new.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. L. Bernard, "Rehabilitating the Rural School," *School and Society*, IV, 810-16.

## PSYCHOLOGICAL AND STATISTICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF CULTURE

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How shall we determine cause and effect in social life?

In a sense every phase of culture may be given a psychological interpretation. Even stone implements and all material objects may be looked upon as the gratification of some desire—else they would not be made or used. This may be said of every form of social life; any and all of it may be viewed as the response to a demand, the creation of a desire. Psychology, however, does not wholly determine culture, but is, on the contrary, largely determined by it. People have a certain form of social life and a certain material culture because this is what they want, but it is also true that they want it because they have it. Perhaps in the last resort the one principle will explain as much as the other. We are rational beings because we will to be so and we will it because we are such.

If this interplay of psychology and sociology be admitted—and it can be amply demonstrated—a psychological explanation of any portion of social life becomes hazardous. The explanation may lie imbedded in psychology or in the social, material, or economic life. Suppose we wish to interpret some actual situation of social or psychic life, as the anthropologist and historian attempt to do: what weight are we to give these respective claimants, any one of which may, conceivably, be a sufficient explanation?

Let us take, for illustration, some of the situations in point; for example, the practice of killing or abandoning the aged. There need be no dispute about the facts, for hypothetical cases will serve equally well.

We find a number of tribes which kill or abandon the helpless aged. The practice is best exemplified in North America among

the Eskimo and the Dakota. These tribes give quite different explanations for the practice. The Eskimo, like the old Scandinavians, say that the spirit of the deceased enters the next world in the condition in which it leaves this one. Hence, in order to save an aged parent from an enfeebled and miserable condition in the next world, it becomes a filial duty to dispatch him or her before age has spoiled the chances of a vigorous postmortem existence. There is reason to believe that the killing is done precisely from this motive, and, in many cases, reluctantly, though the whole system of religious belief sanctions it.

The Dakota abandon the aged because they are not able to keep up with the tribe on the march, but they show affection by leaving food and shelter and fuel for the abandoned.

Both of these peoples are nomadic. The aged are cared for in camp and abandoned only when they are unable to keep up on the march. Do the psychological motives explain the practice or shall we say that they are secondary rather than primary, the effect rather than the cause, the excuse but not the reason, and shall we look to nomadic life and the harsh conditions of existence as more fundamental and causative?

An aged Fijian will say that he cannot stand the taunts of his fellows who liken his encroaching feebleness to the weakness of women, and he will accept a voluntary death cheerfully enough. A Hindoo widow will immolate herself because she prefers to do so. Are these the real reasons or only the reflexes from more profound conditions which lie beyond the individual's control and so only an effervescence of deeper currents?

Again, consider the motives and the conditions associated with infanticide. The newborn are killed from various motives: it is unseemly for twins to appear, or for a child to be born while another is not yet weaned, or to be born at a certain season of the year. Suppose that this season is the season of drought, or the one when game is scarce; suppose that the tribes which practice infanticide most are those which find it most difficult to subsist where Nature is chary of a food supply, or where the tribe is isolated and does not need a surplus of warriors to recruit its ranks. Shall we look to unrecognized economic motives as the deeper and

more compelling ones or shall we take the natives' own understanding of the case at its face value and find in this practice, not one deep-lying cause, but causes as various as the motives which induce to infanticide and, at the same time, condone it?

So much for examples. Illustrations in two phases of social psychic life present the issue as well as illustrations in two hundred phases. But it is, perhaps, not so obvious that two examples in a given phase carry as much weight as two hundred. Some, no doubt, feel that if we have illustration after illustration of the correlation of abandonment of the aged with nomadic life, and case after case in which infanticide is associated with harsh economic life, then the thesis that the economic social conditions, and not the psychological occasioning motives, are the determining factors, is correspondingly strengthened. If, on the other hand, we find certain psychological motives associated with certain practices, whether there is or is not the harsh economic demand, then, conversely, the psychological stimulus is shown to be sufficient and it must be taken as the causative element; the others as auxiliary but superfluous. Or, should we say that in some cases the two factors (social-economic and psychological) are jointly causative, while in other cases one alone is causative?

What the proffered solution of a given problem of this kind would be is for us at this moment not so important as the method by which one would proceed with the task; for, after all, the value of the solution can never be conceived as lying apart from the method by which that solution has been reached.

Assuredly, any serious inquirer into social or psychic causes will welcome additions to the data. He will feel safer with two hundred instances than with two. But why? If it is merely because he likes to have more material, to extend his range of activity, then he has given greater amplitude to the problem, but he is not necessarily any nearer the heart of it. He may romp in larger confines, but he is still confined to romping.

If, however, he insists that this increase of data does take him nearer to the heart of the problem, then he has a faith in the solvent power of arithmetic which it would befit him to justify; for we may assume that he is catholic enough to wish to save our

inquiring souls as well as his own. Yet if he cannot get truth by counting noses, how can he get it by counting tribes? Isn't there something paradoxical in saying that we cannot understand the efficient causes in tribe A or in tribes A-F in North America if we are limited to them, but that we can understand them in larger measure, that is more intensively, after an excursus among tribes in other parts of the world though these tribes do not have and never did have any historical contact with the tribes in North America. Isn't it like searching amid the careers of Alexander the Great, Napoleon the First, and Emma Goldman for the biography of George Washington? Can the alchemy of arithmetic transpose such supposition into seeming?

The process may be above arithmetical alchemy. The search for more data may be actuated, not by a desire for multiplicity, but by a desire for completeness and unity. We strive, in a word, to include all the members of a class or type, in order that we may understand the class, and so the individual members of it. That this class is real and not figurative can be plausibly urged. We speak, for example, of the abandonment of the aged among the Eskimo. But this resolves, after all, into abandonment by various individuals—there is no tribal abandonment. We speak of the custom, and properly enough, as an attribute of Eskimo culture, and so treat the area as a unit rather than as a multiplicity of individual behaviors. In much the same way our Fijian, Australian, and other tribal units can be gathered into one class, a class and a unity as real as the Eskimo class and unity; for both are syntheses, both are but the outcome of our system of classification. The justification for finding this unity in multiplicity is its usefulness. The microscopic survey of the microbe would, I suppose, justify it in considering as complex, multiform, and incapable of being reduced to any unity, the creature which we accept as a single individual. If the voice of dissent insists that in these various tribes we have a hiatus in culture, space, and historical relations, not found in our acceptance of the Eskimo as a unit of culture, we might reply first, that the difference is only a matter of degree, and, secondly, that it is not material. If we can study geological formation in this

manner, why not sociological formation? Cosmic history has not been made by uniform causes any more than has human history. Human nature is no more variant in its fundamentals than is soil or rocks, and the atmosphere that envelops the globe has had no more uniform history than the social atmosphere that envelops men. But in this day only a bold heart would draw the inference.

Is it, however, any easier to explain the causative influences that operate this centipede class than it is if we chop it up into so many monopede tribes each supported by its own psychic and social crutches? For, if Fijian and African society has had no influence upon Eskimo society, how can these cultures help to explain Eskimo culture? If we remember that the multiplicity consists in the variety of times and places where social life is unfolding, rather than in the nature of that life itself, some of the difficulty disappears. Social life is playing its rôle in many places and under many guises; but it is composed the world over of much the same stuff and strives for surprisingly similar things.

The relation between the psychology and the statistics of social life is a bothersome one. We count the number of correspondences and of lack of correspondences to see whether our law holds good, and consider an overwhelming majority of correspondences a good proof of the law. Thus our logic of interpretation falls back for its ultimate confirmation upon statistics, and it is difficult to see how we can accept a law which is not demonstrated by an actual count of cases in which it is put to the test.

Statistics, then, appear to be vital. But can they, in themselves, give us any solution or must they always be subservient to some other program, a witness which we summon, but only a witness and never a court of decision? Take the abandonment of the aged or infanticide as cases in point. It might turn out that these customs are correlated with extremes of temperature, with amount of rainfall, or with a belief that the sun passes around and over a stationary earth in twenty-four hours. At least they are, as a matter of fact, correlated with dusky skins, and the absence of them with white skins. Then, if statistics, as such, are to prove anything, they prove that the color of the skin has as much to do with the custom as has economic conditions. In fact, it proves the

causative power of pigmentation more completely, for the correlation is much higher.

But if statistics can only offer their evidence and we are to judge of their value, what is to guide us? First, we might say, no one would believe that a change of pigmentation would produce any change in ethics. But unless we have statistical proof of this, isn't our declaration a matter of mere faith? Obscure things do affect our ethics: a shifting of the wind to the rainy quarter may upset a man's liver and cause him to insult his wife. There is no reason why it should do so, but it does. Why, then, may not a change of complexion lead to infanticide and parenticide? Statistics, it seems, will show us the correlation between two things that we single out, but can never tell us whether we have singled out the proper interacting factors. If, however, our logic of causes has no weight without statistical proof, and, moreover, is not proved even when the correlation is complete, how can we make inference with any confidence?

The answer to this question is, I am inclined to think, that what one singles out as the cause of social events is largely a matter of choice. In a sense, and for that matter in a very real sense, the entire social complex must be viewed as a cause, or, if you like, the whole universe. Yet various phases of the universe and of the social complex may vary without any apparent or corresponding degree of change in a given trait of social life, and we look for more intimate correlations. That phase of social or physical environment which affects most the given trait is our main interest. The answer is to be found in that phase which most consistently involves a change in the given trait. If, for example, whenever we have the favorable physical environment we find the given trait, say infanticide or abandonment of the aged, appearing, then it is preferable as an explanation. But if changes of religion, ethics, or other motives can effect a different practice when physical environment remains the same, then this is preferable.<sup>1</sup> If we

<sup>1</sup> This is the conclusion to which Professor Beard comes in his discussion of the weight to be assigned to economic and ideal forces, respectively, as factors in the formation of the Constitution.

"Suppose it could be shown," he says, "from the classification of the men who supported and opposed the Constitution that there was no line of property division at all; that is, that men owing substantially the same amounts of the same kinds of

have the same proportion of correspondences in each case, there is no reason to prefer one to the other. If, however, we extend the class by including many more instances, we have a new angle on the phenomena. It is not enough to discover that red hair is correlated with moral disposition. We must ask if change in color of hair tends to be followed by change in character and whether this is greater than the change that takes place when there is no change in pigmentation. The correlation of psychic state (motive) with practice is not enough. We must know whether this psychic state is present irrespective of other psychic or physical conditions, or is only aroused by others, and so is an occasioning cause but not a sufficient one, that is, not the prime mover.

The results of any such statistical and psychological examination will, of course, be highly tentative. But this is of the essence of the case and casts no discredit upon the method by which cause and effect in social life must be determined.

property were equally divided on the matter of adoption or rejection—it would then become apparent that the Constitution had no ascertainable relation to economic groups or classes, but was the product of some abstract causes remote from the chief business of life—gaining a livelihood.

“Suppose, on the other hand, that substantially all of the merchants, money-lenders, security-holders, manufacturers, shippers, capitalists, and financiers and their professional associates are to be found on one side in support of the Constitution, and that substantially all or the major portion of the opposition came from the non-slave-holding farmers and the debtors—would it not be pretty conclusively demonstrated that our fundamental law was not the product of an abstraction known as ‘the whole people,’ but of a group of economic interests which must have expected beneficial results from its adoption?” (*An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*, 1913, pp. 16-17.)



## AN UNSOCIAL ELEMENT IN RELIGION

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Knowledge of narcotic drugs did not await the advent of civilized man. Savage man, perhaps primitive man also, long ago made the discovery of the pleasures obtained from narcotics. Ratzel, in his *History of Mankind*, tells us that "every race in all parts of the earth has hit upon some means of enjoying caffeine compounds and alcohol. Tobacco is not the only narcotic herb that is smoked. The methods of chewing betel and coca are strikingly alike."<sup>1</sup> Modern psychology has revealed the causes of this almost universal human craving for narcotics.

It is no figure of speech to call certain mental states narcotic in character. Without doubt the mind in its contact with its environment is invigorated by some of its experiences and deadened by others. This contrast between opposite types of mental states seems fundamental. One expands the body, the other causes it to retreat. Some of the experiences that belong to the states of the latter class are clearly narcotic in their characteristics. These mental states of thinking and feeling afford somewhat the same peculiar satisfaction that follows the use of narcotic drugs. Relief is had from the oppressive inhibitions. Freedom is given to fancy. The being revels in the fictitious wealth of subjective creation. The tyranny of rigid fact is for the moment forgotten, and the life enjoys to the full its opportunity to remake the world according to its wishes. Limitation, disappointment, and sorrow are driven from the life, while happy fancy takes possession.

These states that remove from the mind its self-consistency, that cover reality with the deceit that is born of cowardly fear, are certainly found in religious experience. Men there are who turn to religion for protection from the unbearable facts of life. They look to religion for a removal of their keen sensitiveness to cruel

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 1, p. 93.

fact, they drink into their souls a numbing spiritual potion as other men for much the same purpose take physical poison. For such men and women religion has its appeal in its supremacy over crude fact, in the chance it gives for the self to exploit his deep cravings that are coerced by a law-abiding universe. Religion has for the defeated and distracted individual the function that we know in these modern days belongs especially to the neurosis. It affords a refuge, at what cost matters not, from the bitter facts of life.

It is this opportunity that religion offers those who court fancies that discloses its moral danger and its social weakness. What religion may do for the person depends upon the motive that he brings into his religious experience. It may withdraw him from real life and give him an improper security and an unhealthy calm of soul. It may give him the passion for personal fulfilment, the hunger for social service, the virile eagerness to know the facts of human life unadulterated by personal desire. It is only among the latter class of the religious that the spiritual life can be expected to contain moral dynamic. It would be extreme to withhold from men and women who find the world of fact too much for them the comfort of religion, but, nevertheless, this relief has in it the dangers of narcotic experiences. A return later to the harder facts of everyday striving may become difficult. Social courage comes from the religious souls who get from their religion a love for the grapple with life, who attack that from which their sickly brother retreats. This distinction between religious motives the social reformer must take deeply to heart. His business it is to develop a healthy religion that can be put to use.

We are told that the organization of religion provides the typical moral engine in savagery.<sup>1</sup> Lester Ward, the great sociologist, asserts that in its origin religion was especially related to morality and had its function in the necessity of making the demand of good conduct forceful. It is here, he writes, "where morals and religion most closely approach each other, for at the beginning all religion was race perception (*Gattungsempfindung*), and the creation of gods whose supposed will is thwarted by conduct dangerous to the race was simply a means of enabling the feeble mind of the

<sup>1</sup> Todd, *The Primitive Family as an Educational Agency*, p. 172.

individual to distinguish right from wrong conduct."<sup>1</sup> Are there not evidences, however, of a narcotic tendency in religion among very primitive people? Leonard in his remarkable study of West African religion reveals an attitude of mind which is far from being that of which Ward speaks. Leonard states.<sup>2</sup>

It has been my endeavour throughout these pages to convince the reader that life, so far as these people are concerned, although naturally and intensely appreciated, is valued cheaply, or at least that it is not rated so highly as it is in civilized communities. This, when the absolutely precarious nature of an existence governed by inexorable and unexpected conditions is comprehended, will be easily understood. Not only this, however, but the principle that life is spiritual, and as such continuous and recurring, is bound to decrease the value of an essence which, although mobile and fleeting, is all the same vital and immortal.

But, apart from these weighty and practical considerations, there is another and equally weighty reason that accounts for a philosophy which is indicative, not only of a lack of moral fibre, but of a supreme indifference and contempt for life, which in a natural people is not altogether easy to reconcile.

The explanation, however, is simple. Spiritualism, in a word, is responsible for this morbid and seemingly inexplicable philosophy, and the fact that this belief is not, as we call it, supernatural, but a going outside of, a departure from Nature, i.e., a revolution or something unnatural, explains with sufficient and explicit clearness its otherwise extremely incomprehensible characteristic.

It is interesting that the writer declares this spiritual interpretation of life morbid because of its indifference to the real facts of nature.

Tolstoy has said that there was a time in his experience when the aspiration of his whole being was to get out of life. This experience, in some degree at least, is common enough to be well understood. There is an emotional rebellion against the hard circumstances of life. It is necessary to notice that the situation may be as easily met, however, by getting rid of the uncomfortable facts as by leaving earthly existence. Religion can best provide such a suffering mind with the magic that can remove the brutal facts to make room for the eagerly desired fancies. Royce has described in his usual vigorous manner this unwholesome attitude of mind:<sup>3</sup>

It would be atrocious if the consequences of sin were to prove too grave. If we cannot reconcile a given supposition with the mercy of God, then the

<sup>1</sup> *Pure Sociology*, p. 421.

<sup>2</sup> *The Lower Niger, and Its Tribes*, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> *The Spirit of Modern Philosophy*, p. 442.

supposition must be false. And all this reasoning, when more fully analyzed, usually proves to mean, in the minds of those who use it, a sense that if there is any spiritual order in this universe it must be an order that does not permit very many ills, and that, above all, does reward quickly all good efforts. Thus reasoning, the religious optimist of the day finds his comfort in an assurance of the kindness of God, of the early triumph of morality, and of the general peacefulness of the universe, an assurance, I say, which, on the whole, I can not share.

It is generally true in highly cultured modern life that women have less opportunity to indulge in physical narcotics than men. There is, however, no reason to suppose that women need narcotic relief less than men. Indeed, the tendency toward psychopathic diseases among women, disorders which frequently appear to have the function of relief, would make one think that women are as likely to need narcotics as men. "The psychological trouble in neurosis, and neurosis itself, can be considered *as an act of adaptation that has failed*," says Jung.<sup>1</sup> The neurosis illustrates the ostrich-like function which results in the exclusion of the pain-producing mental processes from consciousness, of which Ernest Jones writes.<sup>2</sup> May it not be that many women too healthy-minded to accept psychopathic relief, unable to indulge in narcotic drugs with the freedom of men because of the fact that custom frowns upon such habits among women, as smoking for example, turn to religion for the needed relief from the hardness of their life experiences? Such women would naturally show a greater willingness to separate religious aspiration from positive moral acting than is common among men. To assume this does not contradict the fact that most women in our churches are seriously interested, when opportunity is given them, in social service.

The socially dangerous character of the narcotic element in religion can hardly escape one. It appears, for example, in asceticism. Asceticism attempts to cut the person away from his environment that he may not need morally to adjust himself to it. "Here asceticism comes in," writes Sumner, "for the thing to be renounced is not the errors and faults of earthly life, but earthly life itself (worldliness). The man must turn away from

<sup>1</sup> *Analytical Psychology*, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> *Psycho-analysis*, p. 17.

everything which would entangle him in the interests of mortal life and the appetites of the body,"<sup>1</sup> It is an interesting fact that this tendency toward asceticism appears often after the individual in his earlier career has greatly failed morally in his efforts to adjust himself to his environment. This suggests that there is often a lack of moral confidence in such cases which turns the individual toward asceticism, just as the drug fiend looks to his narcotic for a happy, even if temporary, escape from his sense of past failure and from his fears of the future. When under a morbid religious attitude a life assumes the ascetic policy, there is no promise of social good, for the social failure of asceticism is not open to controversy.<sup>2</sup>

The danger of the narcotic element in religion may show itself in a craving for self-suppression. In this morbid experience effort is made to dull the activity of the self rather than to trifle with the objective facts. Leonard has illustrated this state of mind in a most interesting manner. He writes:

Many of the more intelligent natives whom I have questioned on this subject have one and all briefly answered my queries somewhat in the following words: "The reason that many among us have for wishing that their souls may be allowed to pass into trees or objects made of clay, wood, or stone, is that they have experienced a very hard and troublous life. Dreading, therefore, that they may be reborn again only to undergo perhaps another life of woe and misery, they endeavour to obtain, by a rigid course of offering and sacrifice, and eventually to secure through the mediation of their ancestors, a spiritual transfer to those bodies which they have selected for themselves."<sup>3</sup>

Mysticism surely illustrates this desire on the part of some to decrease their sense of self by making use of religious opportunity to revel in the most intoxicating form of mental states. It is needless to call attention to the general fact that the mystic plays no heroic part in the moral contest of his time. He lifts himself so far above the usual plane of life that he little feels the demand for real brotherhood spirit and practical, constructive social service. He becomes "God-intoxicated," as Spinoza by some authorities has been charged with being.

<sup>1</sup> *Folkways*, p. 612.

<sup>2</sup> Groves, *Moral Sanitation*, pp. 116-18.

<sup>3</sup> *The Lower Niger and Its Tribes*, p. 221.

The other-worldliness of morbid religious people explains the reason why science is so often looked upon with suspicion. Science takes the world on faith and regards facts as serious. It assumes the value of human experience and attempts to understand it. It investigates objective fact for the purpose of control. All this emphasis upon the meaning of actual experience irritates those who covet other-worldliness. The antagonism, even when it gathers about some specific discovery or theory of science, is most deeply hostile to the claims and methods of science in general. It likes earthly matters to receive less attention and to be treated with less confidence. History abounds with instances of this opposition to science on the part of people who are other-worldly in this habit of mind, and the hostility is ever finding new opportunity to attack science.

The narcotic element in religion is an unhappy fact for social progress. The better living together of men and women requires the best possible use of moral and social resources, and so it is unfortunate that such strong emotionalism and serious religious commitment as is represented often by those who cling to the narcotic in religion cannot, because of its very character, be put to service. Social improvement has to depend upon the other type of religious believer. Social progress comes from the religion that is the moral engine. One's moral confidence in religion is determined by which type of religion one finds characteristic. Modern life by a sense of the sanity of wholesome idealism seems more and more to be placing emphasis upon the productive type of religious experience. This has been pointedly expressed by the statement that the chief hygienic idea with regard to religion is that it should be tied indissolubly to duty.<sup>1</sup> It is early experience perhaps that decides whether religion and moral service are to separate or to keep splendid fellowship through life. Proper training of the child should prevent the individual in later adult life from turning to religion for narcotic experiences. He who seeks in religion its narcotic element counts little in the struggle for social progress.

<sup>1</sup> Clouston, *The Hygiene of Mind*, p. 191.

## NEWS AND NOTES

### STUDENTS' DISSERTATIONS IN SOCIOLOGY

Letters were addressed by the editors to about eighty colleges and universities in the United States, asking for the names of students who are candidates for the A.M. or Ph.D. degrees, and whose Master's theses or Doctor's dissertations fall within the field of Sociology. This list is as complete as the data returned in response to these letters will permit. The dates given are the probable dates at which the degrees will be conferred. The italics indicate the schools where the theses or dissertations are in progress.

#### LIST OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

K. Abé. Taxation in Japan. 1919. *Johns Hopkins*.

Otho C. Ault. The Recent Development of Socialism in the United States. 1917. *Chicago*.

Joshua Barnhardt. The Influence of the Immigrant upon American Labor Organizations. 1919. *Johns Hopkins*.

Leroy Edward Baumann. Race Amalgamation in Greenpoint (Brooklyn) as Affected by Leadership. 1918. *Columbia*.

Raymond Bellamy. Patriotism in Its Modern and Genetic Aspects. 1917. *Clark*.

Hubert E. Bice. The Unemployable. 1919. *Ohio State*.

C. D. Blachly. Organization of Social Statistics in Chicago. 1917. *Chicago*.

Margaret Gray Bacon Blachly (Mrs.). Present Tendencies in Social Reform. 1917. *Chicago*.

Barnelt R. Brickner. Jewish Communities in Cincinnati. 1917. *Cincinnati*

Robert B. Brown. The Unemployed and the Unemployable. 1918. *Columbia*.

Herman Bucher. Art and Democracy. 1916. *New York*.

Harold Stephen Bucklin. A Study of Charities and Corrections in Rhode Island. 1918. *Brown*.

C. E. Burgee. Social Aspects of Trade Unionism. 1919. *Johns Hopkins*.

R. S. Castleman. 'Early Emigration from Spain to America. 1918. *Chicago*.

Archibald B. Clark. The Popular Vote as an Index of Social Solidarity. 1918. *Columbia*.

William T. Cross. Institutions of Charity and Correction. 1918. *Chicago*.

Maurice R. Davie. The Debt Relation. 1918. *Yale*.

Stanley P. Davies. Racial Assimilation in a Community in the Anthracite Coal Region. 1917. *Columbia*.

- Herbert K. Dennis. The French Canadian Population of the United States. 1917. *Harvard*.
- Herbert M. Diamond. Interrelation of Religion and Societal Self-Maintenance. 1917. *Yale*.
- Charles Dice. New Factors Affecting the Motive to Save. 1917. *Wisconsin*.
- Dorothy Wolff Douglass (Mrs.). The Sociological Theories of Guillaume de Greef. 1918. *Columbia*.
- Edna H. Edmonson. Associations of Criminality in the Population of Gary, Indiana. 1917. *Indiana*.
- Lyman Elmer Edwards. The Educational Philosophy of Lester F. Ward. 1920. *California*.
- Z. T. Egartner. Race Prejudice in the United States of America. 1918. *Chicago*.
- Thomas F. Ellis. School Attendance and Occupation among the Colored People of Louisville, Kentucky. 1918. *Indiana*.
- Frieda Fligelman. Some Aspects of Toleration. 1918. *Columbia*.
- William F. Garnett. Rural Social Survey of Albemarle County, Virginia. 1918. *Wisconsin*.
- Franklin P. German. The Domestication of Animals as a Social Factor in the Life of Primitive Man. 1917. *New York*.
- Warren E. Gettys. A Study of Degenerate Family Groups. 1919. *Ohio State*.
- W. E. Givens. The Social Value of the Chautauqua Movement. 1919. *Columbia*.
- Max Sylvius Handman. Beginnings of the Social Philosophy of Karl Marx. 1917. *Chicago*.
- Edward D. Harvey. Studies in Chinese Religion and Superstition. 1917. *Yale*.
- Cary Walker Hayes. Public Morals and Recreation: A Municipal Program. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Percival R. Hayward. Canadian Labor Legislation. 1918. *Pennsylvania*.
- Edna Gertrude Henry. Medical Social Service. 1917. *Indiana*.
- E. T. Hiller. The Technique of the Strike—A Social Psychological Study. 1917. *Chicago*.
- Roberta Hodgson. Types and Traits of the Negroes of Athens, Georgia. 1918. *Wisconsin*.
- Henry Fuller Holtzclaw. The Lumber Industry in the United States. 1917. *Johns Hopkins*.
- C. Roland Hugins. The Use of Armed Force in Labor Disputes. 1918. *Cornell University*.
- Edwin E. Jacobs. Changes in the Physical Vigor of American Women. 1917. *Clark*.
- C. C. Janzen. The Americanization of the German-Russian Menonites in Central Kansas. 1918. *Chicago*.



- Howard E. Jensen. Conflict and Co-operation of Religious Groups in the United States. 1918. *Chicago*.
- Franklin Johnson, Jr. The Development of Statute Law Concerning the Negro. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Glenn R. Johnson. The American Newspaper as an Indicator of Social Forces. 1918. *Columbia*.
- F. W. Jones. Measures of Forms of Political Progress. 1918. *Columbia*.
- Kaoru Kabayashi. Social Interaction. 1918. *Chicago*.
- George W. Kleihege. The Psychology of Caste. 1917. *Kansas*.
- Philip Klein. History and Present Status of the Treatment of Crime in the State of New York. 1918. *Columbia*.
- Melvin M. Knight. A Reconstruction of the Gynaecocentric Theory. 1917. *Clark*.
- Mary J. Lanier. Geographical Influences on the Development of New England Seaports. 1917. *Chicago*.
- Thomas Ernest Larkin. A Study in Apprenticeship and Trade Agreements. 1918. *Catholic*.
- T. B. Lathrop. Interrelation of Religion and Slavery. 1920. *Yale*.
- William E. Lawrence. Studies in the Mother-Family. 1917. *Yale*.
- Porter R. Lee. Public Out-door Relief in the United States. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Edward LeGroot Leonard. Historical Development of Relief Legislation in Maryland. 1918. *Catholic*.
- Blanche Lyman. History of Social Legislation in Nebraska. 1918. *Nebraska*.
- Anna C. McBride. Phases of the Standardization of Conduct. 1918. *Columbia*.
- L. D. McClean. The Social Institutions of Pastoral Peoples: A Study in Social Adaptation. 1919. *Yale*.
- J. W. McGuire. An Interpretation of Juvenile Delinquency in Certain Cities. *Catholic*.
- J. H. McKean. Trade Unions and the Working Day. 1919. *Johns Hopkins*.
- Nellie McKinley. History of the Relations of University Governing Boards to University Teachers. *Wisconsin*.
- May B. Marsh. Folkways in Art. 1919. *Columbia*.
- Richard S. Meriam. The Theory of the Minimum Wage. 1918. *Harvard*.
- Frieda Segelke Miller. A Theory of the Development of Trade Unionism in the United States. 1917. *Chicago*.
- Broadus Mitchell. The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South. 1918. *Johns Hopkins*.
- E. L. Morgan. Community Organization. 1917. *Massachusetts Agricultural*.
- J. W. Morgan. Social Characteristics of a Virginia Foothill Township. 1918. *Wisconsin*.
- Frank Fielding Nalder. The American Reformatory. 1917. *California*.

- Jane Isabell Newell. The Women's Christian Temperance Union. 1918. *Wisconsin*.
- C. H. Northcott. Ideals of Democratic Efficiency in Australia. 1918. *Columbia*.
- Hoke S. O'Kelley. Health and Sanitation among Negroes. 1918. *Columbia*.
- Rebecca Oslar. Means of Safeguarding Professional Ethics. 1919. *Wisconsin*.
- Constantine M. Panunzio. The Italian Population of Boston. 1919. *Harvard*.
- William Raddatz. Charitable Foundations. 1918. *Wisconsin*.
- E. B. Reuter. The Status of the Mulatto in the United States. 1917. *Chicago*.
- James H. Robinson. Study of the Conditions of Negroes in Cincinnati. 1919. *Yale*.
- Jesse S. Robinson. The Iron, Steel and Tin Workers: A Study in Trade Unionism. 1917. *Johns Hopkins*.
- Frank A. Ross. A Study of the Application of Statistical Methods to Sociological Problems. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Herbert N. Shenton. The Social Activities of Religious Organizations. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Kerper Simpson. Industrial Flotations in the United States. 1917. *Johns Hopkins*.
- Rabbi Joseph Singer. Taboo in the Old Testament. 1917. *Nebraska*.
- S. Slichter. The Turnover of Labor. 1917. *Chicago*.
- Russel G. Smith. A Sociological Study of Opinion in the United States. 1918. *Columbia*.
- W. B. Smith. White Servitude in South Carolina. 1917. *Chicago*.
- J. G. Snyder. Social Aspects of a Small Suburb in New Jersey. 1917. *New York*.
- L. C. Sorrell. State Anti-Trust Legislation and Its Results. 1917. *Chicago*.
- Laurence C. Staples. Co-operation in Ireland. 1918. *Harvard*.
- Harris E. Starr. Studies in the Social Position of Woman. *Yale*.
- Margaret Loomis Stecker. The National Founders' Association. 1917. *Cornell University*.
- Jesse F. Steiner. Japanese Invasion, a Study in Racial Contrasts. 1916 (in press). *Chicago*.
- Raleigh W. Stone. The Rural Survey. 1917. *Chicago*.
- Carl Stridsberg. Study of Hebrew Society in Time of the Judges. 1918. *New York*.
- Donald R. Taft. The Role of Sympathy in Labor Organizations. 1918. *Columbia*.
- Carl C. Taylor. The Social Survey as a Method of Sociological Investigation. 1917. *Missouri*.

- J. Franklin Thomas. Theories Concerning the Influence of Physical Environment upon Society. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Donna Fay Thompson. The Birthrate in College Graduates' Families. 1919. *Columbia*.
- F. M. Thrasher. Boy Scout Work. 1918. *Chicago*.
- Henry W. Thurston. Methods in Child Placing. 1917. *Columbia*.
- W. A. Tilley. Attitude of Eastern Churchmen of the Fourth Century toward Property and Property Rights. 1918. *Chicago*.
- Mary C. Tinney. The Catholic Home Bureau for Dependent Children in New York City. 1917. *Columbia*.
- F. J. Tschan. The Virginia Plantation. 1917. *Chicago*.
- Victor M. Valgren. Farmers' Mutual Property Insurance in the United States. 1917. *Chicago*.
- Mary Van Kleeck. The Fact Basis for Industrial Reform. 1918. *Columbia*.
- Gothar von Bersak. The Reconstruction Period in Bosnia. 1918. *New York*.
- Harry S. Will. A Study of the Comparative Mental Capacity of Urban, Rural and Village Groups. 1919. *Ohio State*.
- T. J. Woofter, Jr. Negro Farm Life in Georgia. 1918. *Columbia*.
- Fred. A. Woll. The Initial Physique in Relation to Success in Life. 1917. *New York*.
- Fred R. Yoder. Farm Tenancy in North Carolina. 1917. *Missouri*.
- William E. Zench. The Decadence of Primitive Races. 1918. *Clark*.

## LIST OF MASTER'S THESES IN PROGRESS IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

- Robert Cranston Abram. Survey of Relief Agencies in Columbia, Missouri. 1917. *Missouri*.
- John G. Alber. A Study of the Eugenics Movement. 1917. *Nebraska*.
- Frank H. Allis. The Social Development of Baldwin City, Kansas. 1917. *Kansas*.
- Blanche L. Altman. The Development of Public Opinion in Ohio on the Topic: Workman's Compensation. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Margaret Brent Anawalt. Charity Organization Societies in the United States. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Alberta B. Anderson. Mothers' Pensions in Nebraska. 1918. *Nebraska*.
- Ralph Irving Austin. The Public Welfare Board. 1917. *Nebraska*.
- Warren G. Bailey. The Social Agencies of Indianapolis. 1918. *Indiana*.
- Harry B. Belcher. The Sense of Sin as Modified by Social Development. 1917. *New York*.
- Stanley E. Benham. Taboo, in Its Religious Aspects, with Special Reference to the American Indians. 1917. *New York*.
- E. O. Blackstone. The Minimum Wage Applied to Immigration as a Means of Regulation. 1917. *Nebraska*.
- Mildred E. Blodgett. The Socialist Labor Party. 1917. *Columbia*.

- H. L. Bosserman. Some Arguments for Eliminating the Grand Jury from Our Criminal Procedure. 1917. *Minnesota*.
- F. A. Bouelle. The Negro Problem in Los Angeles. 1917. *Southern California*.
- Edward Mitchell Brown. Application of Compulsory Arbitration to Industrial Disputes in Public Service Corporations Dependent on Franchise. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Ernest Richmond Burton. A History of American Employment Methods. 1917. *Chicago*.
- J. D. Butler. Community Consciousness Developed into Social Control. 1917. *New York*.
- Vernon M. Cady. A State Program for the Care of the Feeble-minded. 1917. *Columbia*.
- W. R. Campbell. A Sociological Study of a Suburban Community. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Emma P. Cantwell. The Social Activities of the Salvation Army. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Knute E. Carlson. Exercise of the Veto Power in Nebraska. 1917. *Nebraska*.
- Katherine Carlton. Arbitration of Disputes in the Garment Industry. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Norma Vere Carson. History and Critical Study of Reformatories for Women in New York State. 1917. *Columbia*.
- C. R. Chambers. Charitable Relief to Public-School Children. 1917. *Minnesota*.
- Genevieve Charbonneau. The Handicap of the Firstborn. 1917. *Clark*.
- H. Chung. The Asiatic Monroe Doctrine. 1918. *Nebraska*.
- Ford Stillman Clarke. Recreational and Social Life in a Village. *Chicago*.
- L. J. Cochrane. Leadership in Rural Communities. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Norman W. Cook. A Service Manual for Public Departments. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Lena May Crum. The Present Status of Home Economics in Secondary Schools. 1917. *Chicago*.
- Florence R. Curtis. Libraries in State and National Institutions. 1917. *Minnesota*.
- Mary P. Denny. Children in Orphanages. 1917. *New York*.
- Inez Dunham. The Causes of Truancy among Girls. 1918. *Southern California*.
- Henry D. Eades. Control of the Feeble-minded in Indiana. 1918. *Indiana*.
- Sadie Engel. Effect of the War on Occupations of Women. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Earl Alexander Ewart. Municipal Ownership of Public Utilities in Nebraska. 1918. *Nebraska*.
- D. L. Ferguson. The Relation of the Negro to the Land. 1917. *Ohio State*.
- Roscoe L. Frasher. The Japanese Problem in San Joaquin Valley, California. 1917. *Southern California*.

- Theron Freese. Social Science Courses in High Schools. 1917. *Southern California*.
- Benjamin Frumberg. The Congestions and the Distribution of Immigrants in the United States. 1917. *New York*.
- C. Luther Fry. Treatment of Prisoners of War in England. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Iota Fügli. French Precursors of Comte. 1917. *Brown*.
- Isaac V. Funderburgh. The Social Function of the Modern Church. 1917. *Southern California*.
- Christopher H. Gaskell. Comparison of Attitude of Church and of Labor Unions toward Social Legislation. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Charles Guy Gomon. The Saloon: A Study in Social Causation. 1918. *Nebraska*.
- Alvin Good. The Home as a Factor in Education. 1917. *Colorado*.
- Margaret Grant. The Relation of Music to Social Life. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Eugene Greider. Group and Disability Insurance as a Social Factor. 1917. *New York*.
- Florentine Hackbush. A Study of the Degeneracy of Several Families of the Ramapo Mountain. 1917. *New York*.
- C. A. Hallenbeck. Socialism and Individualism in Their Relation to the Teaching of Christianity. 1917. *New York*.
- Robert J. Hammond. Social Aspects of Forest Preservation. 1917. *New York*.
- H. M. Harris. Sociological Aspects of the Mormon Colonization System. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Freeman Havighurst. Social Development of Enterprise, Kansas. 1917. *Kansas*.
- James C. Healey. The Relation of Seamen to Society. 1917. *New York*.
- Mary H. Helms. Relation of the War to Public Health. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Martin A. Higgins. William Lloyd Garrison, Social Reformer. 1917. *Catholic*.
- W. S. Hoffman. The Economic Competition between the Black and White Races in the United States. 1917. *Illinois*.
- Arthur Huebsch. The Social Philosophy of Lester F. Ward. 1917. *New York*.
- Gwendolyn Hughes. The Relation of Organized Labor to Vocational Education and Guidance in Lincoln. 1917. *Nebraska*.
- Henry Anthony Jacobson. Survey of Immigration. 1918. *Chicago*.
- I. T. Jones. The Sociological Phases of the Christian Science Movement. 1917. *Columbia*.
- T. E. Jones. A Study of American-Japanese Relations. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Simon J. Jumnefsky. The Julia Richman High School and Its Sociological Activities. 1917. *New York*.
- Patrick J. Kennedy. The Socialism of Robert Owen. 1917. *New York*.
- Sarah Lifschitz. Italians in America. 1917. *Columbia*.

- Lydia Terrell Lort. *The History of Social Sciences.* 1917. *Denver.*
- Joseph William Mackenzie. *The Foreign Born of Fall River, Mass.* 1917. *Brown.*
- Bernice McCurdy. *The Mexican Population of Pasadena.* 1917. *Southern California.*
- R. B. McElree. *Sociological Phases of Farm Tenancy in Texas.* 1917. *Columbia.*
- M. C. McKinnon. *A Community in Prince Edward Island.* 1917. *Columbia.*
- Edla Magnuson. *The Working Conditions of Girls and Women in American Laundries in Los Angeles.* 1917. *Southern California.*
- Benjamin Malzberg. *Movement for the Reduction of Infant Mortality.* 1917. *Columbia.*
- Charles W. Margold. *Critical Study of Vocational Guidance in New York City.* 1917. *Columbia.*
- J. H. Mariano. *A Sociological Study of Certain Italians in New York City.* 1917. *Columbia.*
- Wyatt Marrs. *Family Rehabilitation.* 1918. *Oklahoma.*
- Robert L. Matz. *Some Social Aspects of Imperialism and Their Effect on the Common Good.* *New York.*
- Bruce L. Melvin. *Survey of the Rural Churches of Boone County, Missouri.* 1917. *Missouri.*
- Joseph H. Meyer. *Assimilation of Immigrants by Our Public Evening Schools.* 1917. *New York.*
- Lily E. Mitchell. *Minor Religious Societies in Worcester.* 1917. *Clark.*
- Agnes E. O'Connell. *Red Cross Work in Serbia.* 1917. *Columbia.*
- Dorothy Olcott. *Provision for the Children of Belgium.* 1917. *Columbia.*
- Edward Lewis Owen. *Meat Packing: The Larger Aspects of a Typical Large Scale American Industry.* 1917. *Catholic.*
- Chur Hoo Park. *Social Activity of the Church.* 1918. *Nebraska.*
- L. D. Pearson. *Marriage and Divorce in the United States.* 1917. *Columbia.*
- Hazel Platt. *Education of the Negro in Texas.* 1917. *Texas.*
- H. F. Prunell. *The Sociology of Lester F. Ward.* 1918. *Southern California.*
- William Ramsay. *The Adult Immigrant in the Night Schools of Los Angeles.* 1917. *Southern California.*
- Grace A. Raynor. *Family Life among the Negroes of the South.* 1917. *New York.*
- Edwin B. Romig. *Uniform Divorce Laws in the United States.* 1917. *Columbia.*
- David Sage. *A Statistical Study of New England Genealogy.* 1917. *Clark.*
- J. Saposnekow. *A Sociological Study of the Wage Earners' Institute.* 1917. *Columbia.*
- C. S. Sawyer. *A Social Survey of Tyrrell County, North Carolina.* 1917. *Columbia.*

- Ben. M. Selekman. The Industrials Disputes Act of Canada. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Hazel F. Snell. The Social Center Movement in the United States with Special Reference to Nebraska. 1917. *Nebraska*.
- Mildred Snowden. Living Conditions in Certain City Blocks in Los Angeles. 1917. *Southern California*.
- I. J. Sollenberger. The Movements of Population in Indiana. 1917. *Ohio State*.
- Bernard J. Stern. Jewish Philanthropy in the United States. 1918. *Cincinnati*.
- W. R. F. Stier. The Attitude of the American Press toward the Japanese. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Carl W. Strow. The Inheritance of Political and Religious Beliefs. 1917. *Indiana*.
- Sarah Sussman. A Settlement Club. 1917. *Columbia*.
- A. T. Tallevs. A Study of the Effects of Environment upon Children Placed Out from the Minnesota State Public School. 1917. *Minnesota*.
- Tracy E. Thompson. The Federal Child-labor Law. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Carolyn S. Tobey. Effect of the War on Education in England. 1917. *Columbia*.
- A. L. Vennink. A Study of the Social Thought of the Mosaic Writings. 1917. *Southern California*.
- Jeanette Victor. Polish Jews in America. 1917. *Columbia*.
- H. L. Voorhies. Primitive Population Policies. 1917. *Texas*.
- John Archibald Walker. Compulsory Investigation of Labor Disputes in Canada. 1917. *Catholic*.
- G. P. Watkins. History and Methods of the Shoe Machinery Trust. 1917. *Texas*.
- Katherine Z. Wells. History and Present Status of Legislation Relating to Children in New York. 1917. *Columbia*.
- F. S. Williams. The Social Programs of Leading Religious Denominations in the United States. 1917. *Columbia*.
- Edith Elmer Wood (Mrs.). Housing Legislation in the United States. 1917. *Columbia*.

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#### HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Mr. H. K. Dennis, formerly the Robert Treat Paine Fellow in Social Sciences at Harvard University, has been appointed Instructor in Sociology at the University of Illinois.

Mr. Richard S. Merriam, formerly assistant director of the Social Research Council of Boston and for two years Sheldon Fellow of Harvard University in residence abroad, has been appointed to an assistantship in Social Ethics at Harvard University.

## OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

The Economics and Sociology Department of Ohio State University is co-operating with the Ohio Institute for Public Efficiency for the promotion of organization for community welfare in various parts of the state. Last August Miss Louise Mark, of the department, conducted a brief survey of various aspects of community life in Portsmouth. On the basis of her findings the members of the department, together with the Ohio Institute, drafted a set of recommendations for the organization of a Bureau of Community Welfare. The recommendations were accepted by the survey committee at Portsmouth and a financial campaign was conducted which resulted in securing \$13,000 to finance the bureau for the first year. The bureau will centralize all of the voluntary welfare activities of the community. It will employ a director, an associated-charities secretary, a director of recreation, and several public health nurses. Portsmouth is a city of 25,000 with a considerable amount of industrial activity. The experiment of centralizing all of the voluntary welfare activities of a city of this size should prove a valuable one.

The department of Economics and Sociology of the University expects to co-operate further with the Ohio Institute in the promotion of similar community organizations elsewhere in the state.

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## UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SOCIOLOGICAL CLUB

The Sociological Club of the University of California was organized on Friday, November 24, 1916, at the home of Professor I. W. Howerth. At the organization meeting over forty members signed the charter roll.

The membership is distributed among graduate and undergraduate students, faculty members, and others interested in sociology but who are not formally connected with the University.

The purpose of the club is the scientific study of sociology, both pure and applied, particularly with regard to education. In addition to carrying out its main purpose the club performs such other functions as: encouraging and assisting in the collection of a sociological library; co-operating with other sociological clubs and educational clubs, wherever located. The club also does extension work through its alumni members and by keeping in touch with others who are interested in sociology and the work of the club.



## THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

The Missouri Conference for Social Welfare met at the University of Missouri, November 26-28, 1916. Professor C. A. Ellwood read a paper before the conference on "The Almshouse," and Professor L. L. Bernard presented a committee report on "The Rural Welfare Problem in Missouri."

Professor Bernard is directing a survey of the reading habits, local organizations, and home equipment and sanitation in a rural township of McDonald County, Missouri. The field work is being carried on by the county superintendent of schools of the county. Graduate students in the Department of Sociology are engaged in surveys of the rural churches of Boone County, and of relief-giving agencies in Columbia.

## REVIEWS

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*Democracy and Education. An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education.* By JOHN DEWEY. New York: Macmillan, 1915. Pp. xiv+343.

All students of philosophy and sociology, as well as of education, welcome this comprehensive and fundamental statement of Professor Dewey's educational philosophy. It will undoubtedly take its place among the world's enduring classics in these three fields of thought. The educator, to whom it is primarily written, will find here a clarifying account of the principles and the practice which must of necessity characterize all sound educational development that is really an expression of democratic ideals. Such a conception of education cannot be stated in any narrow, isolated fashion, and not the least valuable aspect of its exposition, therefore, lies in the accompanying searching and critical examination of the evolution of philosophical thought and the correlated evolution of the ideals of social democracy.

The method of the work is to be found in a series of statements and expositions of various dualisms of thought and practice which have been at various times more or less dominant in both philosophy and education since the time of the Greeks. The historical analysis which accompanies each discussion presents a viewpoint that is absolutely essential to the adequate understanding of the problems of current educational theory and practice, and on the basis of which alone we can arrive at solutions consistent with our democratic ideals.

The first dualism is the general one between education and life. While a social necessity, education has tended in all times to become more or less isolated from the social order which evolved it, through an inadequate conception of the social function of instruction. This imperfect view of the nature of education has found expression at various times in the conceptions of education as *external direction*, as mere *inner growth*, as *preparation for a remote future*, as *unfolding*, or as *discipline*. These conceptions are criticized as being, in varying degrees, external, retrospective, conservative, and hence inadequate to interpret the educational process that should belong to a progressive democratic society. The worth of such a society depends upon the extent to which "the interests of the group are shared by all its members and the fulness and

freedom with which it interacts with other groups." "Such a society must have a type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control, and the habits of mind which secure social changes without introducing social disorder." Professor Dewey's conception of the end of education is developed directly from this viewpoint. It is a statement of the *process of education* at its best rather than external goal which, just because it is external, cannot be put into definite and helpful relation to the process of education with its various resources and difficulties. A real end of education must, if it is to have any practical value, interpret and guide its various expressions rather than be a remote and final goal. One of the most brilliant and stimulating discussions in this book is that in which the ideal as a working hypothesis is developed. Other conceptions of end are discussed and shown to have reality in so far as they admit of statement as interpretative principles rather than as goals.

It is impossible in a review to give even a synopsis of the discussions which follow. The dualisms, which have appeared in the thinking of the Western world and expressed in such contrasts as interest and discipline, play and work, labor and leisure, intellectual and practical studies, naturalism and humanism, individual and world, aesthetic and practical, represent genuine aspects of experience which, in a democracy, education must seek to bring together in an organic relationship. In fact, the realization of a democratic society is seen to be conditioned upon the incorporation of the values of these extremes in everyday social experience. For instance, the separation of the aesthetic and the practical should have a place only in aristocratic conceptions of society. Individual variation is not good in itself. Its highest significance is to be found in relation to a progressive society to which it furnishes the means of progress. In such a society vocational education should represent a union of bodily action and thought, of making a livelihood and the worthy enjoyment of leisure. Certain tendencies in present-day vocational education, if followed up, would tend to perpetuate the old aristocratic distinction between culture and life. Industrial life of today is so dependent upon science and thought that there is no justification for such a distinction. Now, as never before, is it possible for the vocational life to minister to the development of mind and character.

True philosophy is regarded as essentially a theory of education, since the stimulus to its development is to be found in essentially social problems, the solution of which is to be found in a proper type of education.

The problem of moral education is to secure the organic relation and interaction of knowledge and conduct. These scattered points suggest very inadequately the method and conclusions of *Democracy and Education*. The unique and distinctive quality of the thought is lost when one attempts to summarize it.

IRVING KING

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Contributions to Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City:

1. *Completion-Test Language Scales*. By MARION REX TRAHNE. Pp. 118. \$1.50.
2. *Measurements of Some Achievements in Arithmetic*. By CLIFFORD WOODY. Pp. 63. \$1.00.
3. *Adjustment of School Organization to Various Population Groups*. By ROBERT ALEXANDER FYFE McDONALD. Pp. 145. \$1.50.
4. *The Relations of General Intelligence to Certain Mental and Physical Traits*. By CYRUS D. MEAD. Pp. 117. \$1.50.
5. *Ventilation in Relation to Mental Work*. By E. L. THORNDIKE, W. A. MCCALL, and J. C. CHAPMAN. Pp. 83. \$1.00.

Teachers College, Columbia University, is rendering an extremely valuable service to the cause of the scientific study of education in publishing as "Contributions to Education" the results of scientific research studies carried on under the direction of the faculty. Education as a special field of study lacks a set of working tools, and definite social objectives. Every piece of scientific research that results in a workable tool or in a definite social objective is timely, even though the product does not have all of the accuracy found in some of the older fields of scientific research.

The author's problem in *Completion-Test Language Scales* was to build a scale or scales that will accurately measure language ability in school children. He describes very clearly the means and methods used in formulating his scales. He assumes that achievement in filling-in the correct words in the completion-test sentences is distributed according to the normal curve frequency. He bases his study upon the fact that "one of the most constant things about a variable fact is the amount of its variability." He adopts as "the most convenient measure of the

variability to use as a unit," the median deviation or probable error (P.E.). With this working basis he works out his scales, thirteen in all. The main one, Scale A, "contains two second-grade sentences, two third-grade sentences, and so on up through the eighth grade and high school, ending with two sentences which had proved so difficult that a rather small percentage of the first-year college class had been able to complete them."

The author's problem in *Measurements of Some Achievements in Arithmetic* was to derive a series of scales with which to measure the achievement of school children in Grades II-VIII, in the four fundamental operations in arithmetic. The author assumes "that achievement in the solution of problems in the fundamental process is distributed according to the normal surface of frequency," and he adopts as the unit of measurement the median deviation or probable error (P.E.) of a grade distribution. "Two distinct series of scales in each of the fundamental operations have been derived. Series B contains about half as many problems as Series A. Series A thus has a greater power of diagnosing the weakness of a class and is recommended where there is ample time for testing. Series B was devised especially for use where the amount of time that can be devoted to measuring is very limited."

The problem in *Adjustment of School Organization to Population Groups* is to determine "how far the school system of the nation has responded to the special needs of non-typical pupils, above and below normal." The "non-typical" groups selected are: the deaf; juvenile delinquents; blind; dependent and neglected children; feeble-minded, retarded, and epileptic; cripples; non-English-speaking immigrants; open-air schools; speech defectives; and exceptionally gifted children. He says: "It is clear that the school system has for the past century been growing increasingly sensitive to the needs of special population groups." The investigation shows that the schools have been very slow in making special adaptations for the exceptionally gifted children, and that there is great need for further study on what is being done for these children.

Dr. Mead's problem in *The Relation of General Intelligence to Certain Mental and Physical Traits* is to find out the relation of general intelligence to (1) the age of walking and talking, (2) height and weight of children, (3) strength of grip and dexterity, (4) perception and memory. The study is based upon data collected and tests made upon 430 feeble-minded and 480 normal children. His valuable conclusions are based upon a very careful analysis of the data.

Professor Edward Lee Thorndike's name connected with the study on *Ventilation in Relation to Mental Work* will add weight to the radical conclusion based upon the scientific tests described in this monograph. The summary and interpretations are made by Professor Thorndike. He says: "With the forms of work and lengths of periods used, we find that when an individual is urged to do his best he does as much, and does it as well, and improves as rapidly in a hot, humid, stale, and stagnant air condition as in an optimum condition." And again: "Given  $x$  units of mental product to be produced in a year and assuming that the opportunities for recreation are equally attractive in all months, it seems possible that the slackening of mental work in the hot months might be of little or no use. . . . On the whole, then, the experiences of daily life may conceivably be entirely consistent with the absence of any effect of bad air upon the ability to do mental work, and with the absence of any effect of a  $68^{\circ}$  to  $75^{\circ}$  temperature difference upon the *readiness* to do mental work."

If Professor Thorndike's interpretations of these studies are verified by further studies, there should follow some radical changes in the present standards used in ventilation of school buildings.

EDWIN L. HOLTON

KANSAS STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

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*The Function of Socialization in Social Evolution.* By ERNEST W. BURGESS. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1916. Pp. vii+237.

By "socialization" is meant the development of individuality in association, in so far as individuality is a social product. It means "participation of the individual in the spirit and purpose, knowledge and methods, decision and action of the group." The thesis of the book is that society produces individuals who participate more or less completely in a social life that is more or less elevated and fit for continuance and further progress, and that upon the degree and type of the socialization which a society produces in its members, as individuals, chiefly depends the further progress or decline of the society, as a society. Socialization does not mean merely, nor even mainly, that participation in the *intellectual* tradition of society which Ward so effectively emphasized, but it means also, and even more, participation in the *ethical* tradition, of valuations and modes of co-operative endeavor.

The volume is divided into three parts. Part I discusses the effects of socialization upon discovery and invention, upon the welcoming or

rejection, the conservation and accumulation, and the origination of new elements of thought, valuation, and method. Part II discusses the effects of socialization upon social progress in general. It divides social progress into three stages: the kinship stage; the personal stage—feudal type and town type; and the impersonal stage, in which “not only are impersonal relations substituted for personal relations, but the whole personality no longer functions in industry”; labor is treated like a commodity and society as it touches the individual embodies itself in the impersonal “authority,” in the editorial “we,” in ties of “impersonal interest,” and in fashion and public opinion against which individual protest is futile, and in which individual self-confidence is often weakened and the universe itself becomes, not the realm of personal providence, but of an impersonal natural mechanism. Part III discusses the rôle of socialization in personal development.

In giving primacy to socialization as the determinant of social evolution, especially in its higher stages, the author does not ignore the existence of geographic, economic, and biologic causes. Though he has eyes for limitations and obstacles, he is, on the whole, eminently hopeful. He believes that we are evolving an order to be characterized by “economic security and realized democracy” in which “competition will be raised from the economic to the intellectual plane” (p. 201) and that already the amount and dissemination of our knowledge has outrun its practical utilization. Socialization is the dominant condition of further progress, and the socializing of the individual includes this: “that he consciously shapes his aims and purposes to harmonize with the promotion of the co-ordinated welfare of all members of society.”

The book contains thinking that is independant and vigorous; it is at once historical and practical, and it sets forth a phase of social wisdom which deserves to be thus lifted into prominence.

EDWARD C. HAYES

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

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*The Iowa State Federation of Labor.* By LORIN STUCKEY. Iowa City: The University of Iowa. Pp. 147.

This doctoral dissertation, in the preface suggests the state as the unit of investigation of the organized labor movement in America and anticipates “that a series of monographs will yet be written on organized labor in the several commonwealths.”

The book is divided into five chapters preceded by an introduction dealing with “Knights of Labor” and “Trade Unionism to 1893.” The

constitution of the State Federation is reproduced in an appendix. Both a special and a general bibliography are given at the close of the book. On p. 116 appears a map of Iowa showing the distribution of unions.

The chapter headings are as follows: I, "History of the State Federation of Labor"; II, "Annual Conventions of the State Federation of Labor"; III, "Structure and Government"; IV, "Policies"; V, "Influence."

The history of the organization has been one of growth, interrupted, at times, by jurisdictional disputes and by other obstacles, but it has been under the leadership of strong men, a number of whom have held state offices. The Federation has consistently stood for progressive legislation, and for encouraging and strengthening the organization of labor. Educational work figures large in the program. Insistence on the union label is carried into the convention procedure in the "Label Order of Business," which calls upon those to rise "who insist that union clerks wait on them," "who purchase only union made cigars and tobacco," "who patronize only union restaurants," etc., "whose hats bear the union label," etc., etc., through a dozen comprehensive items. The closing sentence evidences the author's conclusions concerning the Federation: ". . . both consciously and unconsciously, organized labor has exerted a considerable influence upon the history of Iowa in recent years, because of the fact that its leaders have been prominent in the formation and execution of the modern humanitarian and industrial policies of the state" (p. 115).

ROBERT FRY CLARK

PACIFIC UNIVERSITY

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*The Psychology of the Negro: An Experimental Study.* By GEORGE OSCAR FERGUSON, JR. (Columbia University Contributions to Philosophy and Psychology, XXV, No. 1.) New York: Science Press, 1916. Pp. 138. \$1.25; cloth, \$1.50.

There have been in recent years a number of attempts to assess the intellectual capacity of the Negro, and define, with something of scientific exactness, the mental status of the race. In 1895 R. M. Bache measured the reaction time of twelve whites, eleven Indians, and ten Negroes. These experiments showed that the responses of the whites were slower, those of the Indians quicker, than those of the Negroes, to auditory, visual, and electrical stimulations. Bache assumes that rapidity of the automatic movements is an evidence of mental inferiority.



Taken at their face value the tests would indicate that the Negro was inferior to the white man and superior to the Indian. The author explains, however, that the Negroes were of mixed blood and inherited the effects of slavery. He contends, therefore, that, without the advantages of the biological and social inheritance of the white man, the Negro would register an inferior mentality to the Indian. This means that slavery and a little white blood makes the black man the superior of the Indian.

In 1897 G. R. Stetson subjected to a memory test 500 white and colored children in the fourth and fifth grades of the schools of Washington, D.C. The tests resulted in a score of 58.09 for the whites and 58.27 for the colored pupils. The investigation indicated that the colored pupils were about equal in the matter of memory. The author concludes, however, that if equal to the white man in memory the black man must be regarded as inferior in the ability to reason, because the average rank of the white children in their school studies was 74.82, while the average rank of the colored children was 64.73. As the Negro was not inferior to the white in memory, it seemed that he must be inferior in his ability to co-ordinate his knowledge. Otherwise the average grade of the white and colored students would have been the same. This conclusion is valid only on the assumption that the only explanation of a difference in school grades of racial groups is a difference in racial capacity. This is not a principle that is self-evident. It would not, for example, be accepted as proof that woman was superior to man in what are referred to in these studies as "reasoning powers," whatever reasoning powers may be.

The investigations of Bache and Stetson illustrate the methods employed previous to 1910 to determine the relative mental capacity of backward and primitive, as compared with the more highly civilized, disciplined, and sophisticated peoples. Since that time more elaborate investigations have been made, notably that by M. J. Mayo, 1913, who studied the school marks of 150 colored as compared with 150 white high-school pupils in the schools of New York. He concluded that colored pupils in the high schools of New York were about three-fourths as efficient as the white. No attempt was made to explain these differences, but the inferences are that they represented racial differences.

In 1913 and 1914 the first application of the Binet tests was made by A. C. Strong to 350 white and colored children in the schools of Columbus, South Carolina. The result of this investigation showed that of the white pupils 10.2 and of the colored 29.4 tested a year below age.

When comparison was made of the "mill children" and the "city children," in order to find out how far inferiority was due to environment, it was found that of the city children only 6 per cent were more than a year below age, while of the mill children 18 per cent were one year below age. The mill children and city children thus compared were white. Taken at their face value these figures would indicate that the mental grade of the mill children was about midway between that of the city (white) and colored children. This would seem to indicate that the assumed racial inferiority of the Negro was due in large measure to "poor home conditions," that is, to environment rather than race.

The author suggests an alternative explanation. He believes that we must consider the possibility that the mental status of the mill children is due, not to the poverty of their environment, but to the feebleness of their inherited mental powers. In other words, the mill children are low-grade whites. Upon this interpretation of the facts the tests would seem to indicate that the differences in mental grade of two classes of the same racial stock may be as great, or nearly as great, as the differences in mental grade of two races. Upon this assumption the significance of racial differences as such is greatly diminished and for the following reason: The Negroes in America are a people of mixed racial ancestry. They are neither physically nor mentally of the same type. The Negro people in the United States represent all grades of culture from that of the primitive man to that of the most sophisticated and disciplined cosmopolitan. It seems quite likely, moreover, that the Negro in America represents a wider range of mental classes than the white man, understanding by mental classes a division of the population based on natural endowment. This is unfortunate from the point of view of any sort of classification of the population on the basis of race. Between the whites and the blacks there is a steadily widening twilight zone of mulattoes, which makes it increasingly difficult, not only to draw racial lines, but to make any investigations or reach any conclusions, based upon the assumed existence of a well-defined and homogeneous racial group.

The investigations that are the basis of the present study were made in December, 1914, upon pupils in the schools of Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Newport News, Virginia. The number of students subjected to tests in these three cities was 907, of whom 486 were white and 421 colored. The tests employed were selected "with a view of ascertaining racial differences in the higher rather than the lower intellectual capacities." It is in the "higher capacities," as the evidence

seems to indicate, that one must look for such inferiority of the Negro to the white man as exists.

The character of these mental tests and the results obtained cannot be reviewed here in detail. The tests are complicated and the results are mixed. In two of the tests, which are technically known as the "mixed relation" and the "completion" tests, the Negro pupils were decidedly inferior to the whites. In the first test the colored boys tested 72.9 per cent of the white boys' score, and the colored girls 83.9 per cent of the score of the white girls. In the second, the colored boys graded 78.5 per cent of the white boys' score, and the colored girls 81.7 per cent of that of the white girls. The third test, the "maze," was apparently inconclusive. It showed that the Negroes worked less rapidly, but made better scores than the whites. On the other hand, in the fourth test the colored boys tested 98.4 per cent of the score of the white boys and colored girls 108.2 per cent of that of the white girls. "Taken altogether," the report concludes, "the figures show that the colored girls are superior to the white girls in the traits measured by this test, and the colored boys are not appreciably inferior to the white."

The investigation showed further that colored girls uniformly graded higher than the colored boys and in one instance the difference was marked, amounting to 11 per cent. It is not contended that this is a racial trait. It might be interpreted as an evidence for sexual difference of interest or attention. It would hardly be interpreted, however, as a measure of the mental inferiority of the Negro man to the Negro woman. Still, it is on the basis of measurements which are quite as inconclusive as these that the author bases his conclusions that "in view of all the evidence it does not seem possible to raise the scholastic attainment of the Negro to an equality with that of the white. It is probable that no expenditure of time or money would accomplish this end, since education cannot create mental power, but can only develop that which is innate."

In this connection it should be remembered that the results upon which this conclusion is based were obtained only with the assistance of a number of assumptions none of which can be accepted without criticism, and some of which are certain to be assailed. It is assumed, for example, that the discipline and teaching in the Negro schools taught by Negro teachers is equal to that in the white schools taught by white teachers. If this is true in Richmond and Fredericksburg, it is certainly not true throughout Virginia or the South. The Negro schools, as a rule, are notoriously inferior to those of the whites. Discipline, particularly in the public schools, is bad. Parents are poor.

Mothers are employed out of the house. Family life is disorderly. Boys especially go to work early and attend school irregularly. More than that, colored schools, until very recently, have had very little supervision. The sums expended upon them have been inferior to those expended on the white schools. Under these circumstances, it cannot be assumed that the Negroes in Negro schools have had the same opportunities as white students in white schools.

Not only are the Negro public schools in the South inferior to the white schools, but from the point of view of discipline and culture the average Negro does not compare with the average white man. The situation of the Negro is not as bad in the cities in this respect, where the newspaper and the contacts of daily life are a constant source of intellectual stimulus. In the rural regions, however, the great mass of the Negro people are still living in a sort of intellectual twilight from which the average Negro boy and girl first fairly emerge when they go to some of the rural high schools, which are not as a rule public schools.

In view of these and other considerations one is constrained to characterize as "unproven" the statement with which this study concludes, namely, that "no expenditure of time or money can possibly raise the scholastic attainment of the Negro to an equality with the white," and that this is a sufficient reason "for emphasizing an intensely practical training," on the ground that "owing to the mental nature of the Negro" this seems to be "the only sort of education which will avoid great mental waste."

There is at least one reason why it will never be possible to deal with the Negro as a subnormal or a feeble-minded race, and that is the fact that there is in America no Negro race. There is only a group of people, isolated from the remainder of the population by the fact of a common origin and tradition, and more or less bound together by a common fate, imposed upon them by their isolation. In this group, one-fourth of which, at least, is manifestly of mixed blood, are represented all types of mind and all grades of culture from the lowest to the highest.

It is manifestly important that some method of selection and grading according to mental status should be introduced into our schools in order to render their work efficient. Something has already been done in this direction with the establishment of bureaus of vocational guidance, and of schools for subnormal and exceptional children. When our methods of mental measurement have become more precise, this selection and grading of pupils on the basis of their mental capacities will inevi-

tably be carried farther. This will improve the discipline of the schools, but it will not "solve" the race problem, not even if it should be shown that there is a much larger proportion of feeble-minded individuals among black men than among white. It will not solve the problem because it will not give us any warrant for treating every man of Negro ancestry as a representative of a race, rather than as an individual. It will not warrant us in insisting that every member of the Negro race undergo an education which is suited to subnormals merely because a larger percentage of Negroes than whites are subnormal or of inferior mental inheritance. The only rational method of procedure, on the basis of such investigations as represented in this monograph, would be to put the Negroes who were subnormal into schools for subnormals, and put those who were normal into the ordinary public schools with precisely the same curriculum for the colored as for the white students.

I say that this would be no solution because the solution at which investigations of mental inferiority or superiority of races aims is a body of scientific fact that will justify racial segregation. As a matter of fact, there is probably no more justification for segregating the members of the Negro race and giving them a special education because of their racial inferiority than there is for segregating the members of the Jewish race and giving them a special form of education because of their intellectual superiority to the average white American, or for segregating the mill children of South Carolina in order to give them a different type of education from that of the city children.

The fact is that the justification for segregation and separate education of the Negro is sociological and not biological. The principal reason for the separate education of the Negro is the existence of a racial prejudice which makes it difficult for the colored student, except in special cases, to act unrestrainedly, to work without strain, in the midst of a group of white students. This same prejudice, on the other hand, is gradually creating a race consciousness which makes the Negro desire his own schools with a curriculum in which he can learn something more of his own people, their needs and their achievements, than he can learn in white schools. The Negro, under present conditions, requires an education which will enable him to resist and overcome the special obstacles to his racial progress and racial welfare which he meets in the white man's environment. This he does not always get in the white schools or white universities.

ROBERT E. PARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*The Case for the Shorter Work Day.* Supreme Court of the United States. October Term, 1915. *Franklin O. Bunting, Plaintiff in Error, v. The State of Oregon, Defendant in Error.*

*Brief for the Defendant in Error.* By FELIX FRANKFURTER, Counsel for the State of Oregon, assisted by JOSEPHINE GOLDMARK, Publication Secretary, National Consumers' League. Reprinted by National Consumers' League, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York.

Nobody now ever quotes or even so much as remembers the Majority Report of the British Poor Law Commission, while the Minority Report has become a familiar book of reference. It is safe to say that nobody will ever read the "brief for the plaintiff in error" in the case concerning the shorter work day now before the Supreme Court, but surely the brief for the defendant will serve as an encyclopedia of information concerning industrial fatigue and its results. This is the latest of the so-called "Brandeis briefs," the material for which was collected by Josephine Goldmark and the pleading of which is now in the hands of Felix Frankfurter, of the Harvard Law School. Like the earlier briefs it consists almost entirely of citations from all possible sources on the subject of fatigue and its effects, but it is fuller than the others because it is not confined to one sex; it covers all human beings.

To the reader trained in scientific, not legal, methods the effect of these two volumes is at first bewildering. One is puzzled over the selection of authorities and over their placing. The order is apparently not determined by dates, nor the space assigned according to importance. Indeed such men as Mosso, Moebius, Roth, Howell, Lee, are treated no differently from the obscurest factory inspector. Contrary to all the rules of medical writings, the man who quotes from an authority without adding anything new is given equal weight with the authority himself, and sometimes the quotation comes first. Medical writers would give only the original, and they would select his latest work and let the earlier ones go. Moreover, they would never cite an authority of dubious standing without stating that his work had been called into question.

Nevertheless, as one reads along one finds that an effect is produced and that it is cumulative, and one begins to suspect that this is the idea at the bottom and that it is psychologically sound. It seems impossible that any reader can fail to be convinced by the actual weight of this mass of evidence, made up as it is partly of gold and partly of scrap iron. It is to a great body of experience in many lands that the attention of

the court is called, in the confidence that the universality of this experience will prove its reasonableness.

The first section, on foreign legislation, covers only the most recent enactments; that on American legislation is complete. Certain interesting facts come to light here, such as that Portugal has adopted a ten-hour day and a sixty-hour week in all industrial establishments, Uruguay an eight-hour law for factories, while Illinois still permits a seventy-hour week even for women.

The most valuable part of the brief is devoted to the world's experience with the long work day, upon which the plea for legislation limiting hours of work is based. Arguments against such legislation are met by the testimony of men who have had direct experience with industry or who have studied the pathology of fatigue. For instance, to those who hold that labor is healthful, not pathological, the reply is given that when work exceeds the normal recuperative powers of the body fatigue does become pathological, is really the borderland of illness, and that though so far there is no positive test by which we can recognize this point, yet once it is passed a state of depression results with lowered resistance to disease.

Then come quotations showing that fatigue lessens the defensive powers of the body against infection, that it is the chief factor in functional nervous disease—neurasthenia is no longer peculiar to the well-to-do, but is increasing enormously among working people—that it is the basis of much eye trouble, that it increases accidents through the slackening of attention, and that the loss of moral restraint that comes in the wake of great fatigue increases alcoholism and vice.

It has been argued that workingmen are used to great and prolonged exertion through practice, but the answer given is that nervous energy cannot keep pace with muscular training and overstrain results in breakdown, as is seen sometimes among athletes. As I read this I recalled an item in a German medical journal soon after the outbreak of the war, telling how the military surgeons had been surprised to find that the soldiers who broke down with acute dilatation of the heart after forced exertion were for the most part men who in civil life had done heavy physical work.

The old familiar argument that decreased hours of work will mean more time spent in the saloon because the workman will not know how to spend his leisure, is answered by quotations from many lands and many periods. The writers during the forties in England, when apparently they had reached the point in legislation on hours that we have

just reached, speak in language strangely stately to our modern ears, but they say exactly what is still said today. The overlong work day is said to render "the great mass ignorant, prejudiced, addicted to coarse, sensual indulgence, and susceptible to being led into mischief and violence by every appeal to their passions or prejudices." Lord Macaulay warns England that she is rearing "a feeble and ignoble race of men, the parents of a still more feeble and ignoble progeny."

To refute the statement that shortening the work day means greatly increasing the cost of production a whole mass of testimony is adduced to show that the converse is true. This testimony comes from employers, and among the crowd of witnesses are some interesting figures: Robert Owen, the great pioneer in this field, pleading for common-sense and an open mind in words which, written one hundred years ago, might be used by any Consumers' Leaguer today; Ernst Abbe, the pioneer in Germany, reporting in the early days of this century that he had gradually, during a period of thirty-five years, reduced the day in his factory from twelve hours to eight, testing each step as he went and finding output not reduced. The pioneers in our country who testified to the same thing seem to be the Commonwealth Steel Company and the Solvay Process Company. Much of the evidence given is in favor of the eight-hour day, and obviously in a continuous industry the only choice is between two shifts of twelve hours and three of eight. There is an appalling list of American industries in which the twelve-hour shift still obtains.

The final argument is based on evidence concerning the effect of the short work day on the public weal, and on opinions already rendered by state courts and by the Supreme Court, which show a gradual shift in the attitude of the judiciary from a dread of this class of legislation and a devotion to the philosophy of individualism toward a new realism. To the majority of readers the part that will make the greatest impression will probably be that which shows the need of such legislation in the United States, for there are not many who realize how backward we have been in furnishing this form of protection to our working people.

ALICE HAMILTON

HULL-HOUSE, CHICAGO

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*Nationality in Modern History.* By J. HOLLAND ROSE. New York: Macmillan, 1916. Pp. xi+202. \$1.25.

The fact of nationalism is so potent that history cannot longer overlook it, but it is so new that it is somewhat difficult to give it a



historical setting. If this book had no other value than that of being written by a historian, it would be fully justified. But it has a positive value. It makes clear that future historians will have to reckon with this psychological organization of society just as hitherto the political organization has been the basis of explanation.

The vague forerunners of modern nationalism are traced among the Jews; but nationalism, incomplete among the Greeks, intolerant among the Romans, takes its first modern form in Italy with Dante as spokesman for the divine mission of Rome, in words strangely familiar in recent days.

In many cases there is a very close relation between language and national consciousness, but this is not a necessary condition. In most cases its origin may be traced to some individual. Chaucer by writing in English laid the foundation for English unity, while Rousseau with *Le Contrat social* not only stimulated France, but "is the fountainhead of modern nationalism." Fichte sounded its birth in Germany in opposition to Napoleon. In fact, Napoleon can be given the credit, through opposition, of its birth in both Spain and Russia also.

The book gives a very good description of the growth of nationalism in various Slavic groups in recent years, and while there are other examples which might have been included, we have a fairly wide survey of the amazing spread of this new spirit during the last fifty years, in those nations which are significant in the European war. The development in Germany is treated in more detail than in any of the others, but it is also more familiar to the average reader than that in the other nations. The relation of the national feeling to the present war is made clear, and the chapter on "Internationalism" outlines the tendencies and possibilities of the future. It is impossible for the facts contained in this book to be too well known. The reconstruction of society which must inevitably take place in the future must never forget this comparatively new force of nationality in history.

H. A. MILLER

OBERLIN COLLEGE

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*The Tide of Immigration.* By FRANK JULIAN WARNE. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1916. Pp. 388.

Dr. Warne is well known as an authority on immigration through his books, *The Slav Invasion and the Mine Workers* and *The Immigrant Invasion*, and through his official connection with the New York State Commission of Immigration and the Thirteenth Census of the United

States. Whatever he says on the subject, therefore, is sure to carry weight.

With the exception of the last eight chapters, this new book contains little that is new in the way of statement of fact or outline of argument. Its chief value lies in the restatement of familiar, but none the less important, facts and conditions, the presentation of new evidence in support of conclusions already well established, the emphasizing of sound practical policies, and, in particular, in the ingeniously worked-out analogy between immigration and the ocean tides. Much effort is well devoted to visualizing the statistical aspects of immigration so as to impress their significance upon the popular mind.

The latter portion of the book deals with the practical questions of today, the basis of a scientific national policy with reference to immigration, the significance of the European war, and particularly the matter of the literacy test. The treatment of this pressing question is, for the most part, admirable and logical, though the author allows himself one or two lamentable slips. Thus on p. 319 he says, "The literacy test is simply and solely a restrictive test and is proposed as such." The supporters of this measure who have labored to establish its desirability as a *selective* test, and who know the importance of emphasizing this aspect to those who make our laws, will regret this sentence exceedingly, and the fact that the author belies his own words in his general discussion of the subject, even in the same paragraph (cf. also, particularly, p. 342), will not prevent the enemies of the literacy test from using this statement as a telling weapon against it. On the whole, however, Dr. Warne supports strongly and logically the general argument for the more thorough selection, as well as the positive restriction, of immigrants. He lays a well-placed emphasis upon the menace to the standard of living of the American workingman involved in the immigration movement as it has existed in recent years.

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

YALE UNIVERSITY

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*Straight America.* By FRANCES A. KELLOR. New York: Macmillan, 1916. Pp. vii+193. \$0.50.

*Straight America* gives a forceful, incisive discussion of the lack of national integrity in the United States. In the suggested program for action military preparedness of a positive type is placed foremost. It is unsatisfactorily coupled with an argument for Americanizing the immigrant. The aim of the book is splendid, but the style of expression

is unnecessarily passionate at times, and is certain to arouse unduly the antagonism of the people who are most in need of its admonitions. To charge the average American with "supine patience, flabbiness, and stupidity" (p. 160) is, relatively speaking, a questionable indictment, and is not the best way to get the average American to act in regard to his obligations in behalf of national integrity.

In the strong chapter on "The Native American" the author distinguishes between Americanism and nativism and pleads for the Americanization of native Americans. The chapter on "America-made Citizens" ably points out the weaknesses in our conflicting and puerile attempts to Americanize the immigrant.

In the program for building up national unity Miss Kellor seems to put (p. 157) military preparedness first, the mobilization of industry for war activities second, and universal training for men and women in training camps, motor corps, Red Cross camps, health service, or in many other ways (p. 179) third. The fourth place is given to the Americanization of the immigrant and the native alike, while fifth and last in the program, international duty is mentioned but receives no comment whatever.

The present reviewer would have developed the idea of the Americanization of the immigrant and native first, military preparedness in a modified form he would have placed second, and international obligations he would have discussed third and at some length. Instead of stressing military preparedness, backed by a united America (p. 154), the reviewer would have emphasized the building up of a united America in spirit and action, backed by an efficient army and navy. In spite of the past lack of success of this plan, the reviewer believes that it is better than that of attaching an Americanization program to military preparedness propaganda.

E. S. BOGARDUS

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

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*The Psychology of Relaxation.* By G. T. W. PATRICK. Houghton Mifflin Co. Pp. viii+280. \$1.25.

The thesis which Professor Patrick propounds and defends is that the conditions of modern life are such as to result in "a rapid and extreme fatigue of the higher brain and an unusual and imperative demand for rest and relaxation" (p. 17). This conception furnishes the clue for his interpretation of play, laughter, profanity, the use of alcohol, and

the madness of war, a chapter being devoted to each of these topics. These different topics mark the various ways in which men seek an escape from the stress and strain of the given situation; and the mode of escape, as the author shows, with great insight and ability, is in each case a resort to a mode of behavior which is, at bottom, a return to a more fundamental and primitive form of activity. The moral of these considerations is that in our emphasis upon social evolution and social heredity we have tended to neglect the significance of the biological fitness of the units of which society is composed. Professor Patrick's splendid book is an eloquent plea for the tremendous importance of relaxation or of physiological adjustment. The book is excellently written, with a wealth of illustration and an intimate knowledge of the subject, and it constitutes a very important contribution to the doctrine of relaxation.

B. H. BODE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

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*The Universal Kinship.* By J. HOWARD MOORE. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1916. Pp. x+330.

This book presents in a readable, somewhat poetical style an exposition of the thesis that all life is one. Man's physical, psychical, and ethical kinship with the lower orders of life furnishes the themes for the three parts of the volume. The author presents a wealth of illustration drawn from the standard authorities on evolution. Much of it is good, though for the scientist there will seem at times to be lacking an exacting and critical spirit. Since, however, it is only the general outline of the evolutionary process that he is presenting and that for the lay reader, there is the less need for a searching analysis of the phases treated.

The author's real object seems to be somewhat ethical, judging from the last section in which, in view of the fact that man is in body and mind one with the rest of the animal world, the plea is made for the abandonment of our egocentric philosophy of life and a frank recognition of the principle that "*All beings are ends; no creatures are means. . . . Non-human beings were not made for human beings any more than human beings were made for non-human beings. . . . Act toward others as you would act toward a part of your own self.*"

IRVING KING

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

*Savage Survivals.* By J. HOWARD MOORE. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1916. Pp. 191.

This book is an excellent presentation of the concepts of organic and social evolution adapted to the intelligence of children. The material was originally part of a series of lectures on ethics given in the Crane Technical High School of Chicago.

The important part played by the principle of selection among wild and domestic animals is shown, and the many apt illustrations of vestigial structures, vestigial instincts, and vestigial social forms serve to impress the young mind with the evolutionary concept of gradual change and continuity. The relatively modern idea of the vast period of prehistoric human evolution is well developed.

It is doubtful whether the pedagogical value of Morgan's anthropologically obsolete nine stages of society is sufficient to justify its use even in a popular work which in so many respects is admirably scientific. The reader gains the impression (pp. 101-4) that the minds of savages are of distinctly inferior order. This does not agree with the findings of modern anthropology.

F. STUART CHAPIN

SMITH COLLEGE

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*Nationalizing America.* By EDWARD A. STEINER. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1916. Pp. 240. \$1.00.

To a group of six Chautauqua lectures on "Americanization," Professor Steiner has added four other chapters. Nationalism is defined as centering, not in the territorial extent of a country, not in a linguistic heritage, not in a set of awe-inspiring traditions, but primarily in the *will* of the people. And that national will must be determined upon making of the given country something more than a land of big cities, of big skyscrapers, and of big and bigger booms. Mr. Steiner believes in a United States which is greater than "merely another world-power, another armed camp, another huge, man-eating, national monster." He sees in the present European struggle more than a call to military preparedness on the part of the United States, and gives a large view of the forces which make for national greatness in the broadest sense.

The book contains a convicting, but a fair, uncovering of our national weakness. The chapter on "The Stomach Line" is especially searching in its criticism of our American overemphasis upon wealth. Lucid, fearless, brimming with unexpected humor, highly patriotic, international

in its vision—these are words and terms which indicate the author's style and viewpoint. "My country, right or wrong; but when she is wrong I am as ready to die that she may not commit the wrong, as I am ready to live and work that she may be right."

E. S. BOGARDUS

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

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*Modes of Research in Genetics.* By RAYMOND PEARL, Biologist of the Maine Agricultural Experiment Station. New York: Macmillan, 1915. Pp. vii+182.

This little book comprises four papers and addresses published elsewhere and, in addition, a chapter entitled "On the Nature of Statistical Knowledge"—an analysis of the claims of statisticians. The author admits that the great value of statistical treatment is the description of a *group* in terms of that group's attributes rather than those of the constituent individuals; but he regards as rather sterile the other quality of statistical research which affords only the "betting odds" about the individual case.

In two chapters the author examines critically the biometric, Mendelian, and other methods of genetic research, and shows the clear limitations of biometry. The final two chapters, the one on the mathematical aspects of the problem of inbreeding and the other an address on genetics and breeding, are more exclusively biological.

Pearl's book is another example of a growing tendency among American biologists that have more than the average literary capacity to write scientific essays in a generally readable form and publish them in a fashion that makes them accessible to the reading public. As a successful attempt in this direction this thoughtful book by one of our most distinguished scholars deserves a careful reading by all persons interested in statistical methods. The book is attractively printed and bound.

CHAS. B. DAVENPORT

COLD SPRING HARBOR, N.Y.

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*Modern Industry in Relation to the Family, Health, Education, Morality.* By FLORENCE KELLEY. New York: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1914. Pp. 147.

In this little volume Mrs. Kelley gives a vivid and rapid summary of some of those conditions of modern industrial society which have already led many thoughtful observers to doubt the reality of our

material progress. With the same simple style, and the same unaffected directness and concreteness of subject-matter with which she invariably holds the unwavering attention of her audiences, she sets forth the deficiencies of our industrial organization when viewed from the point of view of the conservation of human life and spirit. The volume contains the substance, and very largely the form, of four lectures delivered in 1913 at Teachers College, Columbia University, under the Isabel Hampton Robb Foundation.

With Mrs. Kelley's general conviction that modern industry and our modern anarchy of competition blindly sacrifice the individual to profit-getting, and, one might add with John R. Hobson, to the production of a vast quantity of material things which we could easily afford to dispense with, no intelligent person will take issue; nor with her confident expectation that the developing intelligence of social control will gradually render possible the elimination of much of this needless sacrifice of the individual. But sometimes her intense sympathy and humanitarianism take her to a point to which one hesitates to follow. For instance, she finds girls in a chocolate factory working in a room necessarily kept at a cool temperature, not for the sake of the girls, but for the chocolate, and the girls are loath to go home at the end of the day. "Do you think we are going to be as comfortable as this again before we get back here tomorrow morning?" is the query of one of them. Whereupon Mrs. Kelley exclaims, "Surely the time cannot be far distant when the conscience of the community will demand of the chocolate industry that it shall do throughout, for the health and comfort of its workers, what it now finds profitable to do in one room in each factory for the sake of the appearance of its product!" And again, speaking of the immigrant boys whose task it is (or was) to open and shut the doors of the cooling rooms in the beef-packing plants, she says: "Cynical, indeed, was the contrast between the provision for the well-being of the beef, and the exposure of the immigrant boys to pneumonia or rheumatism." And yet were the beef not kept cool some millions of people would go dinnerless. Perhaps her examples are merely not well taken in these instances, but surely there is here reflected a demand which it would be impossible for any society, however organized, to fulfill. We can greatly reduce the human costs of industry, but to hope to make all industrial tasks safe, cool, and pleasant is to indulge in a utopian dream.

She finds as one of the fundamental social evils of industry today a "paradoxical tendency of the family to disintegrate under pressure of

the same industry which affords it infinite material enrichment," and lays emphasis, not only on the lack of social economy in child labor, home manufacture, and industrial risks, but on two factors usually overlooked in discussions of the labor problem. These are the growing tendency to celibacy and the development of a floating labor supply, and the increase in the already high land values which make cheap homes impossible. Against these she places "the consumers' growing consciousness of power over industry" (which in spite of the fine work of the Consumers' League we think is easily overestimated) and the co-operative movement. She notes that the absence of records makes us indifferent to the human costs of industry. She might have added too that the presence of several millions of alien workers whom we look upon much as the South looks upon the negro—as mere means in production—is a great cause of indifference.

Death and disease she finds the by-products of industry, and our collective indifference illustrated by the fact that we have no adequate morbidity registration even for tuberculosis. Moreover, she points out "the deadly effects in working-class families of two active continuing influences—the bad food supply and the ignorant mothers in relation to that supply." All working girls, she says, should be kept at part-time continuation schools far beyond the present limit of sixteen years of age, because of the national need of intelligent mothers. Moreover, there must be a necessary expansion of public control over the distribution of staple food supplies, for without it increased wages are illusory. Incidentally, the milk supply must be municipalized, if we are to reduce infant mortality. Here she touches upon a social deficiency more widespread than her pages reveal. For among the tens of thousands of tenant and small-farm families in the South, this same wretched spoiling of food in preparation and this same appalling ignorance of child care are to be found—without the alleviating agencies so common in most northern cities of any size. The problem of the conservation of human life and spirit is quite as pressing among large sections of native American stock as it is among the alien races of the cities.

With all that she says in relation to modern industry and education one cannot but be in accord. Her stinging accusation of the schools will meet with no adequate defense:

Unacquainted with industry and out of touch with it, untrained in the principles and practise of co-operation, disfranchised and thus deprived of the education derived from active citizenship, the teachers of our schools are, in most of the states, failing the children today, as the universities and colleges



failed their students in the nineteenth century. They are not educating the masses of children to be masters of industry. On the contrary they are participating—at least to the extent of passive acquiescence—in the evil process of making them slaves to machines.

To counteract this commercialization and the deadening influence of the popular wave of trade education, we must have a new education.

This new education of youth the Nation sorely needs. We must establish in all the oncoming generation an unwearying spirit of inquiry with regard to industry. Nothing can be safely assumed in regard to it. Is it paying its social costs? Is its product, indeed, value received? Does it bring forth beauty?

One wishes that she might have had time to follow this idea out with some concrete suggestion as to the curriculum of the public schools, which is certainly now a survival from a type of industrial and economic society which we have now for some decades left behind us. Her most suggestive proposal is for the wholesale extension of part-time schools, all young workers to be kept in them until the age of twenty-one.

All in all, despite the inevitable faults of a book based upon the lecture form, the reader will peruse many books before he will find a more suggestive one than this with regard to our problems of social economy. Through it all runs a fine strong thread of democracy and of efficiency, not the Pecksniffian efficiency of the scientific manager, but that of a really human valuation.

A. B. WOLFE

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

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*Elements of Record Keeping for Child-Helping Organizations.* By GEORGIA G. RALPH. New York: Survey Associates, Inc., 1915. Pp. xii+195.

"This book is a collection and amplification of suggestions sent out by the Department of Child-Helping [of the Russell Sage Foundation] in answering requests for information concerning practical record forms and filing systems for child-caring organizations" (p. iii).

Here is a little volume which should prove of great assistance to all workers with children, who realize the need of accurate and informing records of their cases. It would prove an unspeakable boon to two other classes of persons if they could be induced to read it; first, for the naïve worshiper of statistics it would fearlessly disrobe many an imposing tabulation, revealing the frail fabric of wires and rods within. Nothing is more salutary for the person whose work should involve the weighing

of statistical evidence, but whose practice is to accept statistics as self-authenticating, than to work for a time among the often very raw materials out of which they are compounded with so much facility.

Another sort of person who ought to have this book as "required reading" is the one who is so concerned with the human factor, the *doing* of the immediate, personal, human job, that mere records—least of all detailed, uniform, objective records—seem a waste of valuable time. "When the matron of a Pennsylvania institution was asked for some very necessary information to help in deciding the futures of certain children in the home, she said that she could not give it because she had been there but a few months; that her predecessor, who 'didn't see the good of records' because she 'remembered all about the children,' had died suddenly, and all the information had died with her" (p. 2). Boys and girls upon coming to maturity not infrequently find themselves permanently deprived of valuable information about their parents and family connections through such inexcusable negligence on the part of institution authorities to whom vague and defective records had seemed good enough.

One phase of institutional record-keeping is of especial importance—that which concerns the placing-out and supervision of children. Society and foster-parents alike have the right to be assured that institutions, for example, are not peddling witless though winning defectives about the state to the confusion of family life and the propagation of imbecility and moral irresponsibility.

As to the further contents of this interesting study, it may suffice to mention a few leading topics: records showing identity and whereabouts; physical and mental records of the individual child; records for the investigation of foster-homes and the supervision of placed-out children; the use of records in preventive work; methods and devices for indexing and filing; abstracting material for annual reports. A large part of the book consists quite properly of concrete examples of records in illustration of the principles set forth.

ERVILLE B. WOODS

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

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*Ethics in Service.* By WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916. Pp. 101. \$1.00.

This volume, like the author's occupancy of the White House, will not secure the enthusiastic indorsement either of the typical standpatter or of the orthodox radical, for while admitting the existence of evils

denied by the former, the writer finds some of the latter's remedies to be either useless or pernicious. The scientific student will be pleased by the rejection of the rule-of-thumb methods of either side, for while the work lays no claim to academic research, it does seek to utilize the author's experience and observation in subjecting modern governmental tendencies to the test of their actual service to the public weal.

The five chapters of the book, which were the Page Lectures for 1914, deal with the problems of the legal profession, the executive power, and modern tendencies in political development. There is a wholesome lack of cant and dogma as well as of sweeping statements of approval or disapproval. For example, the necessity of labor unions to secure a just equality of bargaining power, and their influence in securing much beneficent legislation are clearly set forth, but this position is accompanied with a vigorous protest against such abuses of power as the useless limiting of production and ready acquiescence in lawless methods. The reader wonders if, after all, the judicial temperament which has guided the distinguished author away from orthodox extremes, and kept him in reasonable contact with reality, may not perhaps be as valuable to the statesman in the conflicts of public life as to the judge enjoying the seclusion of the bench.

ARNOLD BENNETT HALL

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

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*Property and Society.* By ANDREW ALEXANDER BRUCE. (The National Social Science Series.) Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1916. Pp. 150. \$0.50.

Socializing the legal point of view regarding the rights of private property is the keynote of this excellent little book. In developing his subject, Judge Bruce has made a brief, but clear and carefully prepared, résumé of the development of the legal status of private property.

The author shows that the waste or misuse of natural resources is being looked upon more and more as a matter of public concern rather than of individual concern, and he asserts that a socially beneficial use should always be made the basis of "so-called property rights." He contends that faith in our government and courts is lost when an attempt is made to meet great economic and social questions, involving human destinies and human lives, by reconciling decisions regarding them with past decisions which were based upon social thought and social systems, in themselves radically wrong. The author further contends, that we do not need more laws or more political machinery as much as we need

a new social conscience: "We must get the vision that the welfare of a nation is based upon that of its humblest citizens, that property was made for man and not man for property."

This book is valuable as well as interesting because it is an expression of the growing tendency of our courts to place increasing emphasis upon the necessity of making their decisions from the viewpoint of the greatest public welfare rather than being controlled in their decisions by a strict adherence to technicality and precedent.

MANUEL C. ELMER

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

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*Poverty and Riches; A Study of the Industrial Régime.* By SCOTT NEARING, PH.D. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1916. Pp. 256; 16 plates. \$1.00.

This, the latest of Nearing's books, is written with the author's characteristic interest and enthusiasm. Its title is somewhat misleading, for little is said about "riches."

Individualism is contrasted with socialism, and blame for the problems of industry, such as poverty, vice, child labor, long hours, and bad housing, is attributed to the policy of *laissez faire*, which permits the rich and strong to exploit the poor and weak. The history of England's experience during the industrial revolution is used to prove this.

While the invention of machinery has enabled man to produce more, it has made the worker the slave of his machine. Under our present organization the ordinary worker cannot earn a living wage; in fact, the American wage is antisocial. Modern industry calls for only a few leaders and a large number of followers, and so does not train for leadership but for obedience to orders, and tramples out initiative. While poverty causes vice, crime, and disease, and starves initiative, riches sap initiative by removing the stimulus to activity, thus leading to parasitism.

In the last chapter, entitled "Industrial Democracy," which is perhaps the weakest in the book, the author pleads for liberty and equality of opportunity, and for a change from an industrial system which places dollars above souls, although he suggests no remedy.

The work is decidedly for the popular reader and contributes little to the subject of poverty. Its enthusiasm and ingenuity, however, make the book a very interesting one to read. It is a pity that some of the illustrations were not omitted.

G. S. Dow

OLIVET COLLEGE

## RECENT LITERATURE

### NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

**Some Guarantees of a Durable Peace.**—The popular view in France is that a durable peace is to be secured by the suppression of Prussian militarism and by the more democratic political reorganization of Germany, which, it is believed, will result from the war. This view reflects a shallow optimism on the part of the French people, and a total lack of comprehension of the German social mind. It is not likely that the war will result in an increase of democracy in Germany, nor that defeat will shake the confidence which the individual German has in his fatherland as a nation of the élite, destined to dominate the world. Rather, we may expect the frustrated German ambition for world-dominion to break out again at the first favorable opportunity. The Allies therefore seem to have no recourse but to impose upon Germany, in addition to whatever other conditions may be agreed upon to secure the future of Europe, an indemnity sufficiently heavy to repress military expenditures, at least as large as the sum spent for military purposes before the war.—E. Spire, "De quelques Garanties d'une paix durable," *Revue politique et parlementaire*, October, 1916.

H. E. J.

**Music and the Soldiers.**—Military music has always been descriptive of the military art and life of the peoples among whom it arose. The recent rapid progress in the art of war has rendered the descriptive phase of classical military music inadequate. But the function of music in the present conflict has not been to dramatize military life so much as to produce unity of sentiment and feeling among the soldiers. To this end the music of all lands and of all times has served, and by it the soldiers have been sustained and inspired upon their way of mingled misery and glory.—Camille Bellaigue, "La Musique at les Soldats," *Revue des deux mondes*, November, 1916.

H. E. J.

**The War and Feminism.**—One of the most interesting and important social effects of the war is the revolution which it has wrought in the status of women. A few months have sufficed to bring about changes which a century and a quarter of feminist agitation could not accomplish. Sex inequalities have passed away, and in industry women have taken their place along with men, assuming the same obligations and receiving the same remuneration. But more significant for the future is the change in attitude toward employment on the part of women. The prestige which once belonged to the women of leisure now goes to those who are engaged in some useful occupation. This change in attitude, together with the indispensable services which the women have rendered during the war, and which they have still to render in the period of reconstruction that is to follow, assures us that the gains of the past two years will be conserved. But equality in industry must be followed by political equality. The feminists are demanding all their rights as the sole means which will make it possible for them to fulfil all their duties.—Jane Misme, "La Guerre et le rôle des femmes," *Revue de Paris*, November, 1916.

H. E. J.

**The New Law for the War Regarding the Workmen.**—Before 1901 there was no legal recognition of the right of assemblage of citizens in the French codes of law. By the law of July 1, 1901, citizens were permitted to assemble after having fulfilled certain processes of administrative requirements. By 1914 more than three thousand workmen's associations in Paris alone had organized themselves under this law. This law did not permit such organizations to collect membership dues, accept gifts, or, in short, to exercise any financial activities. With the wounds and deaths of many of their members in the war, these organizations have desired to assume financial activities as agencies of charity. The government has recognized the justice of this

demand, and enacted laws on May 30, and September 18, 1916, for the period of the war, allowing workmen's associations to exercise these functions under ministerial supervision. The operation of these laws is still in doubt. Legal difficulties are to be overcome. Then the presence of many alien societies whose status cannot be defined under these laws, adds further difficulties.—Gabriel Louis Jaray, "La Loi nouvelle sur les ouvres de guerre," *Revue politique et parlementaire*, October, 1916. C. L. N.

**The Decline of the Birth-Rate in France.**—Statistics show a decline in the birth-rate of all neighboring countries, as well as in France itself. In the first decade of the nineteenth century France had a birth-rate of probably thirty-eight per thousand population. In the first decade of the twentieth century she had a birth-rate of only nineteen per thousand population. For the years of 1908-10 the birth-rate per thousand population in Germany was 31.6, for Austria 33.2, for Italy 33, for England 26, and for France 19.8. In spite of this low birth-rate, it is not true, as it is often alleged that the total population is declining. There has been until the opening of the war a slow but steady gain. This has been lessened somewhat by the effect of emigration. Various causes have been given for the decline of the birth-rate—alcoholism, avarice, physiological incapacity, the masculinization of woman, etc. The true cause is psychological, and lies in the current conceptions of moral and economic matters. The crux of the situation is individualism, which is the most completely characteristic feature of the social evolution of modern times. It has developed extremely rapidly throughout the Occident during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and has been especially marked in its development in France.—René Worms, "La Baisse de la natalité en France," *Revue internationale de sociologie*, November, 1916.

C. L. N.

**The Outlines of the Law Relating to the Orphans of the War.**—The representatives of the government presented to the Senate measures for the care and protection of the orphans of war, which were enacted on June 17, 1915. The cardinal principle of this law is to maintain the idea of the family in providing for these unfortunates. Those orphans left with relatives are to be provided for in the homes of these relatives by a pension if need be. These pensions are to be but a part of the existing soldiers' pension system. Those orphans totally without relatives, "orphans of the state," are to be given the best substitute for the family in orphanages maintained by the local and national governments. These orphanages are under the management of supervisory boards, composed of representatives of the government and persons representative of philanthropic agencies.—Paul Nourisson, "Le Project de loi relatif aux orphelins de guerre," *Revue pénitentiaire et de droit pénal*, August-October, 1916.

C. L. N.

**On the Organization of a Center of Orthopedy for the Severely Wounded.**—The French nation should do all in its power to relieve and better the condition of its maimed and injured soldiers. A great service could be rendered these unfortunates, and a great step toward the advancement of surgical science be made, if the government would equip and maintain large hospitals. Owing to the large number needing attention such institutions should be permanent, and should be erected at a safe distance from the area of danger of the war itself. It is the attempt of the founders of this movement to create such an institution at Bordeaux. Its purposes are to care for the wounded needing surgical attention, to utilize and test out modern surgical methods by the clinical facilities offered, and finally to train the wounded to enter occupations to which they may be eligible after recovery.—Dr. Francis Bussiere, "Sur l'Organisation d'un centre orthopédique pour nos grands blessés," *Revue philanthropique*, September, 1916.

C. L. N.

**A Criminal-Pedagogical Institute.**—The officials of the institute are the judge, the regular and volunteer officers of the court, and the juvenile protective associations of a judicial district. Its object is to educate the community through the co-operation of the public with the court, and then through the community to educate the offender. The following are the ruling principles: (1) the child is placed in a temporary home owned by the court in order to ascertain his mental, physical, and moral resources, and his prospects for the future; (2) no trial is held before the institute has arrived

at a proper understanding of the causes and effects relative to the case in question; (3) probation is granted whenever possible; (4) a proper home, as well as a suitable occupation, is secured by a special bureau of the court; (5) a constant relation is maintained between the court and the child; (6) all volunteers receive special training according to plans outlined by H. Gross, and thereby become more sympathetic representatives of the community and more reliable officers of the court.—Dr. E. v. Karman, "Ein kriminal-pädagogisches Institute," *Zeitschrift für Kinderforschung*, June, 1916. Z. T. E.

**The Ethnogenic Influences in the Milieux in Gaul and Germany.**—So far as we can ascertain, the barbarian tribes which invaded the Roman Empire were all representatives of the same general racial type. This appears to have been true of those from the extreme north as well as of those nearer the outlying provinces. How does it occur that the descendants of these invaders present two distinct racial types? Later migrations into Europe are not the causes of this difference. Obviously then it must be due to the action of environment. Apparently the Baltic seaboard has certain factors which have made for the development of a larger, blond, racial type. On the other hand, the racial types in the old territories of Gaul have remained about constant, and are practically the same today as they were at the time of the invasions.—P. G. Mahoudeau, "Les Influences ethnogéniques des milieux en Gaul et en Germanie," *Revue anthropologie*, October, 1916. C. L. N.

**Birth-Control and Biological Ethics.**—The scientific argument against birth-control is based upon the biological conception of man as an animal species, it being the notion that to interfere with the process of reproduction for purposes of our own is to set aside the will of Nature. This argument is often advanced under the cloak of its claim to social-mindedness as opposed to individualism. But in the last analysis it rests, not upon the needs of a self-conscious humanity, but upon the external demands of a personified "Nature." The control of natural processes for human rather than for merely natural ends is now generally accepted as the mark of an enlightened humanity. There is no higher good for self-conscious beings than the cultivation of personal humanity through personal relations; and as means to this good both natural processes and economic organization should be subordinated. As one type of these desirable personal relations, marriage—of which the sex-relation is an inseparable part—is its own justification, quite regardless of whether or not it perpetuates the species. There are many good reasons, personal and social, for limiting the size of families; but the decision should rest with those directly concerned.—Warner Fite, *International Journal of Ethics*, October, 1916. E. R. B.

**The New Interdenominationalism.**—There has been growing up within the church a new interdenominationalism which is the religious counterpart of the drift toward the new political internationalism, and is a result of much the same causes. The growing spirit of democracy, the increasing community of interests and tasks, the new respect for scientific inquiry, and the general tendency of the age toward combination have left their impress upon all social institutions. The most adequate institutional expression of the new interdenominationalism is to be found in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, in which thrifty denominations, representing eighteen millions of communicants, find a common center for consultation respecting infringement of rights, grievances, and competition; respecting secularizing tendencies, encroachments of materialism, common perils and foes; and respecting plans and policies for the realization of a dawning fellowship, and the accomplishment of common tasks. The Council, however, is weak in two directions: in its lack of vital connection with the spiritual genius of the bodies which it represents, and in its loose amalgamation of commissions almost entirely unrelated. It has yet far to go in compacting its organization, spiritualizing its activities, and in gathering into itself the interdenominational impulses toward unity, with the accompanying confidence which a central body must possess. But the hope for the future of the new interdenominationalism must rest, not upon such a transitional organization as the Federal Council, which is but a reflection of the transitional stage of the religious consciousness of the times, but upon that religious consciousness itself becoming aware that the true basis of fellowship lies in service to man.—A. W. Anthony, *American Journal of Theology*, October, 1916. H. E. J.

**The Origin of Totemism.**—Recent discussions of totemism have referred to a so-called "American theory," ascribed to Alice C. Fletcher, Charles Hill-Tout, and the writer, and supposed to be based on the idea that the clan totem has developed from the individual manitou by extension over a kinship group. The writer does not hold such a view, believing, on the contrary, that, while such a statement describes what seems to have occurred among the Kwakiutl, any such generalization is rooted in a fallacious analogical method. Under the stress of the dominant idea of exogamic division, analogous forms, utilizing totemic designations, may have developed from distinct sources. It is a mistake to regard the totemic problem as restricted to the identification of man and animals, for this singles out but one trait from a highly involved complex. The elements of totemic organization are given wherever a unilateral family is designated by some characteristic feature. The real totemic problem, therefore, is to explain the origin of the association of varying types of ethnic activities, as taboos, naming, symbols, and rituals, with exogamy or endogamy.—Frans Boas, *American Anthropologist*, July–September, 1916. E. R. B.

**The Children's Rights Laws and Maternity Insurance in Norway.**—Norway has adopted a radical program during the war. The children's rights laws are one result of the woman movement. The principles underlying these are equal responsibility and duty of parents toward the child, and the equal right of the child toward its mother and father. Under these laws, the so-called illegitimate child has a right to the family name of either parent, to be reared according to the standards of the wealthier parent, to inherit from its father and his relatives. The death-rate in the first year of life has been about twice as great among illegitimate as among legitimate children. Now the father must support the mother during and after confinement, but few of the mothers apply for aid. The mother is required to give the father's name at birth registration. In case the father cannot be found, the mother may receive aid from the municipality. Further, compulsory maternity insurance is established for women who work for wages, and for the wives of wage-earners. Few besides unmarried women get aid from this. To this has been added sickness insurance for mother and child. This will improve the standard required of midwives and maternity homes. The money is paid to the wife personally.—J. Castberg, *Journal of Comparative Legislation*, July, 1916. J. P. S.

**Eugenics.**—The first duty of the eugenicist is to determine empirically and without bias which features in the human being are hereditary and which are not. The biological eugenicist seeks an anatomical basis for all differences of function, while the anthropologist believes that many different anatomical forms can be adapted to the same social functions. We must assume that all complex activities are socially determined and not hereditary, unless the contrary can be proved. The assertion that among all civilized nations there is a marked tendency toward degeneration has not been adequately proved, for the increased functional activities of the nations must show an increased degree of differentiation. The number of defectives can be counted, while those lifted above this line are not determined. Moreover, a greater capacity is now required in modern life than formerly. Public hygiene further complicates the problem by keeping alive many who would have succumbed otherwise. The eugenicist would treat procreation rationally, but emotional preferences are such that this ideal is unattainable. Positively, the eugenicist must state what strains he would cultivate if eugenic standards are to be practiced. For the present, however, the field of the eugenicist is the suppression of defective classes due to hereditary causes and the prevention of unions that will lead unquestionably to disease-stricken progeny.—Franz Boas, *Scientific Monthly*, November, 1916. C. C. J.

**Scientific Management and Labor Welfare.**—Time and motion study is the chief cornerstone of scientific management. In its narrower sense, as understood generally by labor, it is an instrument for task-setting and efficiency-rating. In its wider sense it is a method of attempted accurate industrial analysis to discover at every step of the productive and distributive process the most effective material, organic and human arrangements, adaptations, and combinations of men and management. Although scientific on its mechanical side, it has no scientific basis on its human side.



A score of variants enter in, any one of which affects the factual results. From a social point of view we must consider (a) that scientific management has in it possibilities of enormous increase of productive efficiency; (b) that as it actually exists, it breaks down labor organizations and collective bargaining; (c) that, in its essential nature and unsupplemented, it tends to reduce the mass of workers to a little-skilled, practically interchangeable and unorganized mass. It narrows the task, neglects apprenticeship, and prevents stable conditions of work and pay. The remedy lies, not in suppression, but in supplementary educational measures.—Robert F. Hoxie, *Journal of Political Economy*, November, 1916.  
C. C. J.

**War and the Survival of the Fittest.**—The survival of the fittest does not necessarily mean the survival of the best. The struggle for existence involves, not only a competitive struggle of organism against organism or nation against nation, but also a struggle against nature. The latter would remain even if war were eliminated. The former shows itself not only in war, but in commerce, science, art, etc. War is only a part, a phase, of this struggle. Hence the abolition of war would not interfere at all with this law. The advocates of war who favor it as a biological necessity to avoid social stagnation mistake a particular kind of action—war—for the necessity of social action. The law of progress is action, and while action is a necessity to individual and social life, it need not be destructive. Knowledge of this great natural law is for control, not for impotent obedience; for survival of the fittest is not always progress. Man as an ethical being, knowing the natural law, can counteract one force with another. He finds abundant opportunity for action in solving the many social problems that arise in modern life.—I. W. Howerth, *Scientific Monthly*, November, 1916.  
C. C. J.

**The Psychology of Wish-Fulfillment.**—According to Freud's theory all wishes are brought to a conscious expression, but, upon being recognized as not squaring with the ethical code of the individual, are immediately "repressed into the unconscious." Thus wishes and dreams are censored. But many of us do not believe in the world of the unconscious; hence, we try to explain censorship along biological lines. We believe that one group of habits can "down" another group of habits or instincts. Thus our ordinary system of habits inhibits those habits and instinctive tendencies which belong largely to the past. This conception of the dream, having both censored and uncensored features, has led us to divide the dream into manifest content and latent content. While the manifest content is nonsensical, its true or latent content is usually logical and expressive of some wish that has been suppressed in the waking state. It is among these frustrated impulses that we find the biological basis of the unfulfilled wish. Such wishes need never have been "conscious," and need never have been suppressed into Freud's realm of the unconscious.—John B. Watson, *Scientific Monthly*, November, 1916.  
Z. T. E.

**The School Superintendent as Community-Welfare Worker.**—The superintendent of schools is the logical man to act as head of the community-welfare work. It shall be his task to unify and direct all the welfare agencies of the community, look after the derelicts, provide wholesome amusements for the young people, keep the people of the neighborhood informed on all reform political movements, and to be able, on occasion, to specialize upon such themes as the purity of the city water and disposal of garbage. The average community centers in the school as in no other institution, and the superintendent's constituency will stand for his doing work for the whole community.—Frederick F. Hall, *American School Board Journal*, November, 1916.  
H. C. C.

**The Influence of War upon the Religious Life and Thought of Great Britain.**—The religious effect of the war cannot be gauged with anything like accuracy. This, however, may be said: the influence of war upon the religious situation is not as influential as an outsider might suspect. War does not make bad people good; it makes good people better. Those who look for public evidence of a religious revival are disappointed; even the daily intercession services are not so well attended as they should be. A satisfactory effect of the war is the awakening of the general public to

the inimical tendencies of the liquor traffic. There are also three Christian truths which, under the pressure of war, appeal with particular force to the people, namely, prayer, atonement, and immortality. The problem of prayer for the dead has also become intensely practical. The idea of church union is almost certain to be accelerated. The churches have undoubtedly fostered the temper of willing response to the state's call for self-sacrifice, and foreign missionary work has not been regarded as being of no importance for Christianity.—J. Watson, *American Journal of Theology*, October, 1916.

Z. T. E.

**The Common-Sense of Myth.**—The mythopoic man is not yet dead. This passed into dogma before sufficient probation as a hypothesis. It is not a necessary hypothesis that myths were created by a mind which did not work like ours: Brown, Jones, and Smith can create myths. We have deduced the mythopoic man from the myths and then used him to explain the vagaries of the myths themselves. Primitive people explain these things just as we do—they are driven to certain conclusions by their preconceptions. A Fijian myth of creation is taken by analogy from the ceremony of the installation of a chief, which includes the bringing of earth from Vitu Levu for the ceremony. Myths are the vestiges of lost customs; an etiological myth is not necessarily invented to explain a thing, but may be a historical fact which suggested an explanation. The stories of trying to make kings' daughters laugh, of Joshua stopping the sun, and the killing of the divine king are all misunderstood customs. But before accepting any conclusion, we need to study a certain field until we are familiar with the whole culture to which the myth belongs, and then the facts will force the conclusion upon us and not we force the conclusion upon the facts.—A. M. Hocart, *American Anthropologist*, July–September, 1916.

J. P. S.

**The Religious Revival in Germany: Its Role in World-Politics.**—Guizot's conclusion as to the decay of religiosity in the Occident with the rise of rationalism would have been confirmed to him had he lived to see the spiritual unrest of the twentieth century in Germany. But the war has brought about a revival of religion. That the resultant ethical and religious gains will be permanent is a conviction confirmed by their relation to the solution of the most important contemporary political and cultural problems. German individualism seeks the ideal in the empirical and immortalizes the human. It recognizes the categorical imperative as limiting self-determination, and passes a religious value-judgment upon the worth of all sacrifice of the individual to the social good. The most valuable result of the war has been the test and confirmation which it has furnished as to the validity of the German social ideal, an ideal which is indispensable to the realization of the world's highest cultural development. After the war there will be closer political and social relations between the Orient and the Occident, and a greater need than ever before for the reconciliation of Eastern and Western ideals. The lack of idealism in England's administration of civil affairs in India has not aided in the assimilation of cultures. But Germany, with her spiritual conception of the state and her emphasis upon individual development through renunciation, is peculiarly fitted to play this rôle. Her logical task after the war is the moralization of world-politics. It is in the performance of this task that we may hope to see her conserve her newly achieved spiritual awakening and to make it count internationally as a cultural force.—Freiherr v. Mackay, "Deutschland und die Welt, Staat und Religion," *Der Geisteskampf der Gegenwart*, February, 1916.

H. E. J.

**Prohibition and Civilization.**—The question of prohibition is whether the peculiar type of civilization that expresses itself through prohibition is really attractive and interesting. I am inclined to believe that to live under any régime of prohibition that I have so far had opportunity to observe would be an appalling calamity. There is no reason why the United States might not become a sufficiently temperate nation without the sacrifices required by prohibition. Why might not some state, for instance, make a simple experiment in differential taxation; and with that, why might not some community take up the problem of retail distribution—the saloon problem—with serious common-sense, providing such a type of resort as exists everywhere on the Continent and is being introduced into England? Such a policy as this is constructive, not negative, and, when laid down, is done with once for all. It would be interesting

to compare the results with those that are to be observed in Kansas, or in any other state that has embarked on a course of prohibition.—Albert Jay Nock, *North American Review*, September, 1916. H. C. C.

**The Mental Examination of Reformatory Prisoners.**—At the Massachusetts Reformatory the method of mental examination by applying uniform tests has been abandoned for the methods of the clinical psychiatrist. Repeated interviews, varied tests, corroboration of prisoners' testimony by independent investigation, field research to discover hereditary and environmental bases for delinquency, and a thoroughly conscious endeavor to direct the interest of the prisoners toward formulation of a personal plan of reform have been found indispensable to effective rehabilitation. This procedure has enabled the tentative differentiation of the competent, deviate, and deficient classes and their subdivision into diagnoses of a variety of mental departure with cross-reference to adult, subnormal, and segregable grades.—Guy G. Fernald, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, September, 1916. E. R. B.

**Syphilis before the War: Failure to Recognize its Extreme Frequency.**—Because of alarm over the present apparent epidemic of syphilis that seems to have come with the war, it is our purpose to point out how the frequency of the disease before the war was overlooked. The average physician is unable to recognize certain common stages of the infirmity. Statistical records are worthless as far as throwing light on syphilis and gonorrhea is concerned. Syphilitic diseases have been hidden under other names. Sanitation statistics should be reorganized so that the specific and real causes of death or sickness will be shown. But these conditions have accounted for popular ignorance of the frequent occurrence of syphilis in normal times.—M. le Dr. Landouzy, "La Syphilis avant la guerre, reconnaissance de son extrême fréquence," *Revue d'hygiène*, June, 1916. C. C. C.

**The Whipping of Minors in Great Britain.**—Although the whipping of minors was well established in practice at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was not embodied in the law until 1820. No further recognition was paid to it until after 1860, when the French gave it legal recognition and the English extended its use in an attempt to stamp out juvenile crime. In 1880 the activities of the Hooligans and Apaches in London led to the practice reaching its most extensive use. It declined before 1900; since then it has been revived. It is now used in cases of summary condemnation of persons under fourteen years for petty offenses; by the Court of Assizes for males under sixteen years for arsons, attacks against persons, etc.; and as a supplementary punishment for sentences involving imprisonment. The judge assesses the number of strokes. In addition to this it is used widely in the schools and houses of correction, usually as a last resort after withdrawals of privileges have failed with the recalcitrant individual. England has the lowest rate of juvenile delinquency of any of the European countries; whipping has undoubtedly been a factor in this.—Hippolyte Laurent, "La Criminalité infantile," *Revue catholique des institutions et du droit*, May-August, 1916. C. L. N.

**The Problem of Complete Wage Justice.**—A living wage for all workers is merely the minimum measure of just remuneration and not complete justice. The world has recognized for some time that increase in production of any article by labor, or the scarcity of labor, calls for more than living wages. In addition to this, laborers have a just claim to more than living wages whenever they put forth unusual efforts, and whenever their occupations involve unusual sacrifices, through either cost of preparation, exceptional hazards, or inherent disagreeableness. This is not losing sight of the fact that the immediate problem confronting society is that of raising the remuneration and strengthening generally the economic position of those laborers who are now below the level, not merely of the "equitable minimum," but of a decent livelihood.—John A. Ryan, *Catholic World*, August, 1916. H. C. C.

**Rural Depopulation.**—Laur of Zurich bases his investigation of the rural population upon the statistics of 21 civilized countries covering the period from 1880 to 1911. The general urban increase is 60 per cent, while that of the rural increase is

only 8 per cent. All countries, without exception, show a decrease in the relative percentage of the rural population to the entire population, while in the older countries—Germany, England, Scotland, France, Italy, and Ireland—there is an absolute loss in rural population. In Italy only 12.5 per cent live in parishes of less than 2,000. Of rural occupations agriculture has suffered the heaviest loss in nearly all countries. Only the really agrarian countries show a gain in rural population. Laur gives the following reasons for the cityward movement: (1) the removal of mediaeval restrictions upon migration and the opportunities for employment in the cities; (2) the agricultural crisis during the last decades of the past century; (3) the hope of advancement to high positions and an underestimation of the advantages of rural life. The factors against this movement are (1) the lack of help on the large estates which favors division into smaller holdings; (2) the improvements in technique and organization of agricultural conditions and the high prices which have induced confidence in the future of agriculture.—Dr. Hans Bernhard, "Die Entvölkerung des Landes," *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie*, Heft XII, 1914-15.  
C. C. J.

**The Science of Peoples.**—Haddon's statement that wherever man is found there is an open field for ethnology is the keynote to much of the modern development in that science. It is not necessary to go to the savage for ethnographic material; it can be found among the common people of any community. The conception of a primitive man disappears before the scrutiny of science. Civilized and uncivilized are also unsafe classifications, because it is hard to draw a line in conceptions of such a dynamic and changing character. Natural peoples are simply peoples poor in culture, not degenerates nor peoples of arrested development. Primitive man is not a poet constructing myths out of dreams and words. Man in the lowest stages thinks reasonably and tries to give a satisfactory answer to phenomena. His science, which is false to us, is to him a logical system of principles and beliefs representing the truth. A "myth is the natural and necessary explanation of a phenomenon made by the intelligence of the uncivilized, and mythology is the false science of peoples to whom true science is as yet impossible." It is false to consider as advanced any recent stage of culture. The evolution of culture goes on by progression and regression, by rapid or violent developments according to the factors which enter into play.—Raffaele Corse, *Riv. Ital. Sociol.*, April, 1916.  
M. S. H.

**The Catholic Church and the War.**—After the European war, among the problems calling for a solution will be that of the universality of the Roman Catholic church. This universality has been shattered by the adherence of the various church groups in the various belligerent countries to the nationalistic ideals of those countries. The former struggles between the church and the state have been silenced in face of the struggle of the nation with its enemies. Because of this the church has become one of the strongest supporters of the state. The result of this will be that the Papacy will have to find other ways of maintaining its universality and at the same time benefit by the results of this harmony.—Andrea Galante, *Scienza*, October, 1916.  
M. S. H.

**Sociology and Nationality.**—Progress does not make for the formation of large states composed of various nationalities. The assimilation and fusion which can be obtained from peoples of a primitive character, semibarbarous or barbarous, cannot be obtained from human nuclei which have undergone historical vicissitudes and which have achieved autonomy with a consciousness of their independent national formation. For that reason, the efforts of any modern state to create a big empire by annexing other smaller states is a retrogression. An empire like that of Charlemagne or Charles V is today an anachronism and would be a danger to the freedom of peoples and their independence. The liberty necessary to individuals and states cannot coexist with the oppressive conditions necessary to the conservation of a vast empire like that of Germany, Austria-Hungary, or Russia. Small states are usually pacific and have no ambitions of conquest and aggrandizement.—G. Sergi, *Riv. Ital. Sociol.* January-February, 1916.  
M. S. H.

**Veneral Diseases during the First Year of the War.**—The widespread rumor that venereal diseases in the German army had assumed such proportions as to constitute

a national danger is incorrect. The number of diseased during the first year among the garrison of the Fortress Breslau, one of the largest concentration camps, did not increase much above the average figures of the last three years of peace. The number per thousand in 1911 was 3.3; in 1912, 2.6; in 1913, 2.9; and in 1914-15, 3.1. However, 679 prostitutes have been interned in hospitals over against 380 of the previous year. In the interests of the efficiency of the army and for the protection of the women and posterity, now and after the war, civil and military authorities have co-operated and must co-operate (1) in trying to prevent further infections; (2) in tracing every case of infection to its original source; (3) in ordering a compulsory treatment of every infected person, man or woman, under strict supervision; (4) in establishing sickness insurance for prostitutes with compulsory membership; (5) in examining every soldier who has been infected during the war by blood test, before he is mustered out; and (6) in compulsory retention and treatment by military authorities until the person concerned has ceased to be a danger for others—Dr. M. Chotzen, "Die Geschlechtskrankheiten während des ersten Kriegsjahres," *Münchener medizinische Wochenschrift*, February, 1916. Z. T. E.

**The Role of Force.**—In these days no one can decline to consider the significance of force for life and human values. It is obvious that reason without the capacity to make it manifest is futile. The evolutionary biology has shown the great part which force plays in development. Curiosity and attention are made keen by the necessity of attending to the menace of danger. The higher mental attitudes like pride and humility grow upon the reactions between combatants. The exercise of force has brought about co-operation and so raised man above the brutes. The husband's prowess has made the wife obedient and the children docile. But force has been intellectualized so that it now works mentally much more than physically. The forces in a society should be united, by compulsion if necessary, for the interests of the community. Criminals and divergent types should be brought to conformation or eliminated. But force alone cannot maintain a successful union. It must be supplemented by the ideal of justice, which, in its turn, should not become too tender. To believe that the instincts of struggle will finally disappear in an epoch of pacivism is a grave illusion of the philosophical mind that judges the world by itself. Wars will continue to burst forth as the natural discharge of accumulated pride and greed in militant types. But this should not deter force from being used in bringing about justice.—A. Bauer, "La Rôle de la force," *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger*, July, 1916. C. C. C.

**The Moral Fact and the Social Fact.**—The modern mind is confronted with two sorts of reality, physical and social. The latter lacks the objectivity of the former, yet is none the less the object of scientific knowledge, so that we are warranted in speaking of certain phenomena as social facts. Moral facts, however, only become the objects of scientific inquiry when they become externalized to individual consciousness in the social process. Although the terms "social" and "moral" are thus inseparable, there is an immense hiatus between the two concepts. The former is the field of conformity; the latter, of initiative. Social conventions give to each individual a somewhat stable external character behind which there is an "inner forum" of aspiration, desire, thought, etc., which forms the core of personality. The moral is more comprehensive than the social. It is generated, not in the social process, *qua process*, but in the inner forum of individual consciousness. When we call one fact moral in contradistinction to another fact as social, we mean that it is characterized by imminence, immediacy, and subjectivity. The moral is in advance of the social, is directive of the social, from which it can be detached as a mere epiphenomenon.—E. Récjác, "Le Fait moral et le fait social," *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger* June, 1916. H. E. J.

**We and the Democracies of the West.**—Among the many painful disappointments of the world-war is the moral breakdown of the democracies and parliaments which we considered to be the best and to which we looked up with envious admiration. They are altogether in the hands of unscrupulous cliques. The old and ancient republics, especially Rome, were nothing else but masses of people in the hands of clever and

cold-hearted capitalists—America, France, and England are the same over again. We Germans, after all, passed the great crisis in a better way, because we have a social structure built up in natural forms. With us, sons still succeed fathers, apprentices are developed and take the place of masters and bosses, leadership is consistently and gradually developed. The genealogy of those who lead now points back to the parsonage, to the homes of the teachers, and, if we go a few generations farther back, to the hut of the peasant and the workman. Germany has not only an aristocracy of money, but, above all, an aristocracy of efficiency, because everyone had to learn what he knows under the strict discipline of life. Our internal structure of state is still incomplete. Much must be done, much is to be improved, but we do not want professional politicians and lawyers. We want leaders who, through their trade or professions, have served a smaller circle. We want Blinkman the baker Bebel the wood-turner, Zedlitz the agrarian, with all their crudeness. Woe unto the country whose statesmen, in order to keep themselves in power, must be smooth-tongued demagogues. This we want to remember in our work of reconstruction.—W. Classen, "Wir und die Demokratie des Westens," *Christliche Welt*, January, 1916.

Z. T. E.

**The German Social Democracy in the German Nation.**—The situation in the German social democratic party is complex, and the confusion which there prevails contains a grave danger to the party. The appearance of pamphlets attacking the government's war policy has shown that there are those among us who, even in this time of trial, are trying to bring about a disruption of the party through their blind adherence to theoretical doctrines. The declaration of the Executive Board of June 9, demanded that the party should commence the class struggle in accordance with the principles and policies of the party and should now begin the fight for peace. How the present war involves a class struggle and in what way we can bring about peace is not apparent. Due to the suppression of all discussion by the government, these questions have not been answered publicly. But in the meetings of the party we find that some hold the idea that our comrades should fight, not with inspiration and free will, but only through compulsion and forced necessity. This idea is wrong. Our soldiers are fighting for the defense and existence of the fatherland, and their hearts should be and are inspired by that thought. To throw down our arms, as others demand, would simply open our land to the onrush of our enemies. No one who is not blinded by his theorizing or hatred of war could seriously urge us not to resist the invasion of our enemies. The fact is, there is nothing that we can now do to bring about peace. As long as our enemies are determined to crush Germany completely, and refuse to halt the war on terms of peace honorable to Germany, we have no alternative but to continue the fight until they weaken. But the greatest danger of this demand for peace lies in its effect on our political future. The reactionaries who aim to destroy our influence with the German people are now accusing us of opposition to the defense of the fatherland in this crucial time, and we are not in a position to deny it.—Wolfgang Heine, "Die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie im Deutschen Volk," *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, July, 1915.

A. C. K.

**The Future of Little States.**—The right of little states to existence and to respect is a problem which recent events have suddenly placed before us. The German position is represented by Ratzel in his *Politische Geographie*. He develops the theory that the great state represents the highest stage in the political evolution from the village and city-states. It is the highest stage because it is able to guarantee and provide for the best possible development of civilization. It is able to do this because a large area makes possible an increase in population and the extension of commerce and industry. The fighting edge of a country is thus kept keen. Space itself has a power of exciting national energy—the excitation of an appetite for power. In a small space public spirit matures more quickly, but when all the country is taken up and people can no longer expand, energy is wasted in petty internal struggles for domination. The faculties then become paralyzed and all initiative is destroyed. The larger state is destined to develop a larger, better type of humanity, and, because of this, the little state loses all right to existence. Comte, on the other hand, has just the opposite idea. He argues for the efficiency and value of the small state as an aid

and safeguard to civilization and progress. To him history showed a tendency to return to the city-state, or primary group relation. Both Comte and Ratzel are extremists. The truth lies somewhere between. The state should be based upon a national or racial autonomy. It is a mistake, however, for Comte to assume that a state to be stable must be homogeneous in matters of sentiment, religion, customs, etc. The stability of a political union is not necessarily bound up in these smaller details, but it does depend upon a larger racial or national autonomy. The large state meets a stone wall when it tries to make a stable union out of heterogeneous elements. The trouble with the large-state argument is that it does not measure the value of the state in its spirit of independence, in the patriotism of its members, in its service to civilization, but in its actual power represented in space occupied and garrisons maintained. It is also a mistake to think that the horizon of man's development is limited by his political boundaries. Compare the opportunity in Holland with that in Russia and China, two countries embodying Ratzel's fundamental notions of space and numbers.—Richard Gaston, "L'Avenir des petits états d'après les lois psychologiques," *Revue internationale sociologique*, April, 1915. R. W. S.

**Some Remarks on Hate Impulses in War.**—Hate impulses find expression in various forms differing both in intensity and in duration and described in popular language as aversion, anger, rage, indignation, mistrust, contempt, and so on. Sense perception is a great factor in the provoking of hatreds. "I can't bear his presence," "He is utterly disgusting" ("Ich kann den Menschen nicht reizen") are common expressions for dislikes without known causes. No less important than the physical is the psychical factor. I need only mention the well-known racial hatreds and the feeling toward things foreign. The mere consideration of "ours" and "not ours" will often decide whether the object confronted be loved or hated. Compare the difference in reaction of the laboring class to a society lady in evening dress and to the crown prince in his best uniform. "She belongs to the rich," but "It is *our* crown prince." Hate impulses in general are defensive in character. Encroachments of any sort—directing attention to blemishes, attacking beliefs and habits—will provoke hatred in all its forms and intensities. Other important factors are predisposition, temper, and, last but not least, intentional prejudicial agitation (*Verhetzung*). So much for normal life. In war, we find the same principles operating in an abnormal situation. The feeling of hatred toward the enemy, however, is highly fluctuating in character, varying with the situation. When the opposing armies are in action and evenly matched, officers as well as men can think of nothing else but strategy and victory. Again, the shooting up of small reconnoitering patrols from comparative safety is also often accompanied or followed by a feeling of compunction for the fallen soldiers. It is quite otherwise, however, in case of retreat or when men are otherwise hard pressed by the enemy. The feeling of losing, of leaving wounded comrades behind, of dangers lurking in every direction, gives rise to intense hatred, finding expression in cruelties. Its most intense form, however, is reached in the case of siege where despair runs high and suppressed rage finds outlet in infernal hatred, curses, and acts. Of other factors, predisposed individuals and the habitually cruel (ex-convicts) will often set the pace for their comrades to follow. *Verhetzung* is sometimes indulged in, with most telling effect, by circulating the most fantastic stories of cruelties committed by the enemy on the captured and wounded soldiers. In a word, while the mechanism for hatred is the same in war as in peace, the concentration of attention on the enemy to the exclusion of all else, the intense pressure from all sides, the risk to life, and the realization of the importance of the struggle, war more than peace offers an endless number of opportunities and stimuli for provoking hate impulses.—Dr. J. H. Schultz (zurzeit im Felde), "Einige Bemerkungen über Freundschaftsgefühle im Kriege," *Neurologisches Centralblatt*, June, 1915. A. M. B.

**The Limits of the Insurance Idea.**—Germany's development since national unity was accomplished has been a mark of distinctive civilization. Men cannot pardon her efficacy in modern technique even though they acknowledged her prowess in music and philosophy. Now there is danger that Germany will suffer by reason of its remarkable progress in a civilization which accentuates accomplishment and loses sight of the personal element in which accomplishment is rooted. "Civilization is

slavery and cannot exist without it." In so far as civilization takes possession of us, so much the deeper does suspicion of our fellow-men grow. Because people have lost confidence in each other, the idea of insurance has developed. One might call it the *enfant terrible* of civilization. Because we do not trust the help of friends, we establish a mechanical, soulless institution; because we place no reliance in gifts that may be actuated by a benevolent spirit, we found legal claims for aid. Thus, insurance ideas are rooted in mistrust and suspicion, characteristics of modern civilization. Formerly, misfortune called for greater strength of character; and a just pride forbade one to ask help of strangers, but today there is dormant a reliance upon insurance societies. Hysteria for pensions has developed a new malady—insurance-sickness—a type of nervous abnormality. The fracture of a limb is rendered less painful by the knowledge that society must make remuneration, and that the amount received will be many times the payments made—naturally at the expense of those suffering no disaster. The idea of insisting upon one's *rights*, and making legal claim for justice is displeasing to finer natures, and increases the aversion felt for the Germans in other countries. It develops egoism in the highest degree, which at times becomes most objectionable. It is this tendency to accentuate the standpoint of legal right that forms the kernel of the demoralizing effect of insurance upon those who are insured, influencing our ethical perceptions and removing them from the higher ideals of Christianity. It is impossible to discuss all the problems of civilization in their deepest significance; but the insurance idea serves as a concrete example of the elemental prevalence of suspicion and mistrust. We hope for a better era when there shall be a newer unity of culture, religion and civilization.—Dr. Max Hildebert Boehm, "Die Grenzen des Versicherungsgedankens," *Grensböten*, January, 1915. M. G. B.

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Business correspondence should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

Communications for the editors and manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Entered as second-class matter, August 24, 1895, at the Post-office at Chicago, Ill., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME XXII

MAY 1917

NUMBER 6

## JURISTIC PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL PROGRESS<sup>1</sup>

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Diagnosis is the larger part of our task in dealing with any problem. Given a sound diagnosis, to find the treatment is largely a matter of time and persistence. Without accurate diagnosis the results of treatment on a conjectural basis are a matter of chance. I take it that in such a conference as this we are largely defining and diagnosing problems. Hence it would seem that each of us is justified in looking only at those problems which come within his immediate field of study.

One set of problems of national progress comprises problems of legal—perhaps one should say of juridical—progress. And these are problems of no small moment. For we rely chiefly on the law to express social progress and to further social progress. The social progress of the past is registered in the traditional materials of our legal systems. We seek continually to formulate the social progress of the present in everyday lawmaking, and we turn continually to the legislature and invoke the aid of the legal imperative for the means of putting into action the ideas upon which we rely to bring

<sup>1</sup> Address before the Conference of the Departments of History, Sociology, Political Economy, Political Science, and Philosophy at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the University of Chicago, June 5, 1916. The topic for discussion at the Conference was "Problems of National Progress."

about social progress in the future. The amount of energy expended by organized society in the performance of this function of expressing and furthering social progress through law has come to be prodigious. One hundred and seventy-five thousand pages are required to contain the annual output of the tribunals that have authority to declare the law. Nor are the legislative law mills more idle. The volume of legislation is so huge, its contents are so diverse, so unsystematic, and so impossible of prediction, that no one pretends to any knowledge of the whole body of the written law of any jurisdiction, and no one ventures to set down the state of the statute law on any subject for the country at large, since he knows it is likely to change somewhere in some important particular almost overnight. Hence if our juridical situation is not satisfactory it is by no means because the lawmaking organs are sluggish or inactive.

In the modern world conscious lawmaking activity begins in the seventeenth century. In the Middle Ages men thought themselves bound by the authority of the fathers of the church, of Aristotle, and of Justinian, and conceived that they might deduce and interpret and apply, but that they might not create. The unshackling of private judgment at the Reformation, the Humanist ideas of the Renaissance, the rebirth of philosophy in the seventeenth century, the breakdown of the statutory authority of Roman law through the historical studies of the Germanists, and, above all, the rise of the national idea and consequent adaptation of Byzantine theories of sovereignty and of lawmaking as the exercise of sovereign will—all these things made the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a great constructive era in legal history analogous to the classical period in Roman law. The *usus modernus* and the juristic writings that culminated in the eighteenth-century codes on the Continent and the rise of equity and absorption of the law merchant in England gave us the staple jural materials of today. But the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century theories of lawmaking were not theories of creation. They were rather theories of discovery and of expression. It was conceived that reason could demonstrate universal principles applicable to all men, to all times, to all places, and that reason could deduce therefrom a complete code of rules by which,

in the nature of things, human relations must be governed. Hence a period of great lawmaking activity culminated in a series of legal and political charts laying out the course of society for all time, and gave us theories of an ideal development of traditional principles as the jural order of nature.

We may say that interpretations of jurisprudence from the seventeenth century to the last quarter of the nineteenth century were necessitarian. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were a constructive period. But men conceived that they were finding law while making it. To these centuries all law was inevitably determined by the nature of man; all law could be infallibly and universally determined by processes of deductive reasoning that admitted of no variation. In the hands of lawyers this made the legal rights of a Roman landowner into the natural, and hence the legal, rights of sovereign states in their international relations; it made the common-law rights of Englishmen into the natural rights of men, and so the constitutional rights of Americans; it made the Roman law of the third century and the English common law of the seventeenth century respectively stand for embodied reason in the rival juristic traditions of the modern world.

In the nineteenth century theories of lawmaking were no less necessitarian, with the important difference that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries believed in the power of the jurist to discover and to shape the formal rule to the ideals which reason demonstrated, while the nineteenth century came to doubt whether he could do more than observe the processes by which legal rules and doctrines took their predestined shapes. The idealistic and political interpretations of the first half of the century and the physico-mechanical and biological interpretations of the last half of the century had in common the essential characteristic of belief in the futility of juristic and legislative effort. The irresistible movement of the ethical or political ideal to realize itself, the inevitable operation of natural forces as completely beyond human reach as the forces that are manifest in the motions of the heavenly bodies, the relentless working out of biological laws as hard and unyielding as those that shape animal and vegetable life—these took the place held by inexorable logic in the theory of the centuries

before, and the accumulation of analogies convinced men that the most that legal science could do for us was to teach us to observe nature's machine in operation, and to warn us to keep our itching fingers out of the cogs and to avoid becoming caught in the belts and shafting. So obstinate are these modes of thought that the economic interpretation which has been passing for modern and advanced in much recent juristic writing is essentially of the same necessitarian character.

The time calls for voluntaristic theories of lawmaking on the part of jurists and judges. But the interpretations that are to bring such theories to the consciousness of the average legal thinker are wanting. Analogies appealing to him as the analogy of syllogistic development of premises, the analogy of geometric reasoning, the analogy of the laws of the physical universe, and the analogy of the laws of biological creation appealed to his predecessors are still to be found. And yet in practice we believe in effort, and we see about us everywhere in the work of the engineer and in the harnessing of physical nature to man's use the effects of intelligent and organized effort. We did not hold it necessary to wait for nature to put a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, and we shall not much longer hold it necessary to wait for nature to dig the legal canals that will give security to neglected human interests which clamor for recognition and protection.

In an age of engineering triumphs, then, why not an engineering interpretation of jurisprudence? Many analogies suggest themselves in this connection. Legal rules and juristic doctrines may be compared to the formulas of the engineer. They express the experience of the past in administering justice and make that experience available for the judge and the legislator in convenient form just as the formulas of the engineer embody the experience of the past and relieve him from the necessity of making long calculations and engaging in elaborate preliminary mathematical investigations. Thus we have in each case, not limitations, but means to be employed in conscious construction to achieve definite ends. The satisfaction of a maximum of wants with a minimum of sacrifice of other wants, the economizing of social effort, the conservation of social assets, the elimination of social waste, are juristic prob-

lems which may easily be stated in terms of engineering. A few years ago one might have ventured an engineering interpretation of jurisprudence with efficiency for its watchword. But fashions change rapidly, and perhaps today our voluntaristic juristic theory must take form in a military interpretation with organization and preparedness for its watchwords. As we have seen men organize politically to go forth to do battle with the forces of evil at Armageddon, we might conceive of the community as organized juridically in order to defend society against the anti-social. To be more serious, an age that does things calls for a philosophy of law stated in terms of can, not in terms of can't. It calls for a legal science which constructs as well as observes, for a legal science that observes in order that it may construct. It calls for a definite, deliberate, juristic program as part of an intelligent social program, and expects that program to take account of the maximum of human demands and to strive to secure the maximum of human wants. The current military mode of speech is not without its uses in this connection. We may well call for a mobilizing of our jurial materials, an organization of the agencies of making and administering law, and a condition of preparedness to meet the incursions of the anti-social.

Two objections to a voluntaristic philosophy of lawmaking and a preparedness interpretation of jurisprudence will be urged at once. The lawyer will say that we have too much will in legislation as it is; that our lawmaker in his desire to achieve social ends through the law continually overlooks the limits of effective lawmaking; that the chief cause of ineffectiveness in modern lawmaking and a chief cause of the huge bulk and incoherent content of recent legislation are to be found in a notion of law as will rather than as reason, a notion that it is enough that one who has the power to impose his will upon the community in the form of commands shall have formulated the commands that seem good to him, and hence that the words "Be it enacted" justify everything that follows. It cannot be denied that legislative lawmaking of today is too heedless of the intrinsic limitations upon effective legal action and is too prone to regard expression of the sovereign will as the end rather than as a means toward more durable ends. But I

venture to think that there is too much will in legislative practice largely because there is too little will in juristic theory. Under the reign of a juristic theory of the futility of conscious lawmaking, especially when there goes along with it a political theory of sovereignty in the general will, it is inevitable that the popular lawmaker who is told by jurists that he cannot make law should answer, after the manner of Diogenes, by taking up his roll of bills for acts and saying, *solvitur lege ferenda*. Thus those who could guide the lawmaker think it quite needless for him to act, and he is left to experiment as best he may with a power of issuing commands in the name of organized society certified to him authoritatively by our political theory.

A more serious objection will be urged by the political and philosophical individualist who will fear that our program of juristic organization and preparedness resting on a voluntaristic legal philosophy will in the long run retard progress by checking or eliminating the spontaneous individual action and the individual initiative from which progress has usually been found to proceed. He will say that the grain of truth in the nineteenth-century theories of juristic and legislative futility is in the necessity of safeguarding this spontaneity of individual action, this individual initiative in thinking and acting which is the mainspring of progress. Thus we are called upon to consider whether this spontaneity and this initiative may in some degree be organized; to consider whether they are to be left to develop blindly or may be given some degree of conscious stimulus and may be put to conscious utilization.

A good part of progress in thinking consists in finding new ways of putting old ideas. The antithesis of organized activity and spontaneous individual activity is a case in point. For it puts in new form a question which has been crucial in legal and social philosophy since Kant. Although legal history has been written under the influence of the idealistic interpretation as a result of the pressure of individual interests for recognition and security, it must be rewritten in terms of the ever-widening recognition and securing of social interests. At first the law recognizes and gives effect to but one phase of the social interest in general security, namely, the fundamental social interest in peace and good order.



In its earlier stages it gets no farther, and when a social interest in general morals is recognized and secured it is largely because what is *contra bonos mores* or impious endangers the safety of the community, since the gods do not trouble to take overaccurate aim in sending lightning or pestilence against those who offend them. When the social interest in the moral and social life of the individual comes to be definitely set off, it has to wage a long conflict with the social interest in government as a social institution—for the balance between the two is not always easy to find or to maintain—and the conflict appears superficially to be between public interests and individual interests, between the state or society through the state as guardian of its interests on the one hand and the individual on the other hand. So thought the eighteenth century, and so in consequence read our bills of rights. Kant, restating the matter in terms of his theory of justice as the maximum of free individual self-assertion, put it as a problem of reconciling government and liberty. Today we may restate it as a problem of reconciling organization with spontaneous individual effort; of reconciling social control with individual initiative. It is by no means a simple matter. We achieve little when we put it to the test of solving metaphysical formulas; for in part it involves choice of means for adequately securing social interests, and in part it involves a balance of general social interests with the very strong particular social interest in the moral and social life of each individual. Here again we may resort to our military analogy. Despite newspaper assertion to the contrary one need not read very far in the writings of military theorists of the chief military power of today to see that they seek to effect this very reconciliation. It is too early to draw lessons from the present war. But no one can doubt that it was achieved in practice to a remarkable degree in the war of 1870. For spontaneity need not be ignorant spontaneity. Individual initiative is better in some places than in others, and it is not essential that the individual be incompetent. Organization may be enlightened and liberal even if organizations have been known to be pedantic and narrow. And the likeliest way to keep an organization enlightened and liberal is to devote conscious thought to that end. As military organization and military control may

be achieved without stifling individual spontaneity and initiative, so intelligent social control does not intrinsically and inevitably involve paralysis of individual free action. Indeed, it is worthy of note that it is often those who profess to stand for individual initiative who seek to stifle spontaneous endeavor to make our legal systems more effective instruments for their ends. To the president of a great American university sociological jurisprudence is but a "juristic osteopathy." In medicine he would have no difficulty in distinguishing chiropractics from bacteriology, but in law, which is so immediately connected with political questions, he fears critical study of the adjustment of means to end and feels that we shall best promote spontaneity and individual initiative by assuming that all juristic research along new paths is but for charlatans and quacks.

When the layman thinks of law, it is commonly in the form of criminal law. It chances that criminal law today affords a happy illustration for my purposes, for everyone who writes and thinks about law and government is discussing some phase or other of penal legislation and administration. When anything is to be done, the social reformer is likely sooner or later to invoke the criminal law. When the legal muckraker wishes to run amuck, he usually turns to the criminal law. When the more conscientious lay critic of our institutions desires to expose the condition of our legal Denmark, he points to the criminal law. Indeed, they have some warrant, for in few places are the effects of our lack of organized effort more conspicuous. We have a well-understood body of tradition proceeding on one theory on which we have grafted an overgrown mass of legislation proceeding on many diverse and conflicting theories, and it is no one's business to put the whole into even the semblance of order, much less to survey the whole, trace its different constituents with reference to the ends to be attained, and seek to make it more effective toward those ends. As one reads the current literature of criminology he comes to recognize that it is made up of many partial and one-sided views. There is a medical view in which criminal law is thought of in terms of the insane and the epileptic, a psychological view in which it is thought of in terms of the feeble-minded; a penological view

in which it is thought of in terms of the prison life of the condemned felon; a social worker's view in which it is thought of (we will say) in terms of the convict's family; and a police officer's view in which it is thought of in terms of the professional criminal. Legislation proceeds now on one of these and now on another. But it is no one's task to essay a synthesis, to carry out an intelligent weighing and balancing, and to put an orderly and consistent system on our books. Those who would attempt such a task and would substitute organization and preparedness for our present blundering methods seem to President Butler to be urging application of juristic osteopathy to the body politic. If it leads to such fears, let us discard the biological analogy. Let us not think of society as a huge animal to be massaged by the bone-setter or dosed by the veterinarian. If the spectacle of a professorial masseur at work upon the *corpus juris* is not edifying, let us think rather in military terms of great social objectives to be gained by carefully planned, well-prepared expositions, or lost by impromptu strategy and amateur logistics.

To pursue our military analogy, let us have a juristic general staff. As it is, it is no one's duty to keep us juristically prepared. We have no juristic intelligence department, no juristic aerial scouting service, no juristic siege trains prepared in advance, and no preparation for any considerable drain upon our juristic munitions. It is no one's duty to work constantly and continuously for legal improvement. It is no one's duty to keep an eye on the legal system as a whole and on all its parts to see what is working well and what is not, to study the why in either case, and to put the results into suitable drafts of legislation.

Everywhere in the law there are defects which writers and teachers and bar association committees have pointed out again and again without moving the legislature to act. A measure as carefully worked out and as intrinsically important as the Uniform Sales act has only begun to be adopted generally after a decade. For in legal matters state and nation alike have no general staff. Our executive departments of justice are mere prosecuting departments. Our judicial departments are a hierarchy of separate tribunals each with its own jurisdiction, and, except in the municipal

courts of Chicago and Cleveland, the idea of a court as a bureau of justice has made little headway. Our legislative judiciary committees are mere sifting agencies. Their functions are negative only. And their sifting function is performed under such pressure that many things pass their hurried inspection that ought never to be enacted. Things every day slip into statutes upon important legal subjects which a legal general staff would expose at once. The legislative reference bureau essays part of the work of a general staff. But its field is too limited. For there is much more involved than study of comparative legislation and provision for better drafting. To put but one example, we need preparedness for defense as well as for offense. Legislation is too much at the mercy of aggressive particular interests. If one doubt this, let him compare the common law as to the liability of innkeepers, worked out on a theory of safeguarding the public in the days of travel upon horseback, with modern American statutes procured by hotel-keepers' associations. Or let him study the statutes as to material men's liens procured by lumber dealers' associations in many of our states. I mention these because they are common and of long standing. But any state statute book will show how completely our legislation may be molded by any aggressive particular interest that does not come into conflict with a well-defined permanent group of voters.

One problem of national progress, then, upon which effective treatment of many others will hang in practice is legal organization and legal preparedness. The first calls for a ministry of justice which is still to come. The second calls for law schools which we have. But the second will achieve little without the first. Moreover, the schools, as indeed many of them are coming to see, may do much more for legal preparedness than they have essayed in the past.

Let us note for a moment what is to be done in the way of organization. For one thing, we need a modern organization of our courts—a problem to which the Judicature Society in Chicago is devoting much attention. Again, there is need of organization of judicial administrative business. If we think of the administration of justice as the social objective, we can no more attain it with

the judicial armament and the clerical system of judicial business inherited from seventeenth-century England and shaped in the pioneer, rural, agricultural communities of the first half of the nineteenth century, than we may expect to conduct a military campaign today with the mule trains and the commissariat arrangements of the Civil War. But beyond this organization of the courts and of the administrative offices immediately connected with the courts we need a real ministry of justice charged with the duty of active and continuous effort to make the law effective for its purpose, as the courts are charged with the duty of effective administration of the law when provided.<sup>1</sup> The legislature will give the formal sanction. But someone must do the preliminary study, must perceive the leak to be stopped, must discover the anomaly to be pruned away, must find the directly advantageous practice to be extended, the conflicts to be abated, and inconsistencies to be reconciled. So long as this is everybody's business it is nobody's business, and so much of the pressure for legislation comes from purely selfish motives that one who essays a real improvement out of pure public spirit is not unlikely to be met with suspicion. Thus he becomes discouraged and, lacking any selfish motive for persistence, gives up where the advocate of legislation for some particular group or class continues the pressure and succeeds.

In addition to organization through a unified judicial system and a ministry of justice legal preparedness calls for scientific research. To name but three points, in order to make the law effective, we require a census of the interests which the law may be called upon to recognize and secure; we require well-considered and carefully worked-out principles of valuing these interests when ascertained,

<sup>1</sup> "Take any particular department of the common law; take, if you please, any particular statute. Why is there not a body of men in this country whose duty it is to collect a body of judicial statistics, or, in more common phrase, make the necessary experiments to see how far the law is fitted to the exigencies of society, the necessities of the times, the growth of wealth, and the progress of mankind? There is not even a body of men concerned to mark whether the law is free from ambiguity or not; whether its administration is open to any objections; whether there be a defect either in the body or conception of the law, or in the machinery for carrying it into execution." —Lord Westbury, address to the Juridical Society, 1857, in Nash, *Life of Lord Westbury*, I, 190.

and, above all, we require study of application and enforcement of law and determination of the limits of effective legal action. As I have said, this part of our program of legal preparedness calls for law schools, and law schools we have. But the law schools that execute this part of our program must be more than vocational schools, important as that function is. They must be more than schools of jurisprudence in the sense of a pure science of law. They must combine vocational training, pure science, and research. For research of the sort which is required must be carried on by lawyers if its results are to be of use in legal progress. Unhappily the juristic doctrine of the futility of lawmaking has resulted thus far in such work devolving chiefly on laymen. Often these laymen have seen well enough what was to be done, but they have lacked that command of legal materials which the task demands.

It has often been said that the law has been so taken up with the needs of business and the demands of property that the interests of men as mere human beings—their interests of personality—as distinguished from men as traders and owners—their interests of substance—have been neglected. But if we grant that security of acquisitions and security of commercial transactions were social objectives in the last century, we must admit that the law was then little, if at all, more successful in attaining them than in attaining the more neglected objectives on which we are coming to insist. For instance, the law as to foreign corporations involves most important interests of business men and of property owners. Yet the law did no better and no worse here than in the case of employers' liability. In each case it relied on a slow process of judicial inclusion and exclusion to work out principles upon a basis afforded by the traditional materials of our legal system. Unhappily in the one case our tradition was warped at the outset by royal jealousy of municipal corporations, and in the other case the most fruitful common-law analogy was missed at the outset. In each case as the twig was accidentally bent in the beginning so the tree inclined ever after.

The Civil War demonstrated that common sense and courage were not enough to make officers or even soldiers. Every legislative session shows that good intentions and common sense and a

sensitive ear to the ground are not enough to make lawgivers. Yet we cannot have a class of professional lawgivers. It is not merely that we distrust experts generally. There is some foundation for distrusting the expert when he is more than adviser. The specialist is but too likely to project his specialty to matters beyond its limits. What we need is to give our legislators expert counsel, to make expert preparation for lawmaking in advance of legislative sessions, and to commit this preparation to a body that under the pressure of responsibility can develop some consistent policies and work toward some defined ends. Individual initiative will not suffice. It has done some notable things indeed; for such undertakings as the *Century Digest* and the *Cyclopedia of Law and Procedure* and Lord Halsbury's *Laws of England* in the Roman-law world would have been the work of the state. Yet how differently would a proper ministry of justice execute the task of digesting or restating the law. If we grant that the private undertakings referred to have given us serviceable professional tools, yet we must recognize that they have not made for improving the law, and that as forms of the law they leave very much to be desired.

Historically war and the administration of justice are the two great functions of the state. Systematic, organized, continuous preparation is demanded for the latter no less than for the former, and will be no less fruitful of results in the one case than in the other.

## PSYCHOLOGY IN SOCIAL RELATIONS<sup>1</sup>

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My subject might be made to include nearly everything under the sun in human behavior and for that matter in lower animal behavior too. For it requires little introspection or other observation to convince us that much of our thinking, our feeling, and reactions of other sort are colored by the conscious presence of other people, whether it be symbolic, real, or imagined. This real or imagined presence, the symbolic presence of other folk in the literature and arts they have created—all these make a difference in my thinking, my feeling, and in many other forms of behavior. All this behavior therefore bears the social stamp. It seems as if the give and take among individuals were incited by our own consciousness of other people or of what in my mind stands for other people. Not only is this so, but in the course of all my ingoing and outcoming among others of my kind and in the course of my association with their civilization, their arts, etc., I ultimately develop unconscious social dispositions. These may be very complex like those of the professional man or woman. By dint of them too, as a matter of course, a difference is wrought in my behavior. In all these "of-course" cases of semi-mechanical professionalized action behavior seems at the time not to be a product of social interaction, though genetically it is so. What I mean is this: The young man who enters the medical school is at first moved by vividly conscious considerations, but, in the course of years of study in college and of practice as a physician in his community, he develops a professional unconscious disposition through social relations with instructors, colleagues, and patients by reason of which he, as a matter of course, behaves professionally in a particular instance today. He no longer requires the vividly conscious con-

<sup>1</sup> From a public lecture delivered at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, March 8, 1917.



sideration to guide and control him in his community relations. A second nature has come into court. Its genesis is social. This suggests a type of unconscious source of social action to which we shall have to recur later. Thus it may be seen at the outset that our criterion of the social quality of behavior is not necessarily the presence of a conscious motive. But to this we shall come anon.

At this point let me state what I propose for this paper. I shall in the first place mention a group of outstanding phenomena which students of the psychology of social relations are interested in describing and explaining, and in the second place I shall discuss two problems that by common consent are regarded as the large problems of social psychology. I shall but briefly point to the methods by which they have been approached, and to some results of investigation.

As to the phenomena; there are the crowd, the audience, and the mob—simple forms of group manifestation in which individuals are in physical proximity and in a state of blind expectancy of something not yet well defined, but that is assumed to be on the point of coming to pass; or in a state of attention directed systematically to the successive phases of a problem as they are presented by a speaker and reacted to by his hearers with enthusiasm or otherwise; or in which the members of the group are in a state of intensive unthinking activity as in the mob. In all these relations the individual behaves differently when he is alone, apart from the group, and the crowd, audience, or mob is therefore assumed by many students—notice that I say assumed—to be in its psychological quality more than the sum of its parts, or at least different from the sum of its parts.

Another phenomenon that occupies much space in the literature is the great wave of religious enthusiasm that now and then seizes a community and results in numbers of conversions. The famous Kentucky revival is a case in point. The political campaign resulting in a public opinion; the fashion; the economic craze like the rush for western lands, etc.; all these and many more are social psychological phenomena of first magnitude, and such men as Gustav Le Bon have discussed them—especially the crowd—very entertainingly. But when all is said and done it has amounted to

little more than a description of certain successive occurrences from an objective viewpoint, save for the fact that again and again the much-abused terms "suggestion" and "suggestibility" and "imitation" are introduced as representing an explanatory principle. They appear in Le Bon's mind to symbolize so many drivers, each upon a high box and bearing a long whip, or so many contemporary captains in a regiment of soldiers—a regiment that but for them would be a standing, not an active, military force. In this respect Le Bon and others like him resemble an older generation of psychologists who habitually invoked the "faculty" of memory and the "faculty" of reason, the "faculty" of this and of that, as if the mind of man were chopped up into an array of small kingdoms or a hierarchy of states in a confederation. An erroneous conception, to be brief. Still other phenomena of the psychology of social relations are customs and conventionalities and public opinion; their development and again their break-up under the influence of the inventor of devices and of theories; conflicts among customs and conventionalities, and their settlement by discussion, authority, and other means. Again, such products of social intercourse as literature, history, government, law, and crime have been treated by such scholars as Nordau, and Low, and Bryce, and Gabriel Tarde among others, as—from one prominent angle—social psychological phenomena.

With this confessedly incomplete catalogue of the phenomena which social psychology tries to describe and explain, let us turn now to the next point, namely a statement of the problems of social psychology—that is, a statement of the questions that must be answered before an intelligent description of phenomena can be attempted. Of course, in every field main and subordinate problems become vastly involved and create the impression of a great number of fundamental problems, where in reality there may be but few. In this lecture I do not attempt to be exhaustive to the last detail, but to touch only the high points. I shall be content here to limit my discussion to the main features of two great problems, which, in my opinion, are the backbone of all together, and to indicate the methods by which they are met or by which we have tried to meet them, and something of the results of investiga-

tion. Once these problems are understood, I believe that we should be in a fair way to go after the phenomena that I have mentioned.

There is the problem of the motives or the springs of social action. What are they? Here I ought to repeat what I intimated at the outset: that psychology is concerned, not only with the various forms which consciousness assumes; it is by practically common consent a study of a certain unconscious background as well. This fact could not be inferred from the term "psychology" itself—a term which in its new dress would have startled the students of a generation or two ago.

Of these motives, I mention first the instincts, or the native unlearned tendencies toward reaction analogous to reflexes and habits. As a matter of fact, we know little of the human instincts. And really, why should we know much of them—save by inference from the study of lower animals? In all the history of the study of human kind not more than five or six children have been systematically observed and described during the period from infancy to the age of five or six years, and, furthermore, in most of these few cases the descriptions and observations were made by parents or other near relatives who presumably were fond of the objects, and who also, it may be presumed, obedient to the anthropomorphic tendency, have read into their small fry their own real or imagined excellent qualities. The psychological construction of the youngster then, as it appears on paper, becomes something in the nature of a wish fulfilment.

But let me take a little time for the discussion of the instincts, or what have been heretofore habitually described as instincts. Obviously it is of no small importance—this question of the natural springs or motives of human action and especially of social action.

The literature on this subject confuses by the formidable list of so-called instincts that it presents. One author names twenty-four, and it would be a simple matter to cull as many more from here and there. But the disposition today among those who have given most attention to the experimental study of the question among lower animals is that there are but few instincts, properly speaking, and that these are less specific than generalized. They

are natural dispositions that determine within wide limits what habits we shall develop, assuming that circumstances are favorable.

It is well known that such highly mechanical simple performances as the reflex eye-wink and the knee-jerk are variable under experimental control. Sufficient data on this point are available in the experiments by Swift and Yerkes. But if the simple reflex is variable, we are prepared to believe that the complex, generalized instinct is so too at least in equal degree, at any rate if we describe the instinct as a very much involved and closely knit group of reflexes. Such a description is current.

At this point I am going on to show, by citing two rather crucial experiments, that even the singing of birds is a highly modifiable instinct, or, as I prefer to believe, a complex habit built upon a generalized instinctive basis. We have been in the way of believing that these song reactions are each and all thoroughly grounded instinctive acts peculiar to each species, and, moreover, that they are social instincts. That they contribute to the social relations among birds there is no doubt. In my discussion of these experiments I am of course at the same time pointing to one of the methods by which the problems of the psychology of human social relations are indirectly approached.

Such birds as the robin, bobolink, and oriole when reared in the fields develop songs that are characteristic of their species respectively. Without training, however, it appears that no characteristic song would develop. Scott, of Baltimore, segregated orioles before they had heard the songs of their species, and kept them in isolation for several years. They became good singers, and their earlier vocal utterances were similar to those of the free birds of their kind. During certain seasons they sang almost incessantly. "It was now a loud clear series of notes of great brilliancy, poured forth in such rapid succession as to be like that of the house wren in the intervals, and lasting about as long as the warble of the wren. Except for the rattle, which was now and then a part of the repertoire, this song has nothing in it to remind one of the song of the Baltimore oriole as heard in New York, Massachusetts, or at any other point where the birds occur." When orioles six days of age were shut up with adults that had been brought up in isola-

tion, they began at the proper age to sing the songs of their companions. When birds belonging to fifteen or sixteen other species were brought together and reared within hearing of one another's voices, more or less modification of songs occurred. Some birds resisted these social influences more than others. The robin and the wood thrush each developed a song that was not original. A red-winged blackbird crowed repeatedly during two months in the year in imitation of a bantam rooster.<sup>1</sup>

A second experiment of similar import was made by Conradi, who undertook to put a group of English sparrows to school. Canaries were elected to serve as schoolmasters. The sparrows were reared in the same room with the canaries and were isolated from others of their kind. The regular sparrow chirp developed at the proper time, but the birds soon lost this expression and assumed the peep that is characteristic of the young canary. At the age of three and a half months one of the sparrows "constantly chimed in with the canaries in his own fashion, giving a low note followed by a few high ones, with now and then some slurring from a high to a low note similar to those that the canaries have in their overtures. He joined the canaries freely for a few days, when he became ill and was silent for a week." A fortnight later he resumed the foreign language. In general the song in the mouth of the sparrow resembled the confusion of notes that filled the room when the three canaries were singing together at their best. Other sparrows observed under similar conditions much more closely approximated the Galli-Curci of birddom. When these birds had been trained by the canaries, they were returned to their own nation and kindred, where they soon fell from borrowed grace almost, but not quite, to the level of that feathered mediocrity whose notes slap us on the ears in the early morning hours. Their voices, however, remained more musical than those of untrained sparrows, and when they were returned again to the canary environment they soon regained what they had lost.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. E. D. Scott, see several articles on songs of birds by this author in *Science*, XIV (1901), 178; XV (1902), 178; and XIX (1904), 154, 957.

<sup>2</sup> E. Conradi, "Song and Call Notes of English Sparrows When Reared by Canaries," *American Journal of Psychology*, XVI (1905), 190.

Observations of this sort go far to justify the hypothesis that all our instincts are undefined motives and that what appear to be specializations are habits resting upon an instinctive basis—habits that are developed by repeated responses to environmental stimuli. While they are motives and do contribute to social behavior, their contribution is more as a broadside than as a discharge directed at a specific point; more as the great swell of the ocean shoreward than as the trained precise race against the mill wheel. From the unconscious wells of our personality they help to determine what sort of activity will prove attractive to us. The emphasis that some students place upon definite instinctive tendencies is a confusion of the unlearned instinct with the acquired habit.

In contrast to these unlearned, unconscious, instinctive sources of social action, I now turn to an analogous unconscious type of motive, namely, the acquired dispositions such as the occupational or professional second nature—a very substantial social motive. It seems to be almost as unbreakable as the instinctive source. Once a person has got well started upon his occupational career, the broad character of his social relations is well-nigh determined for life. You can't make an up-and-down preacher of a forty-five-year-old physician. Professional scholarship at the same age cannot be made to mix with real estate promotion. And the professional determination is so complete because of the fundamental, positive character of the motives. They are in the unconscious. The passing emotions, images, ideas, even our thought-out purposes and ambitions, in fact all those conscious elements in our mental life that are over and over again described as motives for this philanthropic act, and motives for that bit of criminal behavior, are but symptoms that are suggestive of the very roots of motives whose lair can be ferreted out only by the aid of special diagnostic procedure.

It will be obvious to some that I am here identifying the motive with what is technically known as the "complex" or a system of complexes, the theory of which has commanded the absorbed attention of the makers of recent psychological literature. In Germany it is bound up pre-eminently with the name of Sigmund Freud, and in our own country, with those of William A. White, Smith Ely Jelliffe, Morton Prince, and others.

I believe that I can with sufficient accuracy characterize in the following manner the theory of the complex, and so prepare us for appreciating its connection with the problem of motives in social relations.

You and I forget a great many of our past experiences as far as ability to recall them voluntarily is concerned. But the effects of those experiences upon our make-up are not wholly lost. Many of the mathematical formulas that I once learned and used even with a considerable degree of facility I cannot possibly recall. Yet with very little effort I can relearn the formulas and re-acquire the facility. This and scores of instances of like sort can mean but one thing: that some organization of traces of those early experiences remains over in my constitution. This organization is an acquired mathematical complex, and I believe that it is by reason of such complexes or dispositions as this, if you please, that I am capable of an intelligent interest in certain types of mathematical problems today, and that it is because of the same or similar complexes that some of us on occasion solve a problem even during our sleep. By reason of analogous but much more elaborate complexes the trained physician simply as a matter of course, without consciousness of why or wherefore, turns to professional thoughts and acts. The grouchy man enjoys a new and bright outlook upon the world for a brief space of a day or so after having been suitably manipulated in the hypnotic trance—though he cannot recall the events that occurred in the trance—or simply as a matter of course, obedient to an impulse from within, he will go to the library at four o'clock tomorrow to borrow a book, provided that in the hypnotic trance he was told with sufficient emphasis that he should do so. Neither in this case will he recall the events that occurred in the trance. An organization of traces of the emotional, perceptual, and all other experiences that were had in the trance state—an *unconscious* lot of traces—is responsible for the "of-course-ness" of this behavior and for the behavior itself. Indeed, I may describe the function of this organization in such instances as intelligent because the behavior is adaptive or appropriate to the surrounding conditions. These cases are convincing arguments for the reality of unconscious complexes whose functioning gives color to our

conscious processes and shape to our behavior. I need not go farther in this connection than to say that the literature of psycho-analysis is crowded with demonstrations that the residua of forgotten experiences of early life are responsible for many fears, repulsions, and attractions of later years. If all this is true, we are here knocking at the gates which should disclose the roots of personality itself. This is the theory of the complex.

The bearings of the theory upon our thought concerning the psychology of everyday social relations are already apparent. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he"; and furthermore, as a man thinketh in his heart and doeth, so he will become. The task of the schoolmaster is not a hopeless one, assuming that he can stimulate even without the mechanical application of the birch; this notwithstanding the dicta of certain students who tease an alleged determination of character from a survey of family histories, and notwithstanding the educational pessimist who teaches that the schools can do no more than to find and throw out the incapable.

Furthermore, I for one cannot read such reports as the West Side Studies or surveys from New York City, which, by the way, are illustrations of the fact that we *can* give literary quality to our descriptions of sordid back-street conditions, without the conviction that the youngsters who grow up in the districts described are day by day, because they are reacting to the worst instead of the best, having built into their constitutions those professional complexes—I may say—which find expression in ruffianism and generally anti-social conduct as a matter of course. It is a case of acquired, unconscious, fundamental motives, analogous to those that keep you and me in our respective professional courses. It is not necessarily a case of the widely heralded natural feebleness of mind.

I have now spoken of instincts and of acquired complexes as motives and have suggested the methods by which they are studied: in the one case chiefly indirectly by way of observations upon lower animals, and in the other by means of psycho-analysis uncovering, as it often does, the roots of social attitudes. This latter method has in the main been applied to abnormal cases, but I see no reason why a safe inference may not be drawn as to normal individuals



in normal social relations. Indeed, this is accepted specifically by some experts in this type of diagnosis.

Another approach to the problem of the social motives is illustrated in the work of those who analyze the products of human social intercourse, especially those of primitive men and women, on the hypothesis that an analysis of these objects will reveal the qualities of men that were responsible for the development of given forms of language, literature, art, law, etc. Whatever qualities have made these products possible, they are assumed to be effective still in giving the impulse to human interaction. And so the social products are analyzed and compared. Languages and arts; courts and laws; myths and legends and religious rites are solicited—and perhaps we may say even tortured—for their contribution of a line or a syllable, and if few direct paths lead from legend and carving to the minds of primitive folk, it is easy and fascinating to weave a web of symbolisms until every phrase in the story and every curve carved in wood is a symbol of something that it does not say but of something that we wish it would say. One who has anything of the spirit of the adventurer in psychologizing must be fascinated by the shifting scenes the method reveals. But there is great doubt whether it all leads to aught but, at best, a view of a few of the qualities that were possessed in common by men of the period when the myths and legends and art were being produced and accepted.

Let me recite a single illustration of the method of approach that I have in mind. I take it from a monograph by Drs. Rank and Sachs on the *Significance of the Psychoanalytic Movement for the Mental Sciences*, the chapter on "Myths and Legends."

The legend of the Two Brothers—a Teutonic product—is essentially similar to the Egyptian legend of Anup and Bata and also to the well-known Grecian myth of Eros and Psyche. To develop such a similar product the primitive folk among whom it arose, widely separated as they were and without means of communication, must have been moved by similar motives; they must have had common motives or dispositions or potentialities that could express themselves in similar social products. Just what these motives are, is to be discovered by a careful analysis of the

myth or what not. In the case of the legend of the Two Brothers, the wild animals accompany and protect the wandering huntsman; the rabbit finds the root of the tree of life and restores the head of the huntsman that has been severed from his body by the jealous town marshal. All this may be interpreted as expressive of an anthropomorphic disposition by reason of which primitive man, and we ourselves too, are projected into the objects of animate and inanimate nature. There is the devouring dragon in the legend, who lays his toll upon the city, requiring each year one maiden, the fairest of all within the gates; this year the daughter of the king must be offered. The demand of the dragon may be interpreted as symbolic of a deep-rooted dread of natural forces that baffle primitive understanding, of savage beasts against which there are no effective weapons, of disease for which there is no remedy. The maiden daughter of the king of the city falls in a faint in the chapel where the dragon was to meet and devour her, and she remains in this condition while the huntsman hews off the monster's heads; and this has been interpreted as a symbol of the maiden's desire to lose her individuality in that of a husband. In like manner an analysis of various forms of artistic expression purports to tease out for us other fundamental human motives, all of which working together are assumed to be responsible for primitive social action. One has but to observe that numerous interpretations may be put upon many alleged symbolic expressions to arouse the suspicion that one man's guess is as good as another's. Yet the method cannot lightly be frowned down.

This completes what I shall say of the problem of motives and the methods of ferreting them out. Before I go on to speak briefly of the second of the two great problems of social psychology which I have undertaken to discuss, let me suggest further that, in view of what has been said concerning motives, the social, psychological phenomena mentioned earlier should be seen in a new light. Imitation, which Tarde spelled with capitals, has been taken in the rear. We imitate instinctively, to be sure, but it is true in a much larger sense that we should imitate very little indeed were it not that our acquired system of complexes renders certain situations sufficiently attractive to be imitated. That is why we imitate a national hero

rather than the spineless mummy in the next block. Suggestibility, which in so much of the literature appears to be conceived as the great independent doer of all sorts of things, might be invoked until doomsday were it not for sensitive sets of unconscious complexes which determine responses that seem to be consequences of one's own unprodded initiative. Your sly suggestions could not set me mad for a moose hunt if deep in the foundations of my being there were no residua of uncounted wishes for the hunt. The promotion of western agricultural lands will not succeed unless appeal is made to people who have the agricultural motive, but who are not expressing it satisfactorily. Nor will it succeed permanently unless, once the easterners are safe upon the new land, they are surrounded by such institutions as schools and churches, which will give outlet to other motives that have heretofore in the old home found avenues for building and expression. Conventionalities, such as the unthinking or unreasoned attitude that most of us assume toward democracy, law, religion, certain forms of amusement, etc.; our tastes and our customs or collective ways of doing things—you and I for the most part drift into these attitudes by reacting to those around us and, as in the case of most of our prejudices, we awake with a start some day, if at all, to find that we have them. And there is the spirit of the age! As a matter of course a bit of scientific exploration in the direction of the North Pole is approved by the mass of the people of our generation and nation just because it is projected in the name of science. Each of us was born and has grown up in an atmosphere in which scientific ideals are taught *and* practiced, and, of course, the roots of our personality and consequently the attitudes we assume through life, our likes, and dislikes, take shape accordingly. The spirit of the age is the expression of such unconscious complexes as are held more or less in common by the people of our time. All these and others are, you may say, unofficial formulations of community-life relations, and a little later along comes statute law in an attempt at making official formulation. But neither the official nor the unofficial can cover each and every individual case. At best, each is a compromise. Your conventionalities are not shared by every other person in your community. You will obey the statute law

as a matter of course, without a question of its fitness, because it expresses some of the deepest motives in your nature. Your neighbor just as automatically disobeys it. The city ordains that all hotel managers shall instal metal sinks in their kitchens. One of them instals his, and as soon as the inspectors have turned their backs he rips them out and restores the old wooden ones for the sake of his silver, china, and glass. Not only does he do this, but he tells us of the incident at the University Club, in Evanston, on a Saturday night, just as if he were describing his method of buttoning his coat. He is not defying the law, he is neglecting it—all the worse for him. He is living out one of the dominant complexes or motives in his unconscious, and it happens to be a non-social motive. Perhaps, parenthetically, the reason for the real or alleged disregard for law in America, or in any other state, is to be found in hasty legislation which is even a trifle in advance of the crystallization of those motives which lie at the bottom of our unofficial social formulations.

I now come to the second large problem of social psychology which I have chosen to approach. It is the problem of social unity. And I am thinking here more of unity among contemporaries than with predecessors and successors, though in a certain sense the problem is the same whether we are thinking of unity among contemporaries only or among all ages. We have a sense of belonging together. As a member of a closely knit family no one of us can consider plans for his future without reference of some sort to others in the family. It is impossible for him to dissociate himself from them. The same is true in a measure of members of a club, school, church, or neighborhood. If we could fully describe the conditions in which this sense of unity develops, we should at once arrive at the principle of racial, national, and international solidarity. Then we should be able, not only to tie knots in the throats of European cannon, but, without the formulation of treaties, to guarantee immunity against future wars. We could not only do this, but we could dispense with the police and all their kind.

Under the inspiration of the evolutionists society has been described as an organism and, moreover, as an organism with a

mind in control and a consciousness all its own. Such is our anthropomorphic disposition. Whether there is any such mind or consciousness is outside the province of scientific method to determine. Certain it is, I believe, that the phenomenon—this sense of belonging together—in which we are interested does not require the assumption of such a mind. And in fact the organism idea has almost completely lost its vogue.

Why do I have a sense of unity with others in my family and community? I believe that it is in part an instinctive reaction to others of my sort—a case of like attracting like—but it is much more than that. I have had a hundred and one experiences in common with others around me, and in the course of it all I have observed repeatedly the reactions of each of these people to the things that I say, and so I have observed my reactions to the behavior of each of my associates, and, finally, I have again and again observed and compared the reactions of us all to the same set of stimulations. One result of all this is that in the absence of my associates I can image their behavior in response to mine. Perhaps I may be able to have a fairly accurate prevision of their reactions as they will occur a year or more hence, in which they express approval of what I am doing notwithstanding that they are now opposing me. And what but this is the far-seeing educational statesman like Manasseh Cutler and his ilk, whose heart beats with that of generations succeeding his own, who will respond profitably to his ideal of state- and nation-supported education which was to find its initial impulse under his hand in the great Northwest? What but this is the great artist with an ideal wrought in marble, canvas, or verse in the faith that, though it is now unappreciated, it will nevertheless sway the generations of the future into accord with him? His is a social attitude. If you will pardon me once again—the boy of '61, training upon the village green, has a lively sense of his unity with hundreds of thousands of others like himself, because in his mind's eye he sees them doing as he is doing upon the meadows from the Atlantic to the Pacific, all in response to the same call from headquarters at Washington. If he had so little acquaintance with others of his sort as to be unable to cherish such a set of images, he would be an isolated drudge with

a stick in his hand rather than a part of a great throbbing brotherhood in arms.

And so each of us has in himself the conditions that make for the sense of social unity. There is no necessity to invoke for this purpose an additional social mind. We become community-minded, nationally minded, and pray God we may yet become internationally minded by dint of the same mental processes as those that are operating in the make-up of the artist, the statesman, and the boy of '61.

Certainly the law of automatization obtains here as elsewhere, and in process of time and experience social unity rests upon an unconscious rather than upon a conscious foundation. The sense of belonging together then arises just as automatically as our feeling of recognition when we confront our own reflection in the mirror. The best citizen is he who votes at the primaries, not because he has an image of others voting if he votes or refraining if he refrains, but as a matter of course. The best soldier is he who attends to the duties of his profession, not because of a vivid realization of his relations to others, but as a matter of course. Fortunately this automatic condition has not an unlimited course. There is always an inventor of devices or of theories at hand to take the luxury of self-satisfaction and ease out of life by prodding at our foundations, perchance to overturn here and there, and so to create a new basis for conventions and customs and new foci for unities.

From what has been said here it should be apparent that all those conditions and devices that facilitate communication and mutual understanding contribute in their way to the solution of these two problems of social psychological relations. Uniformity of race and language; facile communication by mail and other means; common commercial interests; permanent boards of arbitration, etc.—all these contribute to broad, clear, deep, and common motives, mutual understanding, and hence to the sense of social unity.

## CLASS AND CASTE

### III. SEGREGATION AND SUBORDINATION

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In case the sense of worth difference sharpens to such a point that the social superior shuns fellowship and intermarriage with the inferior, society comes to be made up of closed hereditary classes. Thus among the Saxons of the eighth century social divisions were cast-iron, and the law punished with death the man who should presume to marry a woman of rank higher than his own. The Lombards killed the serf who ventured to marry a free woman, while the Visigoths and Burgundians scourged and burned them both. Among the early Germans a freedman remained under the taint of ancestral servitude until the third generation, i.e., until he could show four free-born ancestors.

As class lines harden, the upper class becomes more jealous of its status and resists or retards the admission of commoners, however great their merit or wealth. In the later Roman Empire—the law did not absolutely prohibit a curial from rising to another grade in society, but it made his progress so slow and difficult that escape by legal means was possible to very few. Even when a man had surmounted all barriers and become an imperial functionary or a senator, his children born before his elevation were retained in their original rank and his property remained liable for the municipal charges of his class. If a man attempted to hasten his rise or his deliverance by overleaping some of the stages of duty he was sent back to the original starting point.<sup>1</sup>

In this way *birth* or *purity of blood* becomes more decisive for social status than the differences of occupation or wealth which raised up the original social inequalities. Worth distinctions which in their early form may stimulate the ambitious to do their best become paralyzing as they stiffen into caste, because they grant no recognition to individual achievement.

<sup>1</sup> Dill, *Roman Society*, p. 214.

The social distance between castes may become too great for the bond of common nationality to overcome. The nobles of the Middle Ages lived in their caste rather than in their people and felt themselves closer to the nobles of another nation than to the commons of their own. Something of this spirit has lived on in Poland. Says Palmer:

One might almost say that the Poles consist of two separate races, so entirely distinct are the nobility from the great mass of the nation. To this complete separation between nobles and peasants nearly all the troubles of Poland have been due in the past. The Polish aristocracy is, in fact, a caste entirely apart from the people. This, it is true, is also the case among the aristocracies of nearly all continental countries, but in hardly any other nationality is the gulf so wide as almost to exclude the possibility of mutual feelings of respect. The Austro-German nobles, though no less a caste, are as a rule decidedly proud of the Germanic peasantry, and regard them as infinitely superior to those of other races. The Magyar nobles have, perhaps, an even higher opinion of the peasantry of their own nationality. The Polish peasant, on the contrary, is not regarded with greater contempt by the Austrians, Prussians, or Russians than he is, with rare exceptions, by nobles of his own race.<sup>1</sup>

Even to female beauty and charm the caste line may show itself adamant. The daughter of a rich American who marries a titled European is rarely admitted to her husband's rank. She is made to feel the farmer's or workingman's blood in her veins, the taint of usefulness in her ancestors. The American wife of a high-caste Austrian or German is not invited to the homes of her husband's friends, nor recognized socially. This rather than ill treatment by the husband is the cause of the divorces, scandals, and miseries which have followed many such international marriages.

The attitude of aloofness shows itself first in the highest class, but presently the intermediate classes become infected with snobbery, and each grade shrinks from all below it. In England the wholesale tradesman looks down upon the retail tradesman, the latter looks down upon his clerk, the clerk looks down upon the woman who lets him lodgings, and she in turn looks down on the man who cobbles her shoes. In reverse, the man who works with his hands looks up to the petty shopkeeper and *he* looks up to the big tradesman. This one looks up to the banker or manufacturer,

<sup>1</sup> *Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country*, pp. 77-78.



who looks up to the landed gentry, who look up to the peers, while at the apex of the whole organization stands the throne.

Each class avoids its supposed inferiors as if their presence tainted the air. In India low-caste people are excluded from the temples. In England there is a rule that the railway porter shall not put anyone into an apartment occupied by one of the nobility. Moreover, a holder of a first-class or a second-class ticket is entitled to a refund in case a passenger with a ticket of a lower class (his own compartment being full) is put in his compartment. The theory is that the ticket holder has paid for exclusiveness as well as for accommodation. An American university crew about to row in an English regatta was challenged on the ground that according to the regulations the contesting crews must be "gentlemen," while in fact some of the American oarsmen were working their way through college! In a quiet way the lowly born, save the winners of scholarships, are effectually excluded from the great endowed schools like Eton, Harrow, and Rugby, and from the two old universities.

Among ourselves the great focal points of caste spirit are army and navy. A junior officer seen talking in a human way to an enlisted man or "putting" a hand on his shoulder is reprimanded. The lieutenant marrying the daughter of a sergeant is boycotted and driven from the army. An officer has been known to raise a disturbance in a theater on finding his seat next to that of a sergeant, and an admiral has recorded objection on class grounds to the commissioning of a gallant chief of a battleship gun squad.

As society becomes aristocratic, humane feeling becomes class-bound. Thus an English newspaper gave thanks that while six hundred persons lost their lives in a Chicago theater fire, none of them was of any distinction. On the other hand, tenderness for the highborn makes even-handed justice impossible. It was easy to find law for imprisoning Stead, the fearless London journalist who in his "Maiden Tribute to Modern Babylon" exposed the villanies of men in high social position, but none was found for punishing the villains themselves. The worst discoveries of the commission which investigated the frauds committed by British officers in the purchase of army stores during the Boer War were never made

public, because of the eminence of the persons involved. No doubt their own class ostracized them, but it would not give the lowborn a handle for scoffing.

Inequality is never so hopeless as when the inferior becomes dependent for security or livelihood upon the favor of the social superior. Before the reign of law the weak had to seek the protection of the strong. In Homeric times power regularly fell to the strong hand. Amidst conditions of insecurity, the submitting of one's self to the powerful constituted a kind of insurance; one consented to periodic exactions and dues in order to escape utter ruin. So men commended their lives and goods to individuals who appeared to be strong enough to protect them unless, indeed, they fell directly beneath such power through being conquered by it.

The feudalism Caesar found among the Gauls sprang neither from the conquest of one people by another nor yet from the fidelity of retainers to a military chief, but arose out of economic inequality coupled with state weakness. The state, being rudimentary, was unable to exact obedience of the great as well as of the small. Hence, the weak man, finding no shelter in the public powers, became an *ambact*, i.e., he sought the support of some strong man and paid for it with service. He addressed himself to one of the great men and besought protection against all other grandees.

If the state, instead of keeping the social classes in balance, recruits its officials chiefly from the superior class, the lower orders will sink into dependence. Thus, under the Roman Empire justice was administered, not as with us by experts, but by high functionaries such as governors and prefects, all chosen from the senatorial nobility. Between the official and the local nobles soon grew up such fellow-feeling and mutual favor that ordinarily no man of humble station could win a lawsuit against a noble. Accordingly the weak man seeking justice had to provide himself with a powerful patron.

The handing over of state powers to the social superiors instead of committing them to paid and responsible public servants completes the subjection of those economically dependent on such superiors. Says Fustel de Coulanges of the effects of the grants of immunity by the Frankish kings of the seventh century:

Imagine a well-constituted administrative corps of dukes, counts, and *centeniers* who should be faithful representatives of the State and who should command the obedience of the people; it will be impossible that the great landowner should become an absolute master. In the public functionary the weak will find a support. Freemen will have no need of other patronage. The small landowners will not be under the necessity of yielding up themselves and their holdings. Tenants will have a regular contract and the guaranty of the laws. Freedmen and *coloni* will have certain well-defined rights. Even the serfs will be protected. But behold, the grant of immunity removes the public functionary, forbidding him "to enter." For the great landowner such an officer no longer exists nor does he exist for the mixed population inhabiting the domains of the great landowner.<sup>1</sup>

With justice, police, and power of taxation all in the hands of the proprietor the dependence of this population upon him becomes very great.

Economic calamity bearing particularly upon the smaller property-holders will crush them into permanent dependence in case the law tolerates such a relation. The loss of an independent status by the petty landowners of the Roman Empire seems to have been connected with wars and disasters in the third century, which brought many farmers into debt to the great proprietors. This burden, together with the advantage of the big man in all legal contests, compelled great numbers to part with their land by pretended sale or gift and to occupy it under the *precarium* tenure.

The small peasant who solicited protection began by transferring to the protector almost everything he had. He did not leave his holding, but his sons had no claim on it. By donation or fictitious sale the man transferred the land to his protector receiving in return a gracious permission to live out his days upon it. The proprietor might impose on the precarist any conditions he pleased. He might exact an annual rental or require manifestations of gratitude and deference, the *obsequium*. Since formal contract defined the dependent's obligations, he might be lawfully dispossessed at any moment. His tenure was entirely at the pleasure of the patron. Hence he must gain and constantly keep the good will of the great man. He had to be always in the attitude of a suppliant. Short of slavery no system more destructive of manliness can be imagined;

<sup>1</sup> *Origines du système féodal*, pp. 411, 412.

yet under the later Empire freemen and property-owners unsheltered by the state were continually turning over their holdings to neighboring great proprietors, in order to receive them again under a precarious tenure. The church bitterly denounced the spread of the practice, but was unable to arrest it.

The outcome of the unchecked exercise of economic power is thus described by Fustel de Coulanges:

Clientage spread till it embraced the majority of people. Besides his slaves and *coloni* the household of a rich man included a numerous personnel of clients, some of high birth and rank.

The society of the Roman Empire looked monarchic. But by the régime of the great landowner and by the practice of patronage it was thoroughly aristocratic. Insensibly the freeman had formed the habit of becoming a subject, not of the State or of the prince, but of another man. Everywhere was the patron, the seigneur; everywhere, too, the client. Under its various forms clientage embraced all classes, constituting, as it were, a staircase where men ranged themselves in a hierarchy.<sup>1</sup>

When the English government became mistress of the Scottish Highlands, the law, by construing the chief-clansman relation as if it were the landlord-tenant relation, plunged the bulk of the Highlanders into a condition of acute economic dependence.' Says Professor John Stuart Blackie:

Absolute freedom of contract between any two parties implies perfect equality of social position, and perfect independence as to the consequence of accepting or rejecting the offered conditions of the contract, but how little this is the case as between a small Irish or Highland tenant and a big landlord. To talk of freedom of contract between an omnipotent Hebridean Chamberlain and a poor Highland crofter is a trick of verbal legerdemain. The poor Highland crofter, whose situation has been made uncomfortable by a factorial ordinance in favor of a big farmer or a deerstalker, has no resource, he must accept the unfavorable conditions, or wander into another glen, where he will quite possibly find the fences of another deer forest barring his way, or drift in despair into the black slums of some smoky Glasgow.<sup>2</sup>

As to the withering of character under such dependence, Professor Blackie remarks:

If, under the pressure of the dreadful thunderclouds of eviction, Donald had sometimes shown more of the cunning of the fox than the boldness of the

<sup>1</sup> *Origines du système féodal*, pp. 245-47.

<sup>2</sup> *Scottish Highlanders and Land Laws*, pp. 136-37.

lion, he is only doing what a moral necessity imposed upon him, as indeed it would upon any body of human beings associated together under like unfavorable influences. When fear of penal loss and arbitrary treatment becomes the dominant element in the feelings of a whole people, their only defence seems to lie in a retreat behind the shield of habitual untruthfulness and resignation. How deeply this has poisoned the blood of the Irish Celts in these latter days!

At the beginning of the American régime in the Philippines the mass of the agricultural Filipinos were tenants on large estates. The owner was the *amo* or master; his tenants were his *dependientes*. Most of them were hereditary bonded debtors of the *amo*. The debtor himself might not know the origin of the obligation which came down to him from his father, he was ignorant of its amount, nor did he understand how it increased or might be decreased. In crisis or trouble he appealed to his *amo*, thus adding new links to his chain. He had nothing laid by for the future nor any means of storing food to carry him from one harvest to the next. The *dependientes* were bound, not only to work for the *amo* on account of their "debts," but also to stand by him in all matters. They supported the political party he supported. If he took part in a revolution they fought for him, and if he joined the Aglipay secession from the Catholic church, they also became *Aglipayanos*.

Throughout the western part of South America from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, free agricultural labor as we know it does not exist. Slavery has disappeared, but the institution of peonage binds the rural masses to the owners of the *haciendas*. In southern Colombia, for example, four days in each week the agricultural laborer is bound to work at a wage of from five to ten cents a day in return for the use of a plot for his house and truck patch. Of course, such pitiful earnings do not suffice for the needs of his family, so he is obliged to run into debt to his *amo* for money or supplies. Since he can never work off this debt and the law does not permit him to leave the estate until it is liquidated, the peon becomes virtually a serf bound to work all his life for a nominal wage. He can change employers only in case someone pays his debt, and this binds him to a new master. In general, the rural population of the tropical parts of Latin America are in a like state of dependence and subserviency.

The appearance of very large employers in places remote from the centers of population, monopolizing employment of a certain kind or within a certain district, as also the more and more cunningly concerted action of employers, through their associations, are creating in some parts of the United States a half-feudal dependence of the wage-earner. Workingmen are herded in company towns, lodged in company houses, forced to trade at company stores, paid in company money, and hampered in their comings, goings, and meetings by armed company underlings. In some cases even churches and schools are built and controlled by the company. Moreover, a hundred lumber companies united in an association may confront the applicant for labor with a printed form to sign, in which he declares that he is competent to do the work required and is familiar with all its duties, and furthermore requests his previous employers to furnish the company information as to his character and record. This means that as condition of obtaining employment the applicant must waive his right to sue under the law for injuries received in the course of his work and to sue under the law for defamation of character.

#### SUBORDINATION AND FIXITY

When the inferiors are severally in a state of dependence upon the superiors, the healthful circulation of families between the upper and the nether levels in the social system ceases. The upper people, even if they are victors in a universal rivalry to accumulate and rise, curb and stifle this rivalry in order to bequeath to their children their own high social position. Competition is too clogged and feeble to bring about rearrangements of the elements in society. There is no staircase by which brogans may mount and patent-leather boots descend. Peasant ability finds hardly a path up, while sloth or incapacity does not drop a "gentle" family into the toiling mass. Generation after generation, high families stay up, while lowly families stay down. Handicapped by dependence, ignorance, and unfair laws, the farm hand, no matter how hard-working and capable, never becomes an owner of land, never breaks into the charmed circle. In the west-coast countries of South America no laborer rises through tenancy to ownership as he does

at times in Argentina and far oftener in the United States. With the whole machinery of law and the state in their hands, the proprietors see to it that the clever lads from the people shall not elbow aside their own sons, be they never so lazy and spendthrift.

In Chile, for example, the ruling class keeps the bright boys from the mud huts of the *inquilinos* out of the better-paid occupations by providing a public elementary-school system which does not connect with the free state high school and university. Only private schools fit pupils to enter the state system; so that the children of those too poor to pay tuition have no access to the government service and the liberal professions.

#### SUBORDINATION AND CHARACTER

All about us we see how the constant immediate dependence of one human being upon the favor of another blights native self-respect and self-assertiveness. The "tip" in lieu of a fixed wage, by making the servant dependent upon the served, fosters obsequiousness in the one and the patronizing spirit in the other. The growing economic dependence of wives upon husbands owing to the disappearance of household industries from the home threatens to sap the character of the married woman and constitutes a serious obstacle to her rising to a higher position in the home and in society. The dependence of professors of the ethical or social sciences upon governing boards composed of wealthy men or reflecting, perhaps anticipating, the wishes of politicians or donors, jeopardizes that vigor of character and candor of utterance essential to their largest service. The dependence of the clergyman upon the financial "pillars" in his church leaves him less free to apply the touchstone of Christian principles to current business practices. Advertiser or "interest" control over newspapers is making many newspaper men feel like helots.

Dependence wilts manhood as surely as the tropic sun wilts northern energy. However stiff the native backbone of a race, a few generations under the yoke will make them worms. The type of character we stigmatize as "Asiatic" testifies, not to the presence of innate weakness in the races of Asia, but to their long subjection to arbitrary power. The nearer is a class to the bottom of the

social heap, the worse will its members be deformed in spirit, and the less often will they exhibit the normal traits of freemen.

In born dependents, servility, sycophancy, lying, and petty thievery are as natural as it is natural for a starving crop to be yellow; yet these by-products of pressure are pointed to as proofs of a poor moral endowment. Against a background of such faults stand out the more brilliantly the high spirit, manliness, and sense of honor of the hereditary superiors. Character-contrasts social in origin are interpreted as inborn. To divert attention from their underpinning of privilege, the superiors point to the low-caste and say: "Look, *they* are the dull-witted, the incapable; *we* are the well-born, the fittest. Our mastership and our reward are of Nature's own giving. We are the cream that rises to the top of the milk."

It is impossible for inferiors generally to prove their mettle until they have freedom and knowledge, and hardly can they win these so long as they are shut out from government. But, since beings so benighted are clearly unfit to have a voice in governing, social inferiority tends to perpetuate itself. Those of low degree stay low until some vast upheaval such as the invention of gunpowder or of printing, the discovery of the New World, the growth of cities, or the rise of the capitalistic method of production gives able and ambitious commoners their chance to win knowledge or wealth and break into the master circle.

#### SUBORDINATION AND CHARITY

Often religious doctrines or humanitarian ideals beget in the superiors a sense of responsibility for the welfare of their dependents. Generosity and charity are not only considered becoming in the social superior, but, wanting them, he may be ostracized by his own class. An American who goes to reside on an English estate to which he has fallen heir is astonished to learn how much a country family is expected to give away. Far from being a good sign such a growth of charity often means simply that healthful competition does not exist, and that by cunning devices the ruling class has so "stacked the cards" against the unprivileged that many of them are not able to look out for themselves. Whenever in normal



times more than 2 or 3 per cent of a population is helped by the well-to-do, it is safe to infer that the possessing element has made itself the keeper of the doors of opportunity.

#### THE FATE OF CLOSED CLASSES

Fifty years ago Bagehôt wrote:

In all countries new wealth is ready to worship old wealth, if old wealth will only let it, and I need not say that in England new wealth is eager in its worship. Satirist after satirist has told us how quick, how willing, how anxious, are the newly-made rich to associate with the ancient rich. Rank probably in no country whatever has so much "market" value as it has in England just now. Of course, there have been many countries in which certain old families, whether rich or poor, were worshiped by whole populations with a more intense and poetic homage; but I doubt if there has ever been any in which all old families and all titled families received more ready observance from those who were their equals, perhaps their superiors, in wealth, their equals in culture, and their inferiors only in descent and rank. The possessors of the "material" distinctions of life . . . rush to worship those who possess the immaterial distinctions. *Nothing can be more politically useful than such homage, if it be skilfully used; no folly can be idler than to repel and reject it.*

An upper class shrewd enough to perceive and act on this principle may maintain itself indefinitely. The new blood it absorbs corrects the thinning of "blue" blood. The heroes and achievers admitted brighten its fading prestige and lend color to its claim of natural superiority. But it is human nature for those who control a good thing to keep it all for themselves and their children. The greater the luster of a nobility, the more loath are its members to share this luster with outsiders. Hence, unless the iron hand of a monarch holds open the door in order to placate his commoners or to stimulate the zeal of his servants, an upper class closes itself to upstarts and becomes a hereditary caste.

Thenceforth it moves slowly but fatally toward its doom. As their achieving ancestors recede into the distance the patricians more and more owe their exalted position to privilege rather than to personal worth or conspicuous service. With the aid of the props which an aristocracy well knows how to provide the high-born fool or weakling stays up, while the lowborn man of ability is shut out from wealth and honor. Shielded from that natural elimination of the unfit to which the common people are exposed,

a closed upper class loses in the course of four or five generations the virility of its achieving ancestors and becomes an imposture. Nevertheless, thanks to mating continually with the most beautiful women in the population, it gains in good looks and is never so patrician in feature as in the period when it is unable to produce from its loins enough men of brains and force to vindicate its privileges.

Its tendency to beget handsome fools does not, however, cause an aristocracy to abate by one jot its pretensions to better clay. It nurses carefully its prestige and spares nothing in pose, manner, and surroundings that will keep up the illusion of its superiority. It realizes that entailed estates are not everything, for if their owners miss too many kinds of distinction they will cease to be looked up to. So it not only cherishes and parades its ancestral glories, but, whenever a new source of prestige appears, it promptly gets close to it. Aristocrats take under their patronage such dispensers of glory as minstrels, troubadours, poets, artists, orators, priests, and clerics. If hardihood is admired, their young men will be sportsmen and explorers; if letters are honored, they will play Macaenas; if learning is prized, they will varnish themselves with a thin coating of scholarship. Aristocrats of long lineage dare not let themselves be outshone. They must be the best groomed, the best mannered, the most splendid, must be seen against the richest background or in the brightest limelight. They must be among the first to fly, to navigate under water, to scale a peak, to cross a desert, or to visit a closed land. War with its command of the many by the few gives them their chance, for nobles have a traditional affinity for the martial. Moreover, they exalt themselves by appealing to a theory of heredity that science smiles at, and cry down the rôle opportunity plays in individual destiny.

Thus an effete hereditary caste contrives to keep itself at the apex of society until in some crisis it fails to meet the test and its hollowness is plain to all men. Then its privileges are abolished, it collapses like an empty sack, and the way is open for a new and abler group of families to climb into its vacant seats, or else for the social system to be modified in the direction of giving freer play to competition.

## THE FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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The value of any science must in the long run be tested by its applications. Each member of the scientific hierarchy has had to go through the process of original premise and experiment, theoretical elaboration, and practical application to some phase or phases of the work of human society. Nor have the practical applications waited wholly upon theoretical formulation and statement. Rather they have accompanied each stage of this development. No science has gone far and none is likely to go far without a full recognition of its utilitarian values keeping equal pace with whatever delight the human mind may take in its theoretical study. Thus the theory and methodology of a science demand continued revision and restatement and continued shifting of emphasis as new discoveries are made, and new differentiations of subject-matter must follow any growth or increased complexity of the knowledge areas to be dealt with.

While this has been true of the other sciences, it is more particularly true in the complex field of sociology. Natural philosophy preceded scientific physics. Large visions of psychic theory were embodied in mental philosophy, and practical applications of psychic truths were made before we had a differentiated scientific psychology. In the same way Plato, Aristotle, Adam Smith, Comte, Spencer, and Schäffle perceived the larger principles of social relationship, and practical statesmen and philanthropists acted upon the basis of social knowledge before a real sociological methodology was developed. Since no methodology, however, can far outstrip the practical applications of a science, we have had during the last two decades an enormous quickening of interest in the scientific applications of social theory. In fact, it may be stated with some assurance that the theoretical elaboration of sociology has reached the point of rapidly diminishing returns and

that the future direction and development of the science of sociology will depend more and more upon the development of its sub-sciences. These sub-sciences or differentiations of the general field are nearer to the interests and activities of daily life than the principles of the parent science, and will have, not only a more utilitarian appeal, but will aid more directly in social amelioration. It then becomes of primary importance to general sociology to recognize and aid these sub-sciences, both on account of their basic importance as a foundation of social theory and as a means of larger usefulness in promoting social progress through applied sociology.

#### SUBDIVISIONS OF SOCIOLOGY

Among these differentiations or subdivisions of the general field of sociology to spring into importance with the opening of the new century are social psychology, social pathology, constructive philanthropy, rural sociology, and institutional sociology. Courses in these subjects are offered in many universities and colleges. While some methodologists are objecting to the use of the term sociology in connection with these sub-sciences, it is in entire harmony with the general practice in the other sciences. We have physical chemistry, food chemistry, industrial chemistry, and agricultural chemistry, abnormal psychology, religious psychology, genetic psychology, child psychology, educational psychology, etc. The terminology to be used is much less important, however, than the fact that sociology must build its permanent structure upon the results obtained in its various sub-sciences and will have its largest function in co-ordinating the results of the more specific studies in fields where definite applications may be combined with theoretical study and explanation.

Of the various subdivisions of the general field of sociology that of institutional sociology is by no means the least important. The family has already received quite definite treatment. The church has also received considerable attention. But the school, which in our complex civilization under democratic conditions is extending its field of control and growing more rapidly in comparative importance than any other institution, has received little sociological study and no adequate sociological treatment. It is true that

every sociologist from Comte to Ellwood and Hayes has recognized the fundamental nature of education as the basis of social control and amelioration; but very seldom in sociological literature has any reference been made to the possibility of a basic educational sociology. Even more seldom has there been a recognition of the fact that there may be created an educational sociology that will enter into every phase of educational theory and practice and be as dominating as educational psychology is in our educational systems of the present. It was left, in fact, for psychologists and practical educators to discover and to emphasize the foundational nature of sociology in educational science. As early as 1892 Dr. William T. Harris, whose interests were psychological rather than sociological, wrote:

But no philosophy of education is fundamental until it is based upon sociology—not on physiology, not even on psychology, but on sociology. The evolution of civilization is the key to education in all its varieties and phases—as found in family, civil society, state, and church, as well as in school. Once placed on this basis it is easy to connect any one theory of education—that of Froebel for example—with another—that of Chinese verbal memorizing, or that of the study of Latin and Greek in American colleges—and to show the rationale and the amount and kind of positive help given to the pupil by each.<sup>1</sup>

A few years later Professor George H. Vincent stated:

The thought of social philosophy which sees in the development of society the growth of a vast psychic organism to which individuals are intrinsically related, in which alone they find self-realization, is of the highest significance to the teacher, to whom it suggests both aim and method.<sup>2</sup>

While a definite recognition of an educational sociology was back of Dr. J. M. Gillette's<sup>3</sup> *Vocational Education*, the first definite appeal for an educational sociology on the part of sociologists seems to have been from the pen of Dr. Ellwood in 1912:

Now the science of education has evidently two chief problems: the problem of the aim of education and the problem of organizing a curriculum

<sup>1</sup> *Educational Review*, VI, 34.

<sup>2</sup> G. H. Vincent, *The Social Mind and Education*, p. v.

<sup>3</sup> The first use of the term educational sociology in connection with a school course was by Professor Gillette while in the Valley City Normal School. Dr. Suzalo began giving courses in Teachers College in 1908, and the following year the writer began giving similar courses in the Kansas State Normal School.

which shall be in harmony with that aim. It is the contention of this paper that both of these problems are essentially problems in an applied sociology, and that the science of education, in so far as it concerns these two fundamental problems in education, is essentially an applied science resting upon sociology.<sup>1</sup>

Even Dr. Ellwood's article shows a lack of appreciation of educational sociology as a subdivision of the field of sociology, and he puts upon educators the burden of applying sociology to the field of education. It must be admitted that a large share of the work of applying sociology should be done by practical workers in the field of education, but there is no more reason why sociologists should wait for them to perform the whole service than that they should wait for rural workers to apply the principles of sociology to their particular problems without formulating a rural sociology.

#### THE SOCIOLOGICAL POINT OF VIEW AMONG EDUCATORS

In the meantime educators everywhere have been turning toward the social point of view. Professor John Dewey may well be called the leader of the sociological school of thinkers with reference to educational theory and practice. His experimental school in Chicago and his writings, from his little volume *School and Society* to his *Democracy and Education*, has recognized fully the social nature of effective education in our democratic society. Professor Henry Suzzalo declared in 1908: "As we have a school hygiene and an educational psychology so we must have what is basic, an educational sociology." What is more to the point, he began immediately to act upon his convictions and through his classroom at Teachers College and through his public lectures has done more to lay the foundations of scientific educational sociology and to popularize the subject than any other one individual. Others, such as Scott in his *Social Education*, Betts in his *Social Principles of Education*, and King in his *Social Aspects of Education* and *Education for Social Efficiency*, have continued to discuss the socializing process in educational theory and practice. In reality so much has been done by educators to apply social principles to education that they might well reverse Professor Ellwood's suggestion and ask what sociologists have done to aid educationists in broadening the foundations of educational science by constructing an educational sociology.

<sup>1</sup> *Education*, XXXII, 133-40.

This charge of indifference on the part of sociologists to the applications of their science to education seems all the more just when we note the fact that (so far as I have been able to determine) only two departments of sociology in the country, those at the University of North Dakota and at the Kansas State Normal School, have been giving regular courses in educational sociology. It seems evident that sociologists have been reluctant to co-ordinate their work with that of education, or at least have been slow to realize the importance of this union by assuming joint responsibility with psychology in laying broad foundations for the science of education. That sociologists have been busy in other fields is only a partial defense, since the growth of departments and schools of education in our colleges and universities has been so rapid that the popularization and usefulness of sociology have more to gain from this alliance than from any other in sight. It would appear from the departmental point of view no less than from the scientific and utilitarian standpoints that at the earliest practicable date courses in educational sociology should be offered in every university, and they should be given by sociologists. Such a move would be eagerly welcomed by many schools of education, and working agreements could doubtless be formulated in all.

As in all new movements the first difficulty will be in finding men trained in both fields who can properly give such courses. But a sufficient number of trained men can never be obtained until departments of sociology recognize the relation of their field to that of education and provide courses in which educational applications are predominant. When this is done more students will combine education and sociology in their majors and minors, and when the minds of graduate students are turned toward this combination teachers will be trained for further development in this most promising field.

#### THE ESSENTIALS OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY<sup>1</sup>

If a general definition of educational sociology is required, it might be given as the application of the scientific spirit, methods,

<sup>1</sup> The ideas here presented are elaborated in a textbook which is to come from the press of Houghton Mifflin Co., probably in April of this year, under the title, *An Introduction to Educational Sociology*.

and principles of sociology to the study of education. The scope of the subject would require an analysis of our educational systems as they exist, together with an evolutionary study of the way they came to be what they are, and the outlining of a program necessary to bring them into harmony with the progressive demands of a rapidly moving society. This is no mean task and calls for the efforts of many minds in a never-ending process of construction, adaptation, and reconstruction. It will not even then make education simpler, but it ought to make it more effective.

As society becomes more complex and individuals more mutually interdependent, organized systems of education become more varied, more extensive, and more dominating in social control and development. It is easy to discern definite tendencies in recent years for the schools to take over more and more of the educative functions formerly exercised by the home, the church, and the industrial world and to play a continually enlarging rôle in the total training process by which the child is made into the citizen. This process will doubtless continue until the whole period of infancy is utilized in initiating the individual child into the multiform activities of a mature society. Moreover, this growth of the school as an institution is not only extensive but intensive; it will not merely embrace an additional number of years of school training, but a larger amount and variety of the pupil's time and energy during each day and each year. There will consequently be increasing need of better founded and more elaborate educational theory and more varied, adaptable, and effective means of putting this theory into practice.

Even a preliminary treatment of educational sociology must include two fundamentals—a general application of the principles of sociology to the school as an institution and a specific application of these principles to educational practice. Under the first head must come an orientation of the school in the institutional group. The function and aim of the schools in relation to other institutions and to society as a whole must be determined. A body of educational doctrines which recognizes and emphasizes the social ends to be served must be built up to balance the body of doctrines set forth by psychologists with special reference to the individual



ends to be attained. Under the second head must come a specific application of the sociological principles derived from the study of general society to the particular problems arising in school work. These problems range all the way from the public administration of school systems to the minute details of classroom discipline and method. Sociology must come to the aid of the educator in his multitudinous daily tasks as fully and helpfully as psychology has done. Even the tentative and haphazard acceptance of the social point of view has wrought great changes in public-school administration, curriculum, and method; a scientific application of this viewpoint will produce little short of an educational revolution.

#### GENERAL PRINCIPLES ON WHICH AN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY MUST BE FOUNDED

As the writer sees it, the basic principle to be recognized is that from the sociological standpoint education is the result of the stimulus of social contacts, either with individuals or with groups of individuals representing organized society. Every child inherits a complex physical and mental constitution and a complex physical and spiritual environment. His development, that is, his education in the broadest sense, will be the result of the action and reaction of his inherited constitution upon his environment. Both his heredity and his environment are social to a very large extent and both have their roots deep in the past history of nature and man. The study of the child with his bundle of instincts and predispositions and his plastic nature, with his individualistic outlook on the world, is primarily the function of the psychologist. The study of society with its customs, traditions, and organized institutions, together with its socializing aims and methods, is the work of the sociologist. Any science of education that is at all adequate must take into account both the child and society, must approach the problem of education from the opposite poles of individual receptivity and social aggressiveness. Education, therefore, must be founded equally upon educational psychology, which deals with the child in his efforts to incorporate the essence of organized society within his own consciousness, and educational sociology, which must deal with society in its efforts to incorporate the child

within itself. These reciprocal processes constitute the active forces of education.

It is not to be supposed that these forces and the ideals back of them do not overlap. Educational psychology moves from the individual outward into social and environmental influences as educational sociology moves inward from group interests and influences to the individual person. The primary province of the psychologist is to know the individual as he is, not losing sight of the fact that what he is may be largely determined by social forces, while the primary purpose of the sociologist is to enable us to know the group, not failing to recognize that the group is made up of an amalgamation of individual personalities. These complimentary points of view may not seem important on the surface, but in reality they lead to vast consequences, not alone in educational theory, but in every phase of educational practice.

Since the foundation principle of educational sociology is the study of group influences in education, it follows that its aim must be to formulate the principles of group stimulus as they affect individual character and the reciprocal influence of the individual upon the group. Not only must it formulate these principles, but it must discover and organize the methods by which these principles are to be wrought into an educational system. The sociologist is interested primarily in society, and in so far as his subject is to be applied it must aid in the conservation and improvement of societary relationships. It is therefore the first function of an applied educational sociology to see that our schools are so organized and so conducted that they will accomplish that purpose. Education must not only produce individual efficiency and culture, but it must produce social efficiency and culture. The individual must not only be educated for self and self ends, but for society and social ends. This has been so often said that it has become a mere truism, but in reality our educational system is so much the outgrowth of the individualistic conception that we are just beginning to realize that in practice we are neglecting training for social participation. Our schools have been isolated institutions dominated largely by scholastic traditions. They have frequently been made so on purpose, and even when the social vision has been

present the force of tradition and native inertia has often overruled the educator's judgment or defeated his well-meant and often well-planned efforts. The sociologist in education must insist that every phase of school work be directed toward the production of the socialized individual who not only vaguely recognizes his duty to society, but who is actually trained into social service. This will mean that the school must organize its curriculum in harmony with social demands and adopt a discipline and methods similar in kind to those of social institutions outside the school. The school must not only be a more real part of general society, but general social forces must enter more fully into the composition and direction of school work. By this means alone can adequate training for social participation be brought about.

#### SPECIFIC TASKS OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

The first specific task of an educational sociology is to distinguish carefully between the individual and the group and to evaluate the relative influence of individual and group stimuli on the growing personality. An analysis of any great achievement will show it to be as much the result of group demand as of individual desire. In fact, any great event, such as the discovery of America, the German Reformation, or the development of South Africa, is much more than the work of Columbus, Martin Luther, and Cecil Rhodes. Any great invention, such as the steam-engine, the telephone, or the aeroplane, is the result of the work of a series of inventors instead of that of single individuals. Achievement is as much a social as an individual matter, being a genetic outgrowth of the work of a series of individuals inspired and aided by social appreciation, social encouragement, and social pressure. Moreover, it is general acceptance and usage that make an idea valuable. The socialization of achievement is as important as the original achievement itself. Training in educational sociology alone will be able to drive these truths home to the individual educator and to force the reorganization of our education on such a basis that social or group interests and needs will be put upon an equal footing with individual interests and needs. It will take a much better-distributed social consciousness than we now possess to see that

education is directed toward developing social instincts and capacity and group loyalty as much as to the development of individual instincts and capacity and the idea of self-preservation.

The second task in developing an educational sociology is to analyze our social groupings and to determine their relative values and uses from the educational standpoint. Every social group, whether organized or merely inchoate, has educative value, and many of them have deliberately formulated educational programs. Primary groups, such as the family, the playground, and the community; intermediate groups, such as the school and the church; and secondary groups, such as the state and large cultural organizations, have distinct socializing aims and functions and are consequently educative. It is the child's contacts with these groups, whether it be the direct contacts of the primary group, or the combination of direct and indirect contacts in the intermediate group, or the indirect contacts of the secondary groups through tradition, custom, organized law, literature, etc., that expands his vision, his sympathy, and his range of purposive activities. The home, the church, industry, occupational organizations, fraternal societies, social and culture clubs, literary, artistic, musical, and amusemental associations—all are both educational means and educational ends. Teachers have too often failed to realize that even during the one hundred and eighty days in the year when school influence is most dominant these other influences are very powerful, and that during the other one hundred and eighty-five days they are almost supreme in their dominance over the welfare of youth. Educational sociology must furnish the synthetic point of view which will enable the school to broaden its work by securing the aid of these organizations.

Most of all in our day the state has become both a means and an end in education. The state is interested, not only in producing educated and efficient individuals who are able to increase the productive and competitive materials of commerce and industry, but in producing socialized and co-operative members of society. Modern states have come to include within their sphere of control the aims and activities of all other organizations. Coincident with this extension of state function has come an extension of citizen

rights and duties. Popular suffrage has brought increased individual responsibilities to the citizen, and governments must see that citizens are trained to meet those responsibilities. The voter must be educated, not merely into political intelligence, but into political activity. It is not enough to have intelligent voters, but we must have unselfish workers in civic affairs. Statesmanlike leaders must have intelligently appreciative followers, and these can be produced only in an atmosphere of sympathetic devotion to political service through actual participation. Continued discussion based upon intelligent teaching in the public schools alone can maintain a sane balance between party loyalty and independency. Only an education which recognizes and uses group influences and methods as a social laboratory can establish an equilibrium between the individualist and the socialist, the conservative and the radical, the "standpatter" and the "mugwump," and develop prophylactics against the boss who thrives under individualism and the demagogue who flourishes under collectivism. It is a sane educational sociology which must lead the way to a state system of education that will train citizens to a comparatively equal intelligence and spirit of sacrifice in dealing with public business.

But it is not sufficient to discover the educational functions and needs of these various social organizations. General principles must be outlined for their utilization in our school systems. A general synthesis of the educational ideals of all social institutions having important educational bearings should be formed and means of co-ordinating their efforts worked out. The school should in more direct ways be affiliated with the home, the church, the club, the playground, the occupational organizations, cultural societies, business life, and civic activities. At present, while the church educates religiously, industry educates economically, general society educates socially, and cultural agencies educate culturally, there is no central co-ordinating agency to centralize and unify their efforts. Consequently they lack direction and breadth of view and technical efficiency. The school is the only institution whose sole mission is education and whose sanction is powerful enough and universal enough to bring about the needed unification.

Moreover, the school has developed a technique and an educational driving power not found in the other institutions. Hence the school must be the central axis about which all educative effort must be made to revolve. This will require a full understanding of the social point of view which will reveal the dependence of the school upon general society through all of its units of organization, and an equally clear view on the part of those organizations of the superior knowledge and technical skill of the school in the work of training youth. Only the synthetic view of educational sociology which ever keeps in the foreground the needs of general society is broad enough to bring about this desideratum.

A third task of educational sociology is that of orienting a series of general principles which run through society as a whole and which must consequently be enforced through school activities. Such a principle is that of democracy. The persistent and universal fact of a growing democratization of every form of social activity must find response in every phase of educational organization and practice. Political democracy is evident in the universal trend of advanced governments both toward the extension of their sphere of activities into business, social, and institutional control and toward the enlargement of the percentage of the population taking part in this control. Economic democracy is evident in the increased returns to the laborer in modern times and in the growing solidarity and aggressiveness of the laboring population. Social democracy is shown in the breaking down of class lines and in the opening up of avenues of advance from one class to another. Cultural democracy is visible in the increasing percentage of literacy, the popularization of the plastic, color, and mechanical arts, the spread of musical taste and possibilities through mechanical reproducers such as the pianola and the phonograph, the universalizing of the drama through moving pictures, and the cheapening and popularizing of literature through its multitudinous forms and its wide appeal. All of these democratizing measures must find in the schools a ready response. A democratic society puts democratic imperatives upon the schools, and it is the sociologist rather than the psychologist who must be held responsible for whatever reorganization of our educational system is necessary to meet these imperatives.

A fourth task of educational sociology is to aid in the reconstruction of educational history. Under the impulse of the social point of view the history of education is undergoing much the same sort of reconstruction as is so noticeable in general history. Just as ordinary history is broadening from the old type of political and military history to that of the general social history of peoples, so the history of education is broadening from the study of the lives and theories of certain educational leaders to the study of the general social education of population groups. Sociology must aid in this process by keeping the emphasis upon the total educational influences of all institutions instead of allowing it to be confined to the schools alone. The purpose of history is mainly to illuminate present-day problems by showing the stream of tendency in human evolution, and therefore an educational history that is not based upon a broad educational sociology must remain a general-culture course rather than a technical course for the training of teachers.

#### APPLIED FEATURES OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

Any treatment of the general principles of educational sociology must either be accompanied or followed by the applications of these principles to our existing educational situation. This is not less difficult than a clear-cut statement of the principles to be applied, and it does not fall any less within the province of the educational sociologist. It is true that the practical educator must do the actual work, but it is as much the duty of the sociologist to aid the educator in this work as it is the duty of the psychologist. If the principles of psychology as they have been applied to educational problems have enabled the teacher better to deal with the individual in his personal development we may expect applied educational sociology to be just as effective in aiding the teacher to direct the pupil's social development. Educators are rather blindly stumbling toward this conclusion by using sociological terms and by taking courses in general sociology in preparation for teaching. But the mass of social ideas related to education in the teacher's mind is vague and unorganized. The writer recently attended a state meeting of superintendents in which the program consisted of a discussion of the socialization of school work. The

program was confined to topics concerned wholly with school and community relations. Neither the program makers nor the speakers seemed to be conscious of the fact that they were dealing only with the external factors of socialization, and that there was a whole realm of internal policies just as vitally concerned with socialization as the ones they were considering. Moreover, their vision was not less limited along this line than that of many sociologists. Before we can have an applied educational sociology it is necessary for both educators and sociologists to get a broader and more specific knowledge of the intimate relations that should exist between practical educational problems and applied sociology.

The first effective approach to applied educational sociology is through the use of the social survey in connection with the educational survey. The school survey is merely the application of the social-survey idea in education. No educational survey is complete without a general analysis of the environment of the school. Probably the most significant result of the wave of school surveys sweeping over the country is to be found in the continual emphasis placed upon the social outreachings of the school. But the sociologist is interested in more than the external relations of the school. It is the one institution which the sociologist counts upon more than any other to bring about social control and social advancement. If the school is to be directed toward social amelioration, which is the aim of applied sociology, it must be organized and administered in harmony with social ideals. No school survey analyzing educational conditions as they are and mapping out programs of development for their improvement can be complete without the aid of the sociologist, either directly or indirectly, and the sooner we have a sane educational sociology the sooner these surveys will enter into the broader field of usefulness open to them.

#### SPECIAL PHASES OF APPLIED EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

Next to the general outline of the aims and work of education in terms of social need through the educational survey educational sociology must deal with the specific problems daily confronted by the educator. Administration, discipline, the curriculum, and methods need to be socialized. In place of the random and tenta-



tive efforts of psychologically trained teachers to bring about socialization must come the scientific efforts of sociologically trained teachers. In order to make specific the process of socialization it will be necessary to take up these phases separately.

School administration has two phases—administration by the public and internal administration by the school authorities. The province of educational sociology in general administration is to see that the principles of social administration found effective in other institutions are applied in education and that the schools are given their appropriate attention and rank according to their social effectiveness. Comparative studies of school, church, and business administration and analyses of school administrative policies from the standpoint of their social utility would very materially affect the efficiency of general school organization. In the same way the application of social-efficiency methods of internal administration would broaden the vision of school administrators and smooth the pathway to better school and community relationships. It is the spread of the idea of social solidarity that will bring about the intimate co-operation between the home, the church, the countinghouse, and the classroom necessary to connect the schools with practical life. A specific phase of school administration, such as discipline, will make this clear.

There are two elements in all social control or discipline—the individual and the social group. Individual conduct in general is a compromise between what the individual wants to do and what society demands that he do. In overt cases where corrective discipline is required the individual is in conflict with society. The purpose of punishment is to restore harmony. One of the most important contributions sociology has made is its contribution to criminology through emphasizing the responsibility of the group for the delinquent, both as a cause and as a cure for delinquency. Civic discipline has been immensely improved, both in humanity and effectiveness, by supplementing the old individualistic view of the lawbreaker with the social view—in other words, by adding sociological insight to psychological insight. In the same way school discipline will be improved by adding sociological treatment to the psychological treatment it has already received. When

the criminal began to be looked upon as a ward of society, out of harmony with its demands, as well as an individual culprit, social elimination in the form of capital punishment began to disappear and is now used only in extreme cases. But school elimination or educational capital punishment still flourishes in mediaeval grandeur. When the social point of view is added to the individual point of view in school discipline, it may not be necessary to remove the scholastic head of a pupil for a wide variety of offenses or to use the educational guillotine on offending Freshmen in blocks of fifty, a hundred, or even five hundred per semester examination. Organized schools are rather advanced products of civilization and compulsory attendance a new phenomenon; hence methods of school discipline are several generations behind state discipline and are very much in need of the broader treatment which educational sociology may provide. Much is already being done toward the socialization of discipline through the use of group stimuli and appeals to the social instincts, but much more rapid progress would be made with a scientific organization and application of social principles and methods.

Even more patent than the values of educational sociology in school administration are its values in determining the curriculum. Our school curricula of the present are largely traditional, and such reorganization as they have undergone in recent years has been too largely psychological and individualistic. They are gradually being worked over and are moving toward the wider social view, but the process is needlessly slow and frequently without a clear idea of the fundamental changes needed. The general process of socializing the program of studies will embody three steps: the elimination of educational materials unadapted to the training of socialized members of society, the filling in with a larger percentage of materials specifically adapted to training for social service, and the reorganization of the revised studies and the added knowledge areas into a co-ordinated whole directed in harmony with the larger ends and aims of education as shown by the need for both individual efficiency and social service. We must look to the broader view of educational sociology to correct the exaggerated emphasis and warped visions of the industrial educationist and the culturist,

and to estimate the relative values of general and specific vocational training as compared with general and specific cultural training. A socialized education must be both practical and cultural, and it is time for educators to drop the controversial standpoint and to see that any education that is truly vocational must be cultural and that culture of itself is as practical an end in education as industrial efficiency.

The final function of applied educational sociology is in the determination of school methods. This has long been assumed to be a psychological problem, but in recent years we are learning that it is equally a sociological problem. Learning is no less the result of group stimulus and group methods than of individual stimulus and tutorial methods. Progressive teachers are realizing more and more that an effective group or classroom consciousness and the lateral pressure of student spirit are as necessary to secure good work on the part of pupils as knowledge and will-power displayed by the teacher himself. Hence the teacher is ceasing to be an intellectual autocrat and instructor and is becoming a class leader. Class rivalry, class democracy, class responsibility, and mutual helpfulness are encouraged as substitutes for the former individual effort inspired by mere force of personality or through the use of artificial rewards and punishments. No socialized curriculum can ever be made effective in practice without the use of fully socialized methods of instruction. An intelligent application of social stimuli to produce social attitudes, social habits, and social-service ideals demands a scientific sociological treatment of classroom and general school methodology.

In each of the foregoing phases of educational practice—administration, both external and internal, discipline, curriculum, and method—we have a right to expect as important advances to follow the development of an applied educational sociology as came from the development of educational psychology. This will result in placing sociology alongside psychology in our normal schools and colleges of education and in making educational sociology a required study as the basis of a license to teach in the public schools. It has taken psychology half a century to supplant philosophy as the basis of educational theory, and scientific educational psychology

is as yet scarcely a generation old; it ought to take not more than half that period to place educational sociology on the same plane with educational psychology in determining and directing both educational theory and educational practice. This desideratum, however, calls for more understanding of education as a science and more study of practical educational problems on the part of sociologists in the future than they have shown in the past. The time seems to be ripe for sociologists to recognize the claims of education for treatment as a branch of applied sociology and to establish more intimate relations with the schools of education, where courses in educational sociology should be as frequently given and will certainly be as popular and useful as courses in educational psychology.

## A CONSERVATIVE'S VIEW OF POVERTY<sup>1</sup>

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### THE ATTACK ON POVERTY

There is an institution which is as old as the world—poverty—old enough to command respect. But how goes it with poverty today? Instead of contentment and approval there is skepticism and challenge. While the poor cannot all be expected to be enthusiastic for poverty, the lessening enthusiasm of people of culture, means, and position is not encouraging. And there are those who boldly criticize existing conditions—speak ill of ways of getting rich—or fanatically propose a national conference for the abolition of poverty.

The institution of poverty is under attack. Those interested in keeping things as they are, believing in the rightness of existing conditions, need be alert. If inconsiderate comments, such as have gained currency in recent years, continue, poverty as an institution will be undermined, as was the institution of slavery by the writings of William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolitionists, and as exclusive male suffrage has been by Susan B. Anthony and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw.

Those attacking poverty are having everything too much their own way. Believers in things as they are must be numerous; but arguments in rebuttal are few, while those who oppose poverty are vociferous. Those who have great wealth hang on to it; they do not argue.

Hence the importance of defense at this critical time. There is need to review the whole social system and to point out where poverty-abolitionists would do harm if their views went into effect. There is need of saying, "Look here, look there"; need of pointing out how conditions would be changed for the worse under a different distribution of wealth. To maintain the *status quo* will require

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active effort. Otherwise the peculiar advantages enjoyed under the existing economic system are not likely to be fully appreciated by the general public.

#### POVERTY AND PRECEDENT

One who comes to the defense of the present order finds himself fairly choked with arguments. Thoughts come to mind with such impetuosity that the vocal organs are jammed and overcome if speech is attempted, and the pen devoted to setting down the ideas tends to plunge through the paper and to contaminate with ink those parts of the unwritten sheet immediately surrounding the puncture; while if a typewriter be used, the authorship of confutation heeds not the ringing of the bell and the stoppage of the carriage at the end of the line, whereby there results the piling up of impressions in one place, with corresponding lack of progression.

There is composition that halts for lack of ideas. There is that which clogs from having too many. The latter is that of one who lays himself to our subject. Where begin? is the question—there is so much to be said. One powerful concept does, however, free itself from the mass and claims first chance of record—the argument from precedent.

The poor will be always with us. They always have been; why change? They have always been uncomfortable; why experiment? Time has sanctified poverty, made it sacred. It has always been. Let it always be. Would we do irreverence to the fathers by introducing novelty? No, let us be guided by the lamp of experience—nay, candle. Whenever the world departs from precedent there is trouble. Ignoring precedent results in doing something new; but if precedent is followed changes do not occur. Precedent gives a feeling of peace. It is better to be content under bad conditions than to change, for change is change. Let those who have not, be content with conditions—let them imitate the rich, who are reconciled to theirs. The lack of respect for precedent is one of the saddest blows today's conservative has to suffer. Actually, some propose change for the sake of improvement. While change of some kinds is proper, as change of clothes, social change is a different matter. Conservatives tend to regard social

change as distinctly and conclusively unwelcome. There is no use of saying more upon precedent; other arguments are ahead, and they seem to be jealous of every syllable that postpones. The claims of precedent must be felt rather than reasoned about. One just feels that poverty must always be.

#### CHARITY

Little do we realize what a catastrophe it would be for charity workers if poverty were abolished. The special field of these workers is the slums. Without slums there would be no charity organizations and spirit of social service and benevolence. Many of the charity workers have made special preparation for their work, have taken courses in universities, and have invested money in their vocation. To change conditions so that charity would be unnecessary would throw many out of work and deprive them of a means of livelihood. The machinery for distributing money to the poor is complex, and a good many people are required to operate it; and, while the poor themselves may not receive much of what is donated for charity, if there were no poor nothing would be donated. Hence the poor are indispensable.

The spirit of charity is singularly sweet. Who would see it pass away? Our laws have already trespassed upon the realm of benevolence, for conditions are not as they were in the Middle Ages, when beggars were allowed to be seen and alms-giving was a heavenly virtue. Charity cannot exist without objects of charity. If justice ever takes the place of benevolence, there will be such a decline of charity as the world never saw. Conditions will not be the same. The person who now buys a ticket at a generous figure for a charity ball might have to give up something beforehand, and would feel less inclined to go. Much as one might like to see poverty abolished, one should think twice about it if with the passing of poverty the pleasure and privilege of giving away worn garments also is to disappear.

#### SPECIALIZATION

This is an age of specialization; everybody sees that. But nobody seems to connect the idea of specialization with the need of having the poor always with us in society. Yet specialization,

for its fullest application, requires economic grades, classes, and stratifications.

Some are to specialize as producers and some as consumers. Thus the highest development in these respective fields may be reached. No one can do all things equally well. If the producer should try to be a really proficient consumer, he would likely fall short of the highest standards; and, on the other hand, if the expert consumer attempted to make himself over into a producer, he might similarly achieve but mediocre results. It is best that producer and consumer each practice his forte, and thereby reach some perfection.

The awkward attempts of people who become suddenly rich to live up to their consumptional opportunities should be sufficient proof of the place of specialization in standards of living and of the imperative need of keeping producers where they belong. The hive furnishes a neat illustration. There are queens, drones, and workers. Each class is specialized, each plays its appointed part, and each has a different standard of living.

Little do the poverty-abolitionists appreciate the peculiar biological advantages of a state of poverty. If reformers will keep their hands off long enough, people will come to differ physically and otherwise like bees. But with a more uniform and monotonous distribution of wealth such differences cannot develop. The diet of the very poor results in a class of people who can almost eat nails. The babies of the destitute take milk from unsterilized bottles with big flies clustering about, drink it sour, and live—some of them. This tends to give us a class who do not require pampering. Hardships that would be most unwelcome and injurious to people on a higher plane can be borne by the lower classes. For the sake of developing a class that can bear hardships severe conditions must be provided, and poverty includes all the necessary conditions.

Ill-disposed critics of things as they are do not suitably value a certain extensive and increasing specialization laboriously undertaken by the extremely rich. It is no small matter to find new ways of spending money. It racks the constitution to maintain discontent with everything that savors of the ordinary. Many a man of great wealth would be glad to put on old clothes and go



out and roll, but he keeps up appearances for the sake of his wife. The strain of keeping up strenuous consumption often wrecks the nervous system, though in time, by the law of specialization, the favored classes get used to it. How absurd, then, to underestimate the services of those who carry the burden of great wealth and pave the way, often through dutiful dissipation, to new methods of expenditures. Somebody has to face the problem of spending the huge surplus left after the wages are paid, a problem becoming greater every year. Specialization is the solution.

#### THE VICARIOUS RICH

All sorts of misunderstandings abound in the literature—if one can call it such—of the critics of the established order. And everywhere there is failure to appreciate the services rendered by great spenders. The rich are vicarious. Let us see.

By holding wealth back from the poor the very rich take upon their own shoulders the risk of moral degeneracy associated with luxury and pampered indulgence. Imagine what would happen if everybody could put up at the best hotels. The rich fall grandly into line and assume the risks and burdens associated with luxury and its dangers. When a man with a large roll representing what some would call "withheld wages," or perhaps the profits of a child-labor cotton factory, walks into a princely hostelry or boards a private yacht, the envious poor do not realize the sublime moral daring and spirit of sacrifice displayed. Just as stallions among bands of wild horses on the plains prance majestically back and forth, keeping off wolves from the more defenseless equines, so there are superb champions in society who go where the menace of luxury is greatest and fend the multitude from the demoralization which would result from living wages. Those who think they suffer from not having enough to live on do not appreciate such service. But if a doctor risked his life by exposing himself to smallpox out of regard for the general welfare, he would be heralded as brave and vicarious.

Centralized and monopolized wealth conduces, also, to a non-materialistic—shall I say *spiritual*?—viewpoint. The possession of property attaches the mind to property. But if one has no

property his mind cannot be thus attached, surely not to his own property. Hence centralized ownership, though materializing and grave for the plutocrat, frees others from any temptation to be unduly engrossed in things owned. Thus a lofty, anticipational frame of mind which shades over into refined and etherialized longing and sweetness is established among the expropriated. Bold, crass materialism would cloud society were it not for the spiritualizing effects of the vicarious function of those who risk the inability to get through the eye of the needle on account of the camel's hump, enlarged by bales of worldly goods and securities. It is evident that one carrying little baggage can get through a smaller passage-way than a party with loads of stuff. Bear in mind that the straight and narrow way is just what it is said to be—narrow. The poor, therefore, are better prepared for going to a Far Land.

#### VARIETY

To do away with extremes of wealth would result in sameness. As it is now, there is variety. There are editions *de luxe* and paper-bound copies on cheap paper, the "movies" and grand opera. Palatial residences and sumptuous living add not a little to the spectacular, which the poor enjoy so much to witness. What would our cities be without show places to contrast with the tenements? One has a distinct feeling of relief in leaving the squalid sections of a city and returning to the residence district. The emotions are aroused and sensations are possible where contrasts exist. A food riot is picturesque. (Would you have every automobile a Ford?) There is much of the theatrical where money is flush, and people not favored with this world's goods benefit by being enabled to catch glimpses of high life. Even a cat may look at a king. If the poor were confronted with a charge for every observation of splendor, they would realize how much they are now getting for nothing.

(Our industrial or manufacturing system and the whole fabric of commercial practice rest upon economic differences, with poverty as a basis.) For example, there would be waste if discarded woollens were not ground up into shoddy and made into cheaper kinds of clothing. How could there be a market for shoddy if everybody

could buy good cloth? There are grades of flour. Poor people use up the poor flour—or it is sent to the Japanese, but the Japs are getting wise. Every factory turns out different grades of goods, and of course there must be grades of buyers or the goods would not sell.

Even nature itself seems to behave as if there would always be poor people. Growing things differ in quality. Think of the natural differences in wool, beef, potatoes, lumber, and in the flavors of fruits and vegetables. Carp is not so good to eat as lake trout, and the fur of a rabbit cannot be compared to that from a seal. Apples have to be graded; and the good ones are sold to people who can pay for them, while other people take the culls or go without. That is nature's way.

In fact, there would be no way of using up some of the things on the market if need did not actually compel their use. Moldy foods would go begging and rents for dwellings on land subject to river overflow would drop to nothing. And, on the other hand, with the reduction of superior incomes a good many places could not be kept up, and servants would be dismissed by the thousand. It is clear that conditions are right as they are.

#### INDEPENDENCE

The anti-poverty propaganda will do well if it can defend itself from having increased a lack of respect for authority and social position—a lack which may be seen all about us. We are supposed to know how a beggar on horseback would act; well, if a beggar thinks he is going to have a chance to ride, he does not act the same as before. And that is just it—all sorts of people are being encouraged to expect things, and respectfulness is at a discount. Think of the insolence of the I.W.W. in daring to organize the unskilled laborers in the face of all the commercial and manufacturing and farmers' organizations. Social unrest results from talking about improving conditions. True, it also results from not talking about improving conditions, but is it not better to have the unrest from not talking? Those who talk and write simply stir up more unrest than would probably exist if no encouragement to those in poverty were held out. Anyhow there has been a decline in respect for

position. Of course, the good old days are gone. Even the peasant could scarcely be expected any longer to apologize to the knight if the knight's horse stepped on the son of the soil. But the change from old-time deference to those higher up is going on too fast as it is, let alone the change threatened by the elevation of the lower classes.

How are persons kept in their places anyhow? By looking into this matter carefully we may see the dangers in abolishing economic restrictions. It is by wages and salaries paid by economic superiors that impertinence is prevented. The employee who objects may be fired, and he knows it. The corporation has the employee dangling at the end of a thread, with the shears near enough to inspire respect. Talk with any of the representatives of the great industrial concerns and hear them stand up for the system. Unless you get them into a corner where nobody can overhear, you may think they no longer think as they used to in college. They show a marked respect—marked with the dollar sign.

Free speech and a free press would be terrible if really free. It is well enough to play they are free, but who would want to live in a place where editors were not on a salary and ordinary persons were not kept in restraint by job fear? There would be an upheaval in society the like of which has never occurred. Enough radicalism has been let loose by the secret ballot, which is not to be compared, from a conservative standpoint, to the system which allows the employer to look over the shoulder of the employee when he marks a ballot, as is done in Germany. They know better how to do things in Europe.

The advantages of a salary brake on freedom of expression are seen in university circles. If professors were economically independent, they would secure academic freedom and stir up discussion and become agitators; thus many wealthy men would be less inclined to give buildings, libraries, stadia, etc., to universities and colleges, and the cause of higher education would languish.

A charming example of real graciousness and deference, such as could appear only under the usual economic conditions, was afforded in a western state. An elderly millionaire, deaf as a post and as uninteresting as yesterday's newspaper, was invited to college

after college to give talks and to become acquainted with the college presidents. They made a great to-do over him, and it was not surprising after such distinction that he left sums to several institutions.

#### PRIVACY OF INCOMES

To do away with poverty would involve some sort of attack on people who have a great deal of money. It would be impossible to raise all to the income level of those enjoying the highest incomes, so the piling up of wealth would invite attack. The poor would be made to share in the accumulation of the rich, the poor coming to have more and the rich and privileged being allowed less.

Aside from the unpleasant impression which such procedure would produce in some quarters, there is the insuperable objection of a violation of privacy, for agents would be prying into incomes and knowing about them. The delicate consideration now allowed under the law, the secrecy which now shields income-tax payers, who are persecuted for the support of public institutions, would no longer be guaranteed, and people generally would know how one gets his money and how much he has. This would be unconstitutional. Everyone would have to tell how much he had and where he got it. Now, while this would be permissible in some cases, it would not in all. It is proper enough to know how much people of small means have, and how much salary one receives who is employed by the government. But people of large means often like real privacy in their affairs. If an employer had to tell how much his profits were, his employees might revolt and make trouble. There surely would not be very much peace in society if the facts about incomes were freely brought to light.

It is far better that things should remain as they are—poverty and all—than that the privacy of those who happen to have interesting sources of income should be disturbed. Such intrusion could not be popular with all classes. It would be wrong.

#### PRODUCTION NOT A BASIS OF REWARD

Boil down the views of social critics and you find the idea of compensation according to labor. Production, they say, should be the basis for the size of income received. The answer to this

kind of talk is easy. How much anyone actually produces today cannot exactly be determined, and so incomes cannot be based on labor. It is like trying to prove which is more necessary, the spark plugs or the wheels of a touring car. As a matter of fact, all these parts are necessary, and the car stops if any one of a good many different parts goes wrong. Which is more necessary, a lamp or a match with which to light it? One cannot apportion the importance of such things.

A factory employs hundreds of men, all of whom are necessary, and turns out a single product, say linoleum, which sells at so much a yard. How can one tell how much each person has done to produce the output? The work of all is necessary to produce the linoleum. No one can state in dollars just how much each has contributed. So how could people be paid according to what they produce?

The people of the whole country go about their work, and the result is an aggregate social production, from a real, if not formal, co-operation. The rancher raises sheep, and the wool goes to the mills and pelts to the factory—where “shammy” is manufactured, perhaps—and mutton goes to the packing-house. Everybody who has anything to do with sheep has contributed to the value of woollen goods or anything made of sheepskin. The woman in a calico dress who cooked breakfast for the men who sheared the sheep is a factor in the final selling price of the finest suit that ever went out of a fashionable shop. But how can each contribution of labor be weighed and each person remunerated according to what he does? Impossible.

The practical way to divide up is for each person to take all he can get. The woman in calico may not get a penny where the jobber gets hundreds of dollars, but that is the way of the world, and it must be so. While all the parties concerned co-operate to produce the suit of clothes, there seems to be no way of co-operating for the division of the wealth produced; they just have to fight for it, and those who do not fight, who are perhaps too busy producing to fight, simply have to have less. Suppose one person seems to get a hundred times as much as he produces, and another gets one one-hundredth of what he produces, what are you going to do about

it? As was said before, it is not the ability to produce, but the ability to acquire, that counts.

A fault in common speech has much to do with wrong ideas on distribution. We say that this man or that man has made so much money. Someone, we say, has made a million. This use of language causes people to think of production and income as related, and furnishes an argument for cranks who want individual production to be the basis of individual income. How much better it would be if we would only get into the habit of saying take instead of make? We should say this man or that man has taken so much money—not say made it. Perhaps the operatives or the miners or the farmers made the money, but another gets it. So why do we not say so? A fisherman takes a fish, he does not make a fish. Nature, the working people, the salaried managers, and public demand make value, but a stockholder may take 300 per cent a year. There is a difference between making money and taking it, and the advantage is all with the man who takes. With a slight improvement in our use of words the facts would be brought out more clearly, and the ill-advised notion of distribution according to labor or services would meet with less favor.

#### UNEARNED INCREMENT

One cannot look into the origin of great fortunes, or of small ones either, for that matter, without being impressed with the importance of being an early bird. Promptness and punctuality are virtues that have always been held up for imitation. Nowhere can be found better arguments for these qualities than in the case of unearned increment. The importance of being born at the right time and place is unmistakable when one sees how the ownership of mines, forests, lands, rights of way, and of the sites of great cities has been determined by priority.

There was a time when water-power sites, oil lands, and corner lots could be had for a song. With the growth of population these natural monopolies become more and more valuable. There are spots of land in New York City, none too large for a chicken coop of colonial times, that now afford a rental income sufficient to support many families in idleness and luxury, and unless the followers

of Henry George have their way, such tracts will continue to give their owners, without effort, income as long as the world stands. It is the same with coal mines. Those who are fortunate enough to get hold of the coal mines find their output becoming more valuable every year. People must keep warm, and they have to come to the mine-owner.

The attempt to discredit the income derived from unearned increment is not likely to succeed. In the first place, this way of acquiring wealth is ancient and people are used to it. Those who might have their attention called to how unearned increment lowers the flow of income to those not its beneficiaries are sure to be impressed with the antiquity of the process. Families in possession of great estates of land, and railroads with their land grants, alike are known to have long profited by this economic advantage.

The economic principle of basing income upon what one owns instead of service rendered is as fully upheld by unearned increment as by interest. Do away with unearned increment and you would destroy a strong barrier now standing in the way of an out-and-out labor basis for incomes. Indeed, without unearned increment to throw up fortunes for the few, it is possible that interest would tend to disappear, for the interest-taking system rests upon the disproportionate possession of wealth. If everybody had money and tried to live upon interest without labor, everybody would starve. The interest system cannot be maintained unless some have money and others do not.

There are surely enough reasons to oppose the taking over of unearned increment by the state on the theory that it is a form of wealth produced by society and not by the individual. It would be an experiment to take this over for the state. Perhaps the strongest argument, however, for leaving things as they are, is that not one of us would have been the person to refuse the ownership that later would have afforded unearned increment. We would have been first if we could, and if not ourselves but someone else bought Manhattan Island of the Indians for \$24, whose fault is it but our own?



## INTEREST

Interest plays a part in the distribution of wealth—a very large part. Long ago the acceptance of interest was thought to be morally wrong. Money could not breed more money, it was said, so it was regarded as wrong to take interest. The Jews thought the receipt of interest a sin—this was in Bible times. People now have made up with interest, and money-lenders take as high rates as they can get. Nobody, except the doctrinaire, questions interest as an institution, and its relation to poverty scarcely attracts any attention.

The real reason for paying interest is that one cannot borrow money unless he does pay interest. If a farmer needs a plow and does not have the money to buy one, he has to borrow it and pay interest. When he works with the plow and gets a crop, part of the crop belongs to the man who lent the money with which to buy the plow. The money-lender and the farmer unite to raise a crop; the farmer does the work and the other man lends the money.

Interest, says an authority, is a reward paid to ownership. If a man owns a dollar, he gets six cents reward for ownership. The reward is for the ownership, not for the way the dollar was gained. A man who had stolen a dollar or a million would get just as much interest as anyone else, for it is not practicable to place the reward upon how ownership came to be. So the reward goes to ownership.

Another way to understand interest is to think of it as a reward of abstinence. Some economists say this is so. The owner of a million dollars might, if not abstemious, use up all his money. If he abstains from spending, he gets his reward in the form of a certain percentage. But another man who does not inherit money or get it in some way, so he can become abstemious too, is made to pay the reward of the man who has wealth. The justice of this will be seen only after reflection.

People who think that labor only rather than ownership should be rewarded often take it upon themselves to say things against interest. They can be answered very briefly. Indeed, the best way to answer is briefly.

Tools are necessary with which to labor. One cannot produce things with his bare hands. There has to be capital to furnish a condition of production. Now, either there must be private capitalists, who for interest furnish tools to labor, or the state would have to be the capitalist. Interest could be abolished only by making the state the capitalist. There is one important objection to having the state the capitalist: people who live upon interest could no longer do so. Labor would be the only basis of income. This would be a condition that not all would look upon with pleasure.

#### SOCIAL OWNERSHIP

Those who propose social ownership surely do so in the full light of the fact that it means an undermining of the opportunities for accumulating great private fortunes.

There is scarcely a business that has such possibilities of income as the transportation system. It is no small privilege—that of owning and operating for private profit the railroads of the grandest and one of the largest nations on earth. Whether such opportunities for private wealth should be taken away from those who now enjoy them is indeed a serious question. Certainly the owners of the roads and their attorneys are not likely to favor government ownership. It is the same with “public” utilities of other kinds, that is, those businesses that are public in extent and private in results. Municipal ownership is just as objectionable as state or federal ownership, and for like reasons.

There is danger in attempting social ownership, for where it is attempted it succeeds. Up to 1900 only one city out of thirteen that took over public utilities, such as electric-lighting systems, returned to private ownership, and where municipal ownership was a failure it was because the city government was a failure, owing usually to the ward system. With efficient city administration municipal ownership is permanent. If inefficient city government could with certainty be counted on, there would be less occasion to view with alarm the social ownership movement. But city government is becoming efficient. So it is unwise to rely upon the inefficiency of city government as the best argument for opposing municipal ownership.

The arguments against social ownership must be of a different kind. Its advocates must be made to know how strongly some feel upon the subject. If social ownership had been entered upon long ago, when the owners of public utilities managed them themselves, the evils would have been fewer. But today there are heavy stockholders who do not know the difference between a coupling pin and the Morse code, who are entirely out of touch with the work, which is left to people on salaries. Employees and superintendents do the work in connection with public utilities, while the real owners are often far removed from the scene of operations and would be out of their element doing the actual work.

It would thus be a great hardship to deprive of ownership a class of people who have long since become rusty as producers. They have come to rely upon profits, and the idea that public utilities should be run solely in the interest of the public is about as distasteful as it well could be. Deprived of an assured income from public utilities—as assured as taxes are to the government—the present owners of our telegraph lines, express companies, railroads, mines, electric and gas plants, and street-car lines might be lost in the mass of those who work for pay. Our most distinguished leisure class would have the props knocked out from beneath it. Europe would notice the difference at once, for, except in war time, one of our largest exports is leisure.

Social ownership would give the state or city great funds to be spent for public welfare. At first glance this might seem desirable. Think again. With private ownership great funds are accumulated, and to some extent disbursed by public utility multimillionaires for the public good. Gifts to universities are an example of the way the public gets back some of what monopolists take in the form of profits. There is scarcely a university or college in the country without a library, auditorium, chemistry laboratory, swimming-pool, girls' dormitory, or Y.M.C.A. building given by a generous patron. One feels the influence of these benefactions the moment one sets foot on a campus, for it almost makes one think of a child with an empty cup and a spoon, and its mouth open. Besides universities, all sorts of projects, from hero medals to the eradication of the boll weevil, are financed by donors. Does anyone think

that if the government, under social ownership, gained possession of funds comparable to those now going to public-utility owners, there would be such excellent taste in spending the people's money?

#### PROFITS AND LIVING WAGE

The chief reason why the men who run the business should receive the total production of wealth except wages to the workers is that the former are at a risk. But the laborer, says an eminent professor, contracts himself out of risk and accepts a definite rate of wages. Having contracted for a definite rate of wages, which wages, however, may stop any time—for he does run the risk of being fired—the laborer has no longer a claim upon what he produces.

The risk of the investor is so much greater than the risk of the worker that even if a concern makes a profit of several hundred per cent a year on investment, this profit is justified under the well-known economic doctrine of risk. The worker does not risk any capital, so he has no right to more than a living wage, regardless of production of values. Risk of a kind the worker does undergo, but it is not the right kind. In fact, a good many lives are lost in the various hazardous callings and in callings that are allowed to be hazardous because capital would hardly dare risk itself to change conditions. But, in mining, railroading, dynamite manufacture, and the building of tunnels under rivers the risk of life and limb can scarcely be regarded as so grave as the peril to dollars, so in the final division of values the workman is sufficiently rewarded by a living wage. Even a steeple jack employed to fix up the smoke-stack of a flour mill does not run any risk comparable to that which the owners run in undergoing the possibility that the steeple jack may fall two hundred feet and damage a shed.

The statement of the doctrine of economic risk found in the works of the most consistent conservatives will prove interesting both to those who approve and to those who disapprove the theory.

One will get a clearer view of the riskless nature of the wage-earner's relation to the business in which he is employed if one will dissociate the worker from his family. It merely confuses the issue and tends to discredit traditional economics to bring the

worker's family into the account. It may be that his family does run some risk of being thrown into the street if the wages stop, but what has that to do with economics? That is a side issue, just as the risk of starvation or the bread line for the unmarried workman when thrown out of employment is a side issue. The contract is the thing, and the workman contracts himself out of risk when he bargains for a definite rate of wages. One should try to look upon the workman, then, as having reached enviable freedom from risk.

We do not need to go further to find why the employer should take the surplus of production above the living wage. Risk is the explanation. A living wage is all that the workingman should expect, for he risks no capital, only himself and family.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

Usually there are numbers unemployed. About a million workers were out of employment in this country prior to the present war. After the war—if it ends—it is expected that many will be unemployed. The late Mr. J. J. Hill said that after the war the question for the workingman would not be one of wages, but of securing work at any wages; and Senator Borah of Idaho predicts the greatest amount of unemployment ever known, when the war closes. Whether these predictions come true or not, we know that always a great many people are supposed to be looking for work, with applicants outnumbering jobs. This is the condition in normal times—and there are those who object to it.

Before jumping to the conclusion that unemployment is an evil and before joining the social reformers, we may well investigate the advantages of the present system.

Unemployment causes one to look with great respect upon a chance to work; of course, it is to be understood that only those out of work and out of money are meant. If a man has enough to live on without work, he does not look upon work with more respect, rather less. But, out of money, the only way to get more money, usually, is to work for it; thus the job looks attractive, and the masses come to identify work with existence and to respect it and to eulogize it accordingly.

Then, too, when the job becomes thus attractive to the moneyless, there is not so likely to be quibbling about doing more than one is paid for. One of the oldest maxims of service is that the laborer should do more than he is paid for—throw in something beyond exact measure, just as a grocer might add two or three eggs to a dozen or a bank cashier slip out a few coins in addition to what a check calls for. The worker is not to watch the clock, but is to let the hands go past the hour, and think nothing of it. The ethics of good service calls for this sort of thing, and employers have always pressed the point, and it is universally known. But if there were only two men for three jobs instead of three men for two jobs, how could this ideal of good measure be held up as it ought to be?

This is only one evil that would come from not having a crowd around the entrance whenever a man is advertised for. Consider how wages would be affected without a surplus in the labor market. Wages would go up. Then prices on articles bought by laborers would have to be put up too or workingmen would be saving money, which would result in overthrowing the present order. To be sure, prices could be put up at equal pace with wages, but what a bother. The present way is better—let unemployment serve as a check on wages.

There is still another way in which to look at unemployment—it distributes leisure. The upper classes cannot consistently be reproached with being the only people of leisure so long as unemployment is common. Unemployment makes sure of leisure for the working people; they become, in effect, a leisure class and therefore should not feel quite the same upon the subject of the leisure of the upper classes.

#### EXPORTS

In times of peace a billion dollars worth or more of goods is exported every year in excess of the value of imports. How does this happen? This surplus is what we produce and do not use up. If wages paid to the workers were so large that they could buy a billion dollars worth more of goods, they would do it. Then there would be no surplus to export. All the ships would do then would be to exchange goods of the same value produced in different climates or made differently. Our immense trade balance would

vanish, destroyed by higher wages. Is it not better to pay low wages and have millions and billions of wealth to export than to pay wages that would enable the home market to consume goods equal in value to all produced in this country? How should we feel as a nation if our trade balance went down? The wage-earners, too, ought to be satisfied with this arrangement—if they are patriotic. They surely would rather have our exports exceed imports than have higher wages. We do them an injustice in dreaming that they prefer income to patriotism. Everybody is supposed to sacrifice for his country, and by keeping the consuming power of factory hands down by means of low wages there is something left for export, the wage-earners thereby being patriotic.

Of course money comes back for the exports, and one might think that the home market would be correspondingly increased. Yes, but the money comes back to a limited class who either keep it or travel abroad and spend it there. The spending of immense sums abroad by tourists and families who draw their support from this country takes up much of the wealth produced by wage-earners in excess of their wages. Thus the system balances nicely.

#### THE TARIFF

Some look upon the tariff as a bad habit, but there must be something to be said for it or it would be discarded, although not every bad habit is thrown off.

The tariff is a political invention ranking in importance with great mechanical inventions. The tariff is no less a work of inventive genius than the steam engine. It is an invention which enables the government to raise money painlessly. Tell a man of small income that he must pay a hundred dollars to the government, and he becomes an anarchist; take it out of his pockets by indirect taxation, and none is more patriotic.

The wonderful nature of the tariff is not fully realized by viewing it simply as a means of raising money painlessly for the government. It is in another connection that the tariff shows evidence of the inspiration of true genius. The greatest service of the tariff is, not to raise money for the government, but to raise prices all around. If there is a duty of 50 per cent on something, imports

of that something are discouraged, and the government may receive little income or none from this source, but the price received by the home manufacturer will be about 50 per cent higher. For the millions of dollars received by the government from the tariff, manufacturers and dealers within the country—behind the tariff wall—receive billions and billions more. Professor Summer of Yale estimated that the tariff raised prices all around from 30 to 40 per cent. This would mean that a man with an income of \$1,400 would have to pay it all or nearly all for goods that without a tariff he could buy for \$1,000. Such a man would pay about \$400 a year to the tariff—a considerable tax—but as he does not know that he is paying it, unless he stops to think, he does not object.

The worker is not likely to object because he is told that he receives higher wages on account of the protection which his employer has at the hands of the government, and it is true that the worker must receive wages high enough to enable him to pay the higher prices caused by the tariff and to keep alive—when employed. The worker is not supposed to receive wages high enough to enable him to save, so he is on the same basis as workmen in other countries. They all get a little less than enough to live on, but there is a satisfaction felt by the worker under the tariff; he handles larger sums of money.

Aside from the advantages of the tariff to ordinary people, as indicated, there are strong advantages to the wealthy. Many great fortunes have been built on the tariff. The government really lends its taxing power to manufacturers, and they are therefore appreciative and patriotic. No class is more loyal to the government under a high tariff than the manufacturing class. One could not consistently oppose the tariff without joining forces with those who object to swollen fortunes and the persistence of poverty. Attack the tariff, and be counted among those who do not favor inequalities in economic status.

Let us go back to the man of the 1,400-dollar income. If tariff prices did not sweep away the difference between \$1,000 and \$1,400, he would perhaps save \$400 and gradually become "independent," and what that would mean is explained elsewhere in these pages.



The government, too, would be much handicapped without the tariff to raise revenue. A tax would have to be called a tax, and how unpopular that is may be judged by the way the best people have always side-stepped taxes and left the small fry to pay them. The Supreme Court has felt strongly about taxes on incomes. The government would be put to it to get money if the tariff were abolished. There would be no way left but to go after wealth or to have government ownership and use the profits; and it is against the rules for the government to own and operate anything that makes money. Private enterprise always does the things that make money, and the government does the other things.

#### TENANCY

The alleged facts about the increase of tenancy in this country are no doubt correct enough. Let us agree that the census is right and that tenancy is increasing at a rapid rate—that farms are being worked more and more by families who do not own the farms. Agree that the tenants are a poor class, in debt up to their ears for mules, groceries, seed, implements, fence wire, and the doctor, and that the children often do not know what a schoolhouse is.

There are deplorable facts about tenancy. But it is not fair to look merely at one side of the matter. There is another way to look at it. There surely must be some way of looking at tenancy so that the non-resident landowner will feel justified and politicians be untroubled in conscience. Nothing is more uncomfortable than to have a feeling that one is taking advantage of another. This is especially true if little children and their mothers are involved. It would pain the conscience to realize that one was reaping where one had not sowed and was gathering what belonged to another. People may pooh at ethical considerations and may ridicule psychology, but what good is an investment if one does not sleep? One must try to see how justifiable the tenancy system is, together with the loan system associated with rural poverty.

The best approach is to see the resemblance between what is happening to the small farm owner and what has happened to the small shop owner. Years and years ago such people as now work

in factories were often independent producers. Then came organized industry, with capital, and swept them out of ownership and into jobs. It was uncomfortable, no doubt, for men who had been engaged in manufacturing in a small way at home or in little shops, to be put out of business, with the children and grandchildren taking such employment as could be had in factory towns. But it had to be, and we now have our industrial system.

The modern industrial system has been a money-maker and there is coming to be a great surplus for investment. Some of this surplus is being invested in farms and lands, great private estates and heavily financed farming projects appearing. After a while a great many farmers, first becoming tenants, and later—they or their descendants—employees, will be in the same economic class with present factory employees. The farm workman, like the factory workman, will not own the business, and he will take orders. There will always be a fringe of farmers who work their own farms, but the factory type of estate will dominate in agricultural production, unless signs fail. Such being the case, why be concerned about tenancy? The country population will correspond in status with the factory population, in proportion of employees to owners, living conditions, etc.

It follows that no one can consistently oppose the coming of a system of centralized ownership of land and of tenancy unless he is prepared to attack its analogue, the factory system, which has magnates and employees. We must expect a large part of the present farming class to become employees and be under superintendents. Thus agriculture and manufacturing will be on the same basis, and agriculture will no longer be out of harmony with our industrial labor system, so much identified with our type of civilization.

## THE WANING POWERS OF ART

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### I

Various critical Americans, aided and abetted frequently by visitors from abroad have for many years been insisting that this country sadly needs more and better art. Our inartistic life has been pitied, denounced, derided, made the object of "uplift." At first, with the confidence of successful frontier folk, we refused to believe that our conditions were as bad as our critics imagined. We were wealthy and reasonably happy. We had national health, and ours was opportunity. We were not keenly conscious of wants which we could not satisfy. We knew little about art, and that little often suggested scroll work, triviality, meretriciousness, even refined sensuality. Artists in all lines as well as their followers among the non-working women who were coming to be the decorations of our rich commercial life, we hardly pretended to understand, but we were sure that we held them and their works in small esteem.

Our critics, however, have achieved their objects. We are no longer complacent over our insensitiveness to art and our art-lacking surroundings. We have become self-conscious, abashed, convicted of many serious aesthetic shortcomings; and we are now eager to amend our ways. We have resolved to give art a fair chance, and to require that our sons and daughters shall not be, as we were, deprived of opportunities to have the satisfactions and to exhibit the cultivation that are alleged to come from seeing, hearing, feeling (and even tasting and smelling) those things which superior judgment and taste call "artistic." We have been gratified when millionaires gave us art galleries. We have been glad to make it possible for our wives and daughters and a few of our sons to travel in Italy, France, and Belgium where "art"

was to be found in largest quantities. Our women's clubs have taken the matter of self-culture in art seriously. Americans no longer have, or at least express, sympathy with the Puritan's pose as to the sinfulness of catering to aesthetic sensibilities.

We have tried especially to develop art education, in the more inclusive sense of the term, as a part of our general education. During the last fifty years popular demand has forced into school and college curricula quite generally much English literature, and some drawing and music. Small but influential groups of our more ambitious citizens have also at times succeeded in having taught in the regular schools, or in special schools and classes organized for the purpose, dramatics, artistic dancing, painting, modeling, artistic craftsmanship, home decoration, and landscape gardening. To each and all of these newly awakened interests Europe has contributed, along with a few first-class exponents, a horde of self-promoting avaricious exploiters of popular credulity and private wealth. Schools and cults and fads have flourished. The decorative women of the rich, the idle and sterile women of the apartment-house dwellers, the ambitious daughters (and a few sons) of families rising rapidly to higher standards of living, the free lances among our intellectually emancipated womanhood, all these have contributed in America toward a vast, collective, conscious striving for more "art" in life, some release from barbarity and vulgarity, some translation hither of European or Japanese standards and methods of execution and capacities for appreciation.

In some instances the results of this striving have been wholesome and profitable, if judged by their effects upon certain small classes or groups of people, in the way of contributing to their collective good-will, earnestness, sincerity, unaffectedness, and standards of moral conduct. We know of a few centers where the cultivation of music has ministered to rather than detracted from neighborliness, social purity, and simplicity. Occasional groups of craftsmen can be found whose members are genuine men and women, unaffected by avarice, jealousy, or besetting impulse to pose. [Here and there are moderately gifted writers who have resisted the temptation to produce wares for the largest market,

and who have nevertheless been discovered by a moderate circle of appreciative readers. } Meredith.

But it must be confessed that, viewed in the large, the results of our great campaign of education and uplift in matters artistic appear so far to be disappointing. As users of literature the American people do not yet seem greatly to prefer the better to the worse. We expend millions for short stories and longer novels, and we lionize the writer of a "best seller"; but we provide a poor market and little appreciation for the genuine poet and essayist. We certainly support the drama generously (if we include under that term moving-picture art), but we make no marked demand either for repeated presentations of the great classical dramas or for those modern dramas that exhibit originality of conception and artistic workmanship. Some hundreds of millions of dollars are expended annually to provide music in America, but only a small portion of this is paid to support other than fugitive and tawdry stuff. Our millionaires in a few cities generously support the opera, but whether from genuine desire for the art or from motives of vanity and display, it is at times hard to say. We dance much, but, except when momentarily moved by the appeal of fashion, we are cool toward folk-dancing and art-dancing. The plastic and graphic arts are everywhere taught in public and private schools, and hundreds of our young people of real or imagined talent annually set out to become painters, sculptors, or architects. But our largest expenditures as a people for art products embodying form and color go to magazine publisher, advertiser, bric-a-brac manufacturer, and the long line of caterers to the various appetites for bodily decoration.

Notwithstanding the growth of wealth available for the satisfaction of the less pressing needs of life, and an undoubted desire on the part of educators and a considerable portion of the public for better things artistically, it seems to be true that as a people we are advancing little if at all as respects "love of the best." But those authorities who at times despair of American taste seem almost equally pessimistic regarding prospects in other countries. Are we not told that modernizing of Japan has ruined the fine craftsmanship and cheapened the public taste of that country?

Applied art makes slow progress in England in spite of the millions expended by the agencies that first grouped themselves around South Kensington. Germany, aspiring to conquer a world's commerce, plunges into vast schemes of art education, the quality and permanency of the results of which are seriously challenged even at home. France continues to give to the world a profusion of fine- and applied-art products, but her schools are distracted by cults, and the social mission or significance of even her best art remains yet a matter of uncertainty and debate. Germany maintains perhaps her standards of musical appreciation, but, if her best critics are right, drama, poetry, fiction, and dancing certainly tend there as elsewhere toward lower levels as regards both production and appreciation. And all of this in face of the unquestionable fact that the whole civilized world is (or was before 1914) possessed of vastly more leisure, wealth, and education than ever before!

To educators, publicists, and statesmen, as well as to all persons gifted with sensitiveness toward things artistic, it is a serious and disturbing matter that art as regards its evolution and social vitality seems to be so much in the doldrums. What are the causes of this condition, and what does it portend? In our public schools alone we now expend millions of dollars annually in trying to teach our children to appreciate and desire the better things in literary, musical, graphic, plastic, and terpsichorean art. Are we doomed always to find the ground slipping away from under our feet, and to discover that we are simply modern Mrs. Partingtons sweeping back in utter futility the waves of printed pictures, "movies," "canned music," hackwritten fiction, hotel dancing, and factory-multiplied artistic "utilities"? Must we continue to find, indeed, that as one of the penalties for our sins our art leaders and spokesmen have themselves been afflicted with a confusion of tongues, and have scattered into the wilderness of conflicting cults, irrational counsels, and wilful blindnesses to the essential characteristics of the period in which we live?

The situation is therefore a serious one if we admit that the assumptions which are commonly made as to the social significance and essential need of high standards of art production and appre-

ciation in civilized society are indeed correct. But we must not forget that these assumptions are usually derived from a historical consideration of other civilizations than our own, and chiefly from those representing other stages of evolution than the present in our own. May it not be possible that occidental civilization has reached a stage in its development when the general social need of art of good quality, at least in some of the forms which have counted most in humanizing man and upbuilding societies, is less vital and compelling than was formerly the case? Perhaps the functions of art in ministering to the primal needs of society are not what they once were, and so, as a consequence, while society may still be willing to spend of its energies and resources freely on art, it now refuses to take that art seriously because it cannot make of it a means toward realizing the more serious and worthy things of life. Strong men decline to make the production of art works a career, although they are willing to see their daughters follow it as a lightsome and not too prolonged vocation. When in need of recreation or a light avocation, these same strong men are likely to turn to art for its sedative and diverting qualities; or when, with wealth accumulated and leisure available, they seek outlet for unexpended energies, they may find in art gratifying opportunities for patronage, self-education, and public service.

## II

To the student of history or, more broadly, social evolution the fundamental importance of the various aesthetic arts that make appeal to and through the emotional nature of man is apparent.<sup>1</sup> *Homo sapiens* comes into the world equipped with instincts which cause him to react strongly to the stimuli, among others, which these arts have been invented to provide. One kind of music can move him to worship, another to fight, another to love, and a

<sup>1</sup> A sharp distinction must of course be made between "art," or "aesthetic arts" and "the arts." The latter (as "practical," "industrial," "mechanic," and "useful" arts, having to do with man's need of obvious utilities) are, in spite of similarity of names, often remote from "arts" and especially "fine" or "pure" art. The fundamental quality of "art" as here considered consists in its appeal to aesthetic sensibilities, and as a consequence of the appeal thus made its power stimulate, modify, or repress specific tendencies toward behavior, conduct or action, immediate or ultimate, individual or social.

fourth to work in concert. Perhaps a fifth, sedative and lulling, can give his jangled nerves much-needed rest. The drama at its best becomes a means of making men passionately aspire after or despise the forms of conduct in themselves or others, toward which end it is the desire of dramatist and actor to move them. Through painting and sculpture have been communicated countless messages to men and to women, young and old, who could receive vivid suggestion and direction through no other medium. Epic and lyric, the finished evolutionary products of recital, chant, and folk-song, long served as vital means of disseminating and socializing ideals, lores, sentiments, and percepts. Dancing at its best was doubtless long a valuable means of symbolizing for peoples only part articulate, various forms of co-operation, including those of defense, worship, and mating. Gracefulness of design and beauty of decoration, applied to the furnishings and utensils wherewith life must be lived and work done, served to give definiteness of standards and permanency of associations to the still plastic sensibilities and inclinations that make for domesticity, acceptance of routine, pride of craftsmanship, self-sacrifice, accumulation of wealth, and respect for unseen powers.

If we possessed sufficient data whereon to base sound conclusions as to social evolution, we should probably find that many forms of art had, during the long periods when they possessed great social vitality, a very large "survival value." That is, social groups that developed widespread and keen appreciation of these forms of art, closely accompanied by the demand for, and summoning forth of, great producers of the strong and vivid things in such art, other things being equal, possessed thereby great advantages in the struggle for existence as against other groups not thus reinforced and fortified. Under primitive and elemental conditions of society at least, all forms of co-operative action and of social control of the individual in the interest of social behavior seem to involve and to require abundant means of making direct and strong emotional appeals such as art, among other agencies, provides. Song, drum, and trumpet bring men together for war (doubtless the earliest crucial form of co-operation); chantey and tattoo make toil in concert endurable and even joyous; pipe and



chant mold the spirit for worship. Carved, painted, and woven decoration have served to give verity and tangibility to legend and tradition, and thus to promote like-mindedness among clans and tribes and sects; while painting and statuary communicate ideals and sentiments for which words are as yet inadequate. Probably all forms of persistent and elaborated art (confining the term chiefly to those products of human skill which are characterized by the emotional rather than the intellectual appeal which they make) have indeed had for long periods a large "survival value." They were therefore vigorously approved and cultivated because of vague recognition of that fact—such recognition itself being likewise a slow product of intuition and experience.

But do not needs similar to those confronting early societies for close co-operation and generous mutual aid still exist today? Do not these needs grow daily more intense and more pressing? Are not conditions such today, especially in all civilized countries, that the demand, conscious or unconscious, for all the forms of appeal which art can make or reinforce is waxing in volume and intensity? In the complications and interdependencies of modern society do we not more than ever require vigorous use of all social means that will integrate groups of men for work, defense, worship, and government; that will insure the right formation as well as stability of family life; and that will promote social integration and concerted effort generally? Can we allow to fall into disuse any instrument by means of which the imagination, ideals, sentiments, appreciations, and habitual attitudes of the individual can be so shaped that he may give to society the desirable conduct under all the involved and obscured conditions which render possible innumerable kinds of behavior, social or anti-social?

In brief, nearly all art had in the past quite definite, even if imperfectly manifest, social functions; it gave direction and reinforcement to the great social forces, those that made for the cohesion, unity, strength, persistence and wholesomeness of society, and, thereby, as a rule for the ultimate self-realization of the individual. This was conspicuously the case with all "great" art—the art that, though sometimes at first emanating from, and patronized by, a few, ultimately appealed to the thousands, the

art that was given wide publicity in places of assembly, that received approval and support at once of rulers and of ruled. Has art today, or can it, in its nobler manifestations, be made to have those same definite social functions? The social forces that thus once utilized and magnified art are still operative, certainly, but do they or can they make use of great art, noble art, serious art, as necessary means? In a fundamental sense the answers to these questions will probably interpret for us in part the present status and the probable future of the higher forms of art in America and in other countries controlled by the conditions and requirements of modern civilization. We must ascertain whether art still possesses the qualities which under present-day conditions, give it definite functioning possibilities in strengthening and orienting the social forces that, operating through the sentiments, understandings, and ideals of individuals, produce the society which weathers storms, survives, and ministers to the end of guaranteeing "life more abundantly"—the final known test of civilizations.

It is the belief of the writer that an examination of those forms of social activity which are most intimately involved in the survival and expansion of civilized societies will show an increasing dependence upon what may be called the helpings of science as contrasted with the helpings of art. Art still has its place in life, but not the prominent, proud, and glorious place it once had. Art can no longer lead; it must follow. It can no longer command; to make itself acceptable it must rather divert and entertain. In the great works and in the momentous crises of life man is more and more to be supported and reinforced by what he has accumulated in and for himself of scientific knowledge of the world, of assured insight into his own powers, and of definite mastery of natural and social forces. In considering these hypotheses let us examine successively a few of the fields of human conduct and activity in which the social functions of art seem to have diminished in comparative importance while the dependence upon science has increased.

### III

The problem of obtaining concerted action for war has always taxed to the utmost men's capacities for co-operation. At every

point in the recorded history of man we find him using music, dancing, bodily decoration, sculpture, painting, legend, poetry, oratory, drama—in fact, all manner of appeals to the emotions through the senses—to arouse the combative instincts and impulses and to produce co-operative fighting qualities with their accompaniments of endurance, loyalty to leaders, comradeship, and self-sacrifice which make possible the overcoming of enemies and the survival of the victors. When the defense of nationality is at stake, when the area over which concerted action must take place is large and the time of action long, the uses of art in producing and sustaining the moral and even spiritual qualities become marvelously varied and complicated. Heroic painting and sculpture, patriotic song, spirit-stirring music, ideal-arousing tale, and exalted oratory are all enlisted. The extent to which in very recent times this appeal to art as a vehicle of call to action has been made, sometimes deliberately, sometimes only as a revival of old customs and the belated expression of half-buried instincts, is one evidence of the persistence down into modern life of art-forms as a means of social strength and survival. ✓

Nevertheless, though war today is a no less serious business than ever before, it is clear that in it, pragmatically considered, the various art-forms no longer retain their relative importance. Men no longer dance to the tomtom to arouse the fury required for the raid. They do not march to battle to the sound of trumpet, drum, and fife. They sing songs in the trenches, but, if report be true, these are not songs of rage, valor, or exaltation. Our soldiers must now discard the ornamenting sword, shako, epaulette, showy-colored uniform, and decorative helmet. Rifles and cannon no longer bear inscriptions delicately traced and beflowered. We say, indeed, that war has lost its glamor, its appeal to the ecstatic and heroic emotions. Smokeless powder, long-range gun, spying aeroplane, mine, and barbed-wire snare have rendered war a form of activity in which the simple emotional appeals have necessarily a subordinate place. Clarity of understanding, trained intelligence, stored knowledge of scientific procedure, coldly clear vision—these are the personal powers that are brought to the fore. Patriotism must be identified with the clearly understood higher ?

forms of self- and family-interest, else it has little meaning in and for modern conflict. We say modern war evokes no great poetry, perhaps little great fiction. Of course not; but as the price of national existence and individual liberty it evokes science, organization, method, prearrangement, calculation—the unemotional things of life. To the building up of all of these, the art-forms that strike chiefly and immediately toward the keener emotions and sharper sensibilities have little to contribute. Action must now be based relatively more on technical comprehension, less on intense and personal feeling. A background of ideal, shot with sentiment and emotion, there must always be, of course—perhaps more penetrating, pervasive, and enduring than ever before—but this is something not greatly to be affected by the crude appeals which the simple, striking, forth-right art-forms of the past have made. It grows from social understanding, the perceived ramifications of socialized self-interest, the comprehended significance of material aid and fair play. “With the songs of the North, the South would have won” in the Civil War, someone has said. Well, it would have made a great difference a thousand years ago, some difference fifty years ago, but probably none in the wars of tomorrow.

Art, at least as we have thus far defined and known it, has a diminishing place in war. It yields to science. Enlistment is hastened, it is true, by gaudy and imaginative posters; marching recruits sing “Tipperary”; “canned music” is welcomed in the trenches; and Kipling’s tales furnish pleasant relief from tedium.

➤ Art for diversion, relief, as a sedative, yes; but as a means of inspiration, as a force that counts in the final tale—hardly.

At certain stages in the evolution of societies it is religion that has evoked the most potent forms of art, especially those that affect and move the multitude. Appeal to, and propitiation of, respected and feared deities have always served to bring and hold men together. Worship in common has doubtless always had a large survival value for those groups which supported and controlled it effectively. In the various forms of worship, art with its powerful appeals to the feelings has commonly played a

large part. The unseen gods in imagined forms have been given representation in every kind of plastic material. The most cunning builders, craftsmen, and decorators have been employed to beautify places and accessories of worship. Vocal and instrumental music in a thousand forms has been used in praise of, and appeal to, the gods, and as a means of drawing others into the circle of worshippers. Religious revival and Salvation Army campaign always utilize in full the strong, simple arts which make direct emotional appeal.

And yet is it not fundamentally true that noble art or strong art or fine art is less urgently demanded and less vitally used, on the whole, in worship today than among people in prescientific stages of development? Those religious organizations which reached their full fruition prior to the last half-century still retain in large part their historic instrumentalities, but it is probable that the more emotion-arousing of these steadily diminish in potency. If this is so, what is the explanation? Undoubtedly, again, the cause must be found in the pervasive spread of scientific thinking, rational action, and an increasing demand for intelligible sanctions for social behavior. Among civilized peoples deities become more remote, more abstract, less anthropomorphic. We think of them less than formerly as possessing sensibilities to be appealed to through beauty of voice, dance, incense, decoration. Churches change tradition slowly, so it is not possible for us accurately to estimate the actual social vitality of art applied as a means of worship today among peoples who have become accustomed in other relations to view a substantial part of their universe in terms of the known, the scientific, the personal. But one notes the social activities of the modern church, the practical character of its architecture, the professionalizing of its music, the appeals to understanding in its sermons, and the tendency toward the merely decorative in its trappings, and concludes that the great arts of appeal to the emotional nature play a diminishing part inevitably in modern worship.

The extent to which art was used as a means of stimulating primitive man to prolonged and arduous work is not well known.

On the sea and in harvest field chantey, rowers' song, and field melodies have survived to yesterday. The "house-raising" festival and "husking bee" are probably survivals of social devices toward company effort which were once widely used. During the thousands of years when men were learning to hunt, fish, herd, till, harvest, clear forests, raise houses, and build roads together, innumerable devices making aesthetic appeal were certainly evolved. That festival, folk-song, legend, drama, dance, and pageant were favorite means is evidenced by the historic remains which can still be studied. It is said that forethought and thrift among present-day tribes of tropical regions can best be produced through holding in prospect reward of gaily printed cloths, bodily decorations, perfumes, and the music of the phonograph. Our European male ancestors gave much heed to the decorations of their persons with bright-colored trappings which today survive only in the dress uniform of the military officer, but which, curiously enough, seem also recrudescant among the ceremonials of those who most nearly constitute an American *intelligensia*, namely, our college faculties. It has been no light task for societies in the colder regions of the earth to make of primitive, individualistic, labor-hating man a social citizen, co-operating readily, toiling persistently, and saving thriftily; and in this task art once played a large part.

But it does so no longer. Men seldom sing as they work. Festivals no longer directly crown a recognized task accomplished. Providence is cultivated by other means than folk-song and drama. Our boys are contemptuous of the seductive tales of thrifty and industrious exemplars.

➤ Yet it is indubitable that we now possess in larger measure than ever nearly all of the social virtues that have to do with economic well-being. How are we producing these virtues in each generation? Largely through appeals to understanding, to conscious self-interest in the individual; and also through organization of labor under the wage system and through the segregation of economic opportunities—hunting-grounds, fishing-streams, nut-bearing trees, tillable land—by means of private ownership. Only in time of crisis or revolt does the "Marseillaise" of the expatriated

stir the passions to demand a new economic adjustment, and bring men into step for a new form of co-operative effort. Doubtless the passion for the possession and ownership of that which makes aesthetic appeal—the jewel, the gown, the handsome saddle, the fine house—still lures men and women to toil even slavishly. But does the conscience of the country approve such use of the aesthetic response? Does it not rather frown upon it, as we frown upon that taste which seeks gratification in perfumery?

The suitable mating of men and women, so fundamental to sound social growth, has also involved historically the employment of every known form of art appeal. Love song, incense, body decoration, poem, dance, tale of precarious courtship, and the drama of passion or affection, all these, in multifarious form, evoked, irradiated, and brought to fruition the primal sex impulses, thus beautifying, ennobling, and stabilizing the various stages of the approach of men and women to, and union in, the family relationship. Can it be possible that in this field of human activity, too, art tends to lose its potency as a means to the realization of purposes socially worth while?

It is certainly a fact that the use of these art media in the preliminaries to human mating (otherwise marriage and parenthood) is diminishing in civilized groups. In the upbuilding of those types of family life that must constitute the sure foundations of a sound society we see everywhere displayed an increasing rationality, cool understanding, and intelligent regard for consequences to the individual and to society. Understanding men and women do not today, as a rule, lay the foundations of family life in disregard of economic, hygienic, and other social considerations; consequently they affect less, and yield themselves less to, the various forms of emotional appeal and stimulus of which our more naïve progenitors made such use.

We do still, indeed, expend time and energy heavily on forms of art which seem intimately associated with mating and other expressions of the sex instinct. We have the unending rivalries of our women in decorating and ornamenting their persons, ends to the subserving of which they have drafted some of the most highly

trained of the craftsmanships of jewelers, hair-dressers, weavers, garment-makers, and pharmacists. The elaborate artistry of the stage in its ballets, vaudeville songs, and "modern" dramas seems to center chiefly in cavortings about, and lubricities with, the sex life. The graphic arts applied as adjuncts to advertising and story-telling also do much to reinforce the sex appeal. Opera, "canned" and chamber music, dancing, fiction, and even modern modes of travel and outdoor recreation all seem permeated with endless varieties of the longings, obsessions, dallies, and unwholesome effluvia of the primal instincts which are basal to the family life. Where marriage is arranged by parents—marriages of prudence—art flowerings seem to be developed chiefly to elicit and adorn wayward coqueties and illicit unions. Even the short story and the novel, today the most vital of the forms of art interpreting, irradiating, refining, and inciting the primal sex and sociability instincts toward the complex relationships involved in family groups, are disproportionately devoted to the unfortunate short-circuitings, the abnormalities, and the perversions of the mating impulse.

But though we are often oppressed by the variety and magnitude of these developments, we must recognize that in a country like the United States they are far from being of fundamental importance. We should realize that these various forms of art-based activity are in part but elaborated manifestations and derivations of the play activities (including the sports of hunting and competing) possible to a prosperous people; and in part the manifestations of a pervasive morbidity always found in societies where individual prosperity and complicated social organization rapidly replace conditions of frugal life and simple group structure.

In other words, though we may seem to give art a large place in the fundamental and enduring mating activities of modern civilized society, such is not in reality the case. We leave the exercise of art in large part to the hangers-on, the philanderers, the "play boys," the self-seekers, the habitués of the purlieu, of modern society. These naturally demand little in the way of madonna pictures, serene love songs, tales of "true love," simple gownings, dramas of childhood, folk-dance; the multifarious forms



of art which they evoke and reward are flaunted on the "White Way" of every city. In the meantime the family as an institution survives and becomes more effective; in spite of the misgivings of those of us who see it chiefly under the artificial conditions of large cities, it is probably becoming more wholesome, more socially serviceable each year, as judged by the final standards of its excellence, namely, as an agency for bringing a reasonable number of children to competence for membership in the society of adults. A constantly larger proportion of men and women enter upon the family relationship with open eyes, fuller mutual understanding, and stronger determination to make their lives count well for self-development and right parenthood. In their mating, reason, understanding, and even science play an increasing part; they cannot afford to yield themselves to the emotional incitements and pointings which the art of today even in its rare nobler forms can make. Only the irresponsible ne'er-do-well dances himself into marriage; only the silly she-fool embarks unthinkingly on motherhood, unguided by reasoned consideration of its demands and responsibilities. Art in its currently known forms cannot serve well as a means to the intellect-guided, affection-based unions required and in growing degree found today—such seems to be the verdict of those who contribute most to the making of sound family life.

#### IV

Defense, work, worship, mating—these represent four of the fundamental forms of activity which at all stages of human evolution have been essential to survival and progress. The various forms of art have been freely used in the past as means of organizing, intensifying, enlarging, and giving persisting significance and fruitfulness to these activities. The evidence seems to indicate that in all these major fields art as a means tends steadily to be replaced by what is here to be called science as a means—that is, the organized and tested knowledges and instrumentalities of science.

Are there then no other spheres of human activity in which art has played and can still play a vital and important part?

It seems to the writer that as far back into the origins of society as we can go we find the beginnings of at least three minor social functions of art which have continued vitally to persist and even develop into the present, and which seem to promise still more extended developments in the future. These will be called here, respectively, the recreative, the advertising, and the refining functions of art in social life. These deserve to be called derivative, secondary, or minor activities as contrasted with the four groups of activities analyzed above, because they are involved much more with the enrichment or softening of life than with group survival and fundamental progress.

Having met and passed crises of passion, strain, and change of fortune, man seeks to recreate himself, to recover from the effects of too intense or too prolonged or too painful activity. He seeks diverting or avocational activities. These demands of the active spirit give rise to vital forms of art which satisfy aesthetic craving without unduly straining the emotional nature. The grief-stricken turn to the solacing song and the comforting music of instruments; the wearied muscle worker, resting, recreates himself with light literature, diverting music, moving picture, stage pleasures, boon companionship, and the coarser satisfactions of drink, food, narcotic, and revelry; while the tired brain-worker, also making demands for soothing and diverting music, show, story, picture, dance, and food catering adds thereto effective demands for travel, club companionship, museums, sports, and when, financially able, building, "gentleman" farming, and collecting, in many of which activities he wants "taste," elements of the artistic, harmonies of form, color, sound, and thought. He does not want, in fact he is likely violently to resent, serious drama, "high-brow" literature, and elaborately architectural music. As for architecture and painting, when presented for serious contemplation and study, he simply "does not see them."

We have here among all human beings, from the child being soothed to slumber after a busy day, to the millionaire seeking surcease from the intense preoccupations of business life, a wide, varied, and growing demand for certain ministries which art in some of its endless forms best can give. We know as yet too little

of the psychological results of specialized work, or of the enduring sedatives of life to criticize adversely these ministries, even when offered by so modern and uncertain an art agency as the "movies."

We find, in the second place, that in practice art is being increasingly called into service for publicity in the endless and protean forms which that form of diffusion of information which we call advertising assumes under the seeming necessities of modern life. Advertising of one kind or another besets us at every turn. It is the purpose of advertising to make appeal, sometimes to the understanding, more often to the feelings, of those who are perhaps reluctant to heed. Frequently advertisers must win their way through obscuring understanding and through intensifying appeal to sentiment, taste, prejudice, passion; hence their methods may resemble those of wooers of old.

Advertising is not confined to those only who have goods to sell. The propagandist of faiths and ideas is fast learning new methods of publicity, among them those that employ the aesthetic arts as means. In a fundamental sense man's desire to give publicity to his power, his achievements, his realized ambitions takes the form of large display of the embellishments of his person, and his possessions, as seen in the attention-commanding character of the architecture of his house, the trappings of his *entourage*, decorative character of his women folk, and the munificence of his largesse. In large part doubtless, the lavish enlistment of art by the modern woman of wealth and leisure in the embellishment of her body and her personally controlled surroundings is due far more to her strivings to give publicity to her success than to the requirements of the mating instinct.

To a peculiar degree the requirements of advertising are affected by competition. It is not apparent that the extension, elaboration, and artistic perfection of advertising is to any substantial extent bound up with the competition that involves race or group or stock survival, as are, or were formerly, very certainly, work, war, worship, and mating; but, generally speaking, success in competitive business at any rate is most surely dependent, under modern conditions, on advertising. Hence the tremendous and still

growing demands of advertising on all forms of art, and especially upon the graphic arts. It may be indeed that the expenditure of energy upon advertising will prove to be in large measure socially unproductive or even harmful, as is expenditure of energy on alcohol, opium, elaborate personal decoration, or gambling, but for the present we see this form of public appeal or publicity making of art a busily employed handmaiden.

The third social function of aesthetic art which seems still vital persists in all those fields of activity where, the ends of utility having been served, man desires refinements of form, color, organization, communication, and service such as reduce obtrusiveness, eliminate the non-essential or irrelevant, and tend to foster pleasant associations. In the world of material things this function of art is analogous to the sedative or solacing or recreative function of art in the world of things mental and spiritual. It is here that the useful arts come into hand-clasp with the so-called fine arts.

The man of pragmatic inclinations wants a house that shall certainly provide desired space and arrangement accommodations; it must in addition thereto be suitably weather-proof, durable, and economical. Having provided for these useful purposes he desires that sharp corners be rounded, inharmonious projections tapered into graceful shapes, raw-construction work tastefully overlaid, and perhaps that a touch of decoration be added. People, not yet art-crazed, desire furniture that is restful, safe, and durable; having these demands satisfied and within modest and restrained limits, they seek harmony of form and color as desirable adjuncts. To the practical man speech is essentially a useful means of intercommunication; and always subordinate to the requirements of such use he desires that speech be musical, moderately decorated with figure and ceremonial form, and faintly touched by sentiment. The craftsman, if of right mold, buys his tools with discriminating study of their practical serviceability in his work; but being assured of these qualities he places also an approving valuation on their beauty of form, color, suggestiveness, and even faintly upon their decoration. To all real readers of books it is only the stored wisdom of the pages that makes primary appeal; this end

being guaranteed, secondary considerations as to shape of volumes, decoration of covers, and artistry of printing receive attention.

The multiplication of possessions as made possible by modern civilized life, rising standards of living, and man's increasing power to render materials and forces flexible to his will, all serve to give increasing vitality to what are here called the refining functions of art. But there is in this field a constant temptation to subordinate the lesser to the greater function. We seem easily to be able to educate ourselves, under the influence of competition for possessions and especially for display of possessions, to the point where not the serviceability of the article, but the aesthetic art conspicuously applied in it becomes the chief attraction. Children were once taught painfully to make "beautiful" handwriting in its shadings and flourishes—whether it was legible and rapid or not. At times the desire for beautiful work in bookmaking outweighs unduly the demand for the really significant contents of the volume. We are overwhelmed with prevailing demands for furniture, fabrics, tableware, and raiment that shall primarily satisfy aesthetic sensibilities and only incidentally strictly fundamental needs. The connoisseur, in things embodying applications of art, is often a seducer. He perverts useful functions to base ends. Nevertheless, it is in this domain that our schools of "industrial art" will find their largest and most useful function. They at least should avoid the temptation to yield to "short cuts," to make of pleasant gratification an end, to prefer, figuratively speaking, the painted woman of the streets to the virtuous matron of the home.

## V

Art is in the doldrums at present because those of us who are most art-sensitive cannot or will not see that the world has moved past the stage where art can easily render its mightier services—that is the hypothesis, unpopular though it be, which is here submitted for consideration. If men prove to be able increasingly to control their desired destinies through the means that we call science, why should the world again mass the desires and strivings that formerly in the ages of faith and feeling produced a Homer, a Phidias, an Angelo, a Wren, a Palestrina, a Shakespeare? We

shall for ages continue to develop those individuals who have their interests in the historical aroused by Grecian sculpture, Gothic architecture, Renaissance painting, German music, seventeenth-century drama, and eighteenth-century poetry; and it will be a precious thing to have those gifted connoisseurs in our midst. Others will arise to preserve and develop curious interests in the psychology and architecture of Wagnerian opera, Russian ballet, futurist painting, and "problem" drama; and we cannot afford to suppress or discourage even these variants. Perhaps we shall yet discover through them, that some of these advanced "art forms" have after all some real social significance for modern times and conditions, and are not merely symptoms of art hysteria, or "sports" produced through breeding and cultivating the art impulse in unnatural soil.

For in some form there is always the possibility that art as one of the great engines of human progress, as an indispensable means of social evolution, may once again be in demand. We can conceive a world of human beings saturated with knowledge of "what" to do but in spite of clearly perceived self-interest weak in motives leading to action. We can conceive a situation where notwithstanding endless and perfect laws the will for justice might be so weak as to require the appeal to sympathy and passion of a "Marseillaise," a "Song of the Shirt," a "Burghers of Calais." We can conceive a series of photo-plays leading out from the "Birth of a Nation," as the Gothic cathedrals grew out of little stone churches, to the point where the feelings of countless millions would be swayed into uncompromising hostility against the causes which produce war, which debase the virtue of womanhood, or which promote the voluntary sterility of biologically good human stocks.

Nevertheless, if the contentions of this paper are sound, the outlook for "great art" for several generations to come is dark.

The world could not now put noble popular art to great uses if it had it; and this fact must eternally under present conditions baffle the potential creators of the noble art which could appeal to and sway the multitudes; for it is a postulate of the theses of this paper, though belatedly stated, that socially great art is

usually democratic or "popular" art. The favors of wealthy and self-glorifying patrons, over-persuaded trustees, and the few sincere devotees of *res tempora acta* cannot evoke the cumulative approvals and strivings that finally give the world enduring examples of socially influential art.

That art must usually be simply the culmination of innumerable efforts of emulative creators, each enheartened by a crowd of applauding followers, and each perhaps conscious of ~~meeting only the demand of the moment~~. That which subsequent generations have appraised as among the greatest of the art products of an art-prizing era was often at the time born in obscurity, the bearer of it as unconscious of the future repute of his creation as was the mother of Lincoln unaware of the fame that would come to her son. It was simply one of the unnumbered contributions to a public demand as massive and persistent as is today the demand for lifelike photography.

Art is in the doldrums today because those who must express themselves through aesthetic media are discontented at being restricted to lesser and subordinated missions. The artists and the most appreciative followers of art appear to think that we can and ought to restore the past. They cannot and will not believe that the current of life has carried the world into new regions where men must use and learn to pride themselves in the use of new instrumentalities. The possible ministries of art dwindle in those fields of human activity where great movements are astir and deeds of great consequence are being done. But in the groves where men recreate their energies and take the passing satisfactions of life, it still in minor forms makes its appeals and has its values.

## SOCIALIZATION OF THE LAW

JAMES HARRINGTON BOYD

### FOREWORD

The great master-students in the development of the principles of jurisprudence of modern civilization were Friedrich Carl von Savigny (1779-1861), Bernhard Windscheid (1817-1892), and Rudolph von Jhering (1818-92). These savants were all Germans. Each was a master of history, procedure, and applications of the law of his time and of the Roman Law, yet each entertained different points of view as to the development, evolution, and forces which brought principles of jurisprudence into existence (perhaps excepting acts of legislative bodies).

Savigny was the master-mind of the Historical school of the law. He says that its object "is to trace every established system to its roots and then discover an organic principle, whereby that which still has life may be separated from that which is lifeless and only belongs to history."<sup>1</sup> One may ask, why do any of Savigny's principles of law have "life"?

On account of the limitation of such a paper as this we content ourselves with a description of Savigny's life-work by J. E. C. Montmorency. He says:

It was reserved for Savigny to bring the daylight of the Renaissance to the science of law. He showed us that the *law* itself is subject to *law*, that is, no arbitrary expression of the will of a law-giver, but is itself a thing obedient to a cosmic process. To show that law is itself the expression of a juristic process that runs through the ages was in itself an achievement of the highest order; but to go on to trace, as Savigny traced, what we may call the natural history of law, to trace its organic growth as a living thing, evolving with the evolutions of races and kingdoms and tongues, was still a greater triumph.<sup>2</sup>

What is this law to which "the law" is subject? Savigny was unable to answer this question under the then existing stage of

<sup>1</sup> *Society of Comparative Legislation Journal*, II (1909), 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*



development of natural and social sciences. Savigny was like the man who first observed that the tides rose and fell in a uniform manner throughout the world and announced the fact, but was unable to find that the cause of the tide's ebb and flow was the force of attraction of the moon for the mass of the oceans, and that the physical law which controlled their motion is that the force of attraction between any two particles of matter is equal to the product of their masses divided by the square of the distance between them.

Thus Savigny has left it to others to show what the forces, social and economic, are that are continuously casting up principles of the Law (with "life") and what the law is to which the Law is subject.

Savigny's opposition to legislation was so pronounced that the legislative era could not have been inaugurated as long as the Historical school remained in the ascendancy. However, he resigned his professorship at Berlin University, and accepted the appointment as head of the Department of Justice, which was created especially for him by Frederick William IV, of Prussia. He lived to see the formulation of the General German Bills of Exchange Code (1847), the General German Commercial Code (1861), but he died before the date of the Imperial Statute (1873) which created a commission to codify the whole domain of the private law that led to the enactment of the German Civil Code (1896). In addition to these facts the agitation of the socialists for social reform in the laws had acquired such momentum at the time of his death that Bismarck was driven to put through the Reichstag the Code of Social Insurance Laws which provided insurance against sickness, accidents, invalidity, and old age (1883-87) that at the close of the nineteenth century distributed among the working classes almost \$200,000,000 annually in such insurance.<sup>1</sup>

Bernard Windscheid (1817-92) founded a legal theory which has been a point of great controversy in German legal science for several decades. He wrote a celebrated work—*Wille und*

<sup>1</sup> *Michigan Law Review*, March, 1912. *Economic Basis of Compulsory State Insurance; Workmen's Insurance in Europe* (Frankel & Dawson, 1910), pp. 89-114.

*Willenerklärung* (1878). He defined legal rights from the standpoint of the protection of the "will."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Rudolph von Jhering (1818-92) died in Göttingen in the fall of 1892. Jhering was at the time of his death the most profound student of law that the world had known. Savigny treated the law as a jurisprudence of concepts. He treated it from a purely subjective point of view. Windscheid defined rights from the point of view of the protection of the will. Jhering rejected the will as the central factor and set up a jurisprudence of facts against Savigny's jurisprudence of concepts. Windscheid's view logically developed is an individualistic, unhistorical, and formal conception of the law. Jhering formulated his notions of *interests* in the "Geist,"<sup>2</sup> which enabled him to reach the conception of the "Zweck"<sup>3</sup> or purpose of legal principles. If rights are legally protected interests, it therefore follows that the state must select what interests it regards as most worthy of protection, which leads logically to the question of making inquiry of *purpose* in the law, which Jhering stated in the form of the principle, "the object is the creator of the law."<sup>4</sup> On this stairway of three steps Jhering built his theory of the law and invested the law with a positive social function. During the last forty years of his life he saw the reactionary conservatism of the Historical school of Savigny supplanted by the epoch of legislation and socialization of the law (as pointed out above) which marks the most significant development of the law in modern times—the change from the individual to the social emphasis.

Jhering, in his work *The Struggle for Law* (p. 2),<sup>5</sup> says respecting the origin of law:

Law is an uninterrupted labor, and not of the state power only, but of the entire people. The entire life of the law, embraced in one glance, presents us

<sup>1</sup> "Recht ist eine von der Rechtsordnung verliehene Willensmacht der Willensherrschaft" (Windscheid, *Lehrbuch des Pandektenrechts*, 9th ed. [Kipp], 1906, I, 156.

<sup>2</sup> "Der Geist des Römischen Rechts auf den verschiedenen Stufen seiner Entwicklung" (1852-65).

<sup>3</sup> "Der Zweck im Recht" (1877-83).

<sup>4</sup> Jhering's *The Struggle for Law*, translation by J. J. Lalor (Chicago: Callaghan & Co., 1915), p. xix.

<sup>5</sup> *Der Kampf ums Recht* (1872), translation from the fifth German edition by John J. Lalor. Chicago: Callaghan & Co., 1915.

with the same spectacle of restless striving and working of a whole nation, afforded by its activity in the domain of economic and intellectual production. Every individual placed in a position in which he is compelled to defend his legal rights takes part in this work of the nation, and contributes his mite towards the realization of the idea of law on earth.

Jhering then develops these conceptions by endeavoring to show that: "The Life of the Law is a Struggle"; "The Struggle for his Rights a Duty of the Person whose Rights have been violated to himself"; "The Assertion of one's Rights a Duty to Society"; "The Importance of the Struggle for Law to National Life."

During the forty-four years since Jhering published this work the world has grown more in the industrial development and accumulations and concentration of vast wealth than it did during the two thousand years preceding. Today there are employed 5,000, 10,000, or 25,000 persons in one factory and even 200,000 by one employer. One machine running automatically for months without stopping, attended by a dozen men, will produce 80,000 pint bottles in one day of 24 hours at a cost of less than 8 cents per gross, the labor for which formerly cost \$1.35.<sup>1</sup>

Little could Jhering conceive of his fatherland raiding, deporting, and enslaving the people of Belgium (1914-16) in violation of every principle for which he contends in his *Der Kampf ums Recht*. Little could he conceive of almost the entire population of the eastern hemisphere locked in the death struggle for the control of commerce and raw materials of the world, sacrificing tens of millions of the picked male population of twenty nations!

He could not conceive of bread and meat tickets for 135,000,000 of people, of thousands of war planes, of zeppelins throwing tons of dynamite on London, hundreds of submarine battleships and merchantmen, and the entire economic existence of six nations of Europe regulated by statute!

There was and still is much truth in Jhering's conclusions developed in his *Struggle for Law*, but much less now under vastly different economic and industrial conditions. When Jhering wrote this address he could not have foreseen the centralization of trade, credit, industry, and vast populations which have during the last forty years revolutionized the world. In ancient society individual

<sup>1</sup> The Owens Bottle Machine (Toledo, Ohio).

rights were submerged in the activities of the group. The *person* has never received as high a degree of protection from the law as have the claims of property. When Jhering wrote this lecture the Historical school had reached the summit of its influence, and with it the rights of individual persons had reached their highest degree of development in an evolution of many centuries. If anything may be safely prophesied of the immediate future, one may perhaps say (with Tagore)<sup>1</sup> that the individual who is one of many thousands performing a single operation with great speed for eight hours with a single machine is on his way to the loss of his identity.

#### DISCUSSION

1. All of the civilizations of the Old World have followed the same cycle of development—the Persian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Spanish. Each in its turn became world-conquerors of the then known commercial world in their lust for the conquest of silver, gold, and political and commercial world-power. Each in its turn made advances over its predecessors in learning, art, science, law, accumulations of wealth, and control of the world's commerce, and each in its turn surpassed its predecessors in the magnificence of its displays of wealth, national follies of its people, and the depths of the depravity and moral debaucheries of the ruling classes of its people. Each perished as a nation. Each fell from the then supposed height of civilization to a degraded and degenerate people.

The French through the instrumentality of Napoleon conquered almost the whole of Europe and ruled and governed the same for a decade of years. Yet the destruction of Napoleon and the French dominion over the countries which he had conquered did not result in the perishing of the French civilization nor in a great moral degradation of her people. This is proved by the successes of the French nation in the present European war. The French nation in proportion to its population is the equal, if not the superior, of any of the other nations engaged in the present war, in the great national virtues: courage, self-denial, morals, thrift, national organization, and intellectual gifts of the highest order.

<sup>1</sup> Toledo, Ohio, Lecture, November 17, 1916.

That the French nation has not gone the way of its predecessors of the world-conquerors is, we think, due to the socialization principles of justice found in the Code Napoleon and its development: the abolition of hereditary aristocracy and primogeniture, the limitation of testamentary disposition of property, the introduction of uniform legal procedure in the administration of the law by the courts, the nationalization of educational institutions and elementary schools, the introduction of vocational educational training, social insurance for the working classes and the establishment of many national devices for the encouragement of efficiency and economic thrift of the common people.

2. It certainly cannot be successfully maintained that the individual who is one of many hundreds or thousands of employees working for a single employer can contract on an equality with him respecting wages and conditions of employment under modern industrial conditions.

The proof of this assertion is shown as follows: For more than a hundred years small and large groups of employees, ranging from local to state, national, and international organizations, have been organized to provide insurance against sickness, accidents, invalidity, old-age pensions, and out-of-work and burial benefits. Some of these have succeeded for a short period, but all have finally failed in accomplishing their purposes. As a consequence all of the European countries, beginning with Germany, which was the first to enact laws which provided insurance against sickness, accidents, invalidity, and old-age pensions which today protect her entire working population and their dependents, some 22,000,000 people (1883-87),<sup>1</sup> have in some form provided the same kind of social insurance for the protection of their working population. Great Britain passed a compensation act in 1897 (amended 1906), which provides compensation for 13,000,000 workmen, and in 1911 enacted the national insurance act, known as the David Lloyd George act, which provides compulsory insurance against sickness, out of work, invalidity, confinement of women, and old-age pensions on behalf of almost the entire working population of Great

<sup>1</sup> *Fourth Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor of the United States* (Carroll D. Wright, 1893); Frankel & Dawson, *Workmen's Insurance in Europe*, 1910.

Britain.<sup>1</sup> Since 1910 thirty-one of the United States have enacted compensation acts which provide compensation for injuries to workmen.<sup>2</sup> Such state insurance or compensation is limited in amount of the compensation provided to the *public purpose* conserved. That public purpose consists in the prevention of workmen and those who are dependent upon them from becoming public charges on account of sickness, accidents, out of work, invalidity, and old age. It looks toward the provision for the worker and those dependent upon him of at least a minimum standard of subsistence for which the working mass themselves as consumers in the end must largely pay, and a provision compatible with a wholesome, commendable social welfare and a proper national, industrial, and political government organization.

The foregoing are illustrations of the purpose of the law ("Zweck") as expounded by Jhering.

They relate to the legal evolution of laws enacted by the state, which at a minimum cost provided the working masses with a whole-life provision having a minimum physical standard compatible with a wholesome public welfare.

3. In the second place, the individual workman singlehanded is not able under modern industrial conditions to maintain his equality of contractual rights respecting a just wage and rational working conditions. He has formed local unions, trade unions, central labor bodies, state federations of labor, international labor organizations. When they have failed in collective bargaining respecting wage scales and working conditions, they have resorted to the strike, accompanied more or less with violence.

The wastage accompanying such strikes and lockouts has led to the Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, and the like quasi-compulsory government boards of arbitration of labor disputes. On the event of the failure of the four railway organizations to obtain concessions which they demanded of the railways when they were about to strike, threatening to paralyze the entire transportation system of 100,000,000 people, Congress passed "an act to

<sup>1</sup> Boyd's *Workmen's Compensation*, pp. 1113-74. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1913.)

<sup>2</sup> *Negligence and Compensation Cases Annotated*, X (1916), 5-9. (Chicago: Callaghan & Co.)

establish an eight-hour day for employees of carriers engaged in interstate and foreign commerce, and for other purposes."<sup>1</sup>

Emphasis should here be laid upon the fact that the organization of railway trainmen, firemen, engineers, and conductors are national organizations.

The Adamson law just cited provides for an increase of wages and a standard eight-hour day and a commission to investigate wages, hours of labor, and working conditions of employees of carriers engaged in interstate and foreign commerce. This law is unquestionably constitutional for the same reasons precisely as is the law creating the Interstate Commerce Commission. The constitutionality of the latter act is conceded as duly authorized by Art. 1, sec. 8, 3, of the Constitution, which provides that "Congress is authorized to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states and with the Indian tribes." The Interstate Commerce Commission is vested with the authority to regulate and in effect to fix the rates charged by interstate carriers.

The Adamson act will naturally be superseded by a court vested with the authority to adjudicate all disputes between the employees of interstate carriers and their employers. These disputes in their last resolution relate to the wage for a given number of hours and working conditions.

It is to be noted that the largest factor which enters into rates regulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission is the pay-roll of the carriers. To regulate rates you must therefore directly or indirectly regulate wages. The legal basis for regulating wages is the same as that for regulating rates, which has already been settled in creating the Interstate Commerce Commission.

In justification of the authority of Congress to create a court to adjudicate disputes respecting wages and working conditions between carriers and their employees, it is sufficient here to cite authorities covering the following points:

The authority of Congress extends to all international and interstate commerce<sup>2</sup> (including transportation), embracing all of the

<sup>1</sup> Public Document 252, Sixty-fourth Congress, H.R. 17700; approved September 3 and 5, 1916.

<sup>2</sup> *Gibbons v. Ogden*, Wheaton IX, p. 189. (February Term, 1824.)

means as well as the subjects thereof, including persons in either capacity.<sup>1</sup>

For these reasons there should be a right of appeal by either employer or employees to the Interstate Commerce Commission or to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Pending the determination of the hearing of the disputed questions before such court, the government should protect either employer or employees in maintaining the *status quo*. Such steps constitute the natural course of the evolution of the law.

4. The public should be reminded that—

Trade and commerce scarcely came within the range of Congress under the articles of confederation. The many and great evils resulting from this gave the most direct and vigorous impetus to the struggles for reform which led to the Philadelphia Convention and to the adoption of its plan for a constitution. The convention, therefore, naturally considered it to be one of its greatest tasks to nationalize the Union in this respect. It has been rightly said that the consolidation of the industrial interests of the country has proved to be the strongest bond of the federal states.<sup>2</sup>

5. There is a similar legal basis for the creation of courts by the states finally to determine labor disputes respecting wages and working conditions, with an appeal to a higher court. These principles have been finally established by the Supreme Court of the United States in *Munn v. The People of Illinois*, 94 U.S.R. 113-54. Chief Justice Waite states these principles briefly as follows:

The state is a social compact by which the whole people covenants with each citizen, and each citizen with the whole people, that all shall be governed by certain laws for the common good.

From this source come the police powers, which, as said by Chief Justice Taney in the *License Cases*, 5 How. 583; 12 L., ed. 291, "are nothing more or less than the powers of government inherent in every sovereignty, . . . that is to say, . . . the power to govern men and things." Under these powers the government regulates the conduct of its citizens one towards another and the manner in which each citizen shall use his own property, when such regulation becomes necessary for the public good. In their exercise it has been customary in England from time immemorial, and in this country from its first colonization, to regulate ferries, common carriers, hack-

<sup>1</sup> *The Passenger Cases*, Howard VII, p. 283. (*Smith v. Turner* and *Norris v. Boston*. January, 1849.)

<sup>2</sup> Von Holst's *Constitutional History of the United States*, p. 136, sec. 38 (1887). (Chicago: Callaghan & Co.)



men, bakers, millers, wharfingers, innkeepers, etc., and in so doing to fix a maximum of charge to be made for services rendered, accommodations furnished, and articles sold. To this day statutes are to be found in many of the states upon some or all of these subjects, and we think that it has never yet been successfully contended that such legislation came within any of the constitutional prohibitions against interference with private property. With the Fifth Amendment in force, Congress, in 1820, conferred power upon the city of Washington "to regulate . . . the rates of wharfage at private wharves . . . the sweeping of chimneys, and to fix the rate of fees therefor, . . . and the weight and quality of bread," 3 Stat. at L. 587, chap. 104, sec. 7; and in 1848, "to make all necessary regulations respecting hackney carriages, and the rates of fare of the same, and the rates of hauling by cartmen, wagoners, carmen, and draymen, and the rates of commission of auctioneers." 9 Stat. at L. 224, chap. 42, sec. 2.

From this it is apparent that, down to the time of the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, it was not supposed that statutes regulating the use, or even the price of use, of private property necessarily deprived an owner of his property without the due process of law. Under some circumstances they may, but not under all. The amendment does not change the law in this particular; it simply prevents the states from doing that which will operate as such a deprivation. . . .

Property does become clothed with a public interest when used in a manner to make it of public consequence, and affect the community at large. When, therefore, one devotes his property to a use in which the public has an interest, he in effect grants to the public an interest in that use, and must submit to be controlled by the public for the common good, to the extent of the interest he has thus created. He may withdraw his grant by discontinuing the use, but, so long as he maintains the use, he must submit to the control. . . .

Neither is it a matter of any moment that no precedent can be found for a statute precisely like this. It is conceded that the business is one of recent origin, that its growth has been rapid, and that it is already of great importance. And it must also be conceded that it is a business in which the whole public has a direct and positive interest. It presents, therefore, a case for the application of a long-known and well-established principle in social science, and this statute simply extends the law so as to meet this new development of commercial progress. There is no attempt to compel these owners to grant the public an interest in their property declare their obligations, if they use it in this particular manner.

6. *Socialization of the law by means of state and federal statutes reflected by the development of legal principles in connascence with the economic evolution of the United States of America.*—The scope of a paper of this character only permits the directing of attention to some of the most important phases of our economic development.

Statutes imposing a liability upon fire-insurance agents based upon the amount of the insurance effected by them for the benefit of a fund to care for sick and injured firemen.<sup>1</sup>

Statutes enacted by the state of Illinois regulating the price charged by grain elevators (especially those situated in Chicago, the center of the grain trade of the United States) for the storage of grain.<sup>2</sup>

Acts for the protection of wool-growers and the confiscation of dogs by levying a tax on dogs and placing the collections in a fund and distributing the same through state officers in paying damages to owners of sheep killed by dogs.<sup>3</sup>

Statutes in regulation of the operation of coal mines on a large scale, providing inspections for the safety of the operatives and levying the cost of the same against the owners of the mines.<sup>4</sup>

Statutes in regulation of smelters and deep-mining operations, providing for the protection of the health and safety of the operatives.<sup>5</sup>

Statutes regulating the oil and gas business for the purpose of protecting the public and adjacent owners against waste.<sup>6</sup>

Statutes which guarantee bank deposits by levying a tax against the bank, placing the collections in a fund administered by public officers in interest of depositors of banks which have failed.<sup>7</sup>

The workmen's compensation acts of thirty-one states,<sup>8</sup> acts to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties,<sup>9</sup> and the Federal Safety Appliance acts, which provide protection for employees of railroads engaged in interstate and foreign commerce.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Firemen's Benevolent Insurance Ass'n. v. Lounsbury*, 21 Ill. 511 (1859).

<sup>2</sup> *Munn v. Illinois*, 94 U.S. 113 (1875).

<sup>3</sup> *Holst v. Roe*, 39 O.S. 340 (1877), and cases there cited.

<sup>4</sup> *St. Louis Consolidated Coal Co. v. Illinois*, 185 U.S. 203 (1902).

<sup>5</sup> *Holden v. Hardy*, 169 U.S. 366 (1898).

<sup>6</sup> *The Ohio Oil Co. v. Indiana*, 177 U.S. 190 (1900).

<sup>7</sup> *Noble State Bank v. Haskell*, 219 U.S. 104 (1911).

<sup>8</sup> *Negligence and Compensation Cases Annotated*, X, 5-9 (1910-16).

<sup>9</sup> Public Document No. 267, Sixty-fourth Congress, H.R. 15316 (1916).

<sup>10</sup> 34 U.S. Stat. 476 and supplemental act (May 30, 1908); 36 U.S. Stat. 298 (June 30, 1906).

An act for the prevention of manufacture, sale, or transportation of adulterated or misbranded or poisonous or deleterious foods, drugs, medicines, and liquors, and for regulating traffic therein, and for other purposes.<sup>1</sup>

Act March 4, 1907 (H.R. 24, 815). Inspection of meats and meat food products for use in interstate and foreign commerce; examination of cattle, etc., before slaughtering; diseased animals to be slaughtered separately and their carcasses examined.

Federal child-labor law which prohibits the shipment of products in interstate commerce manufactured or produced by employment of children under a certain age.

7. In a general way the socialization of the law is also seen from the following steps in the development of the statutory laws of the several states of the United States. Within the last few years there have been introduced in almost all the states uniform code pleadings and uniform negotiable instrument acts, and great efforts are being made to introduce uniform divorce laws, uniform workmen's compensation acts, and the like. On the part of the federal government in this respect there have been put in operation a law regulating uniform bills of lading, uniform grading of grain, compensation acts for employees of the government, the Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Trade Commission, Workmen's Compensation Commission, Tariff Commission, and other commissions of similar nature.

You will see from the annual report of the American Bar Association as outlined by the president that thousands of statutes are passed in a single year by the forty-eight legislatures of the different states, a vast majority of which have served little purpose in correcting the supposed social and economic evils aimed at, but it shows the effort on the part of the people to bring their governments into cognizance with their conception of a free state.<sup>2</sup> In particular we might refer you to the record of a single year's efforts on the part of state courts in their decisions affecting labor. (See United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics,

<sup>1</sup> Act June 3, 1906 (34 Stat. 768).

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report of American Bar Association* (1913). Address of the president, pp. 364-92.

No. 189, 1915, which contains 289 pages of the synopsis of decisions of courts on such questions alone.)

Today the dominant phases of the development of American jurisprudence are those exhibited by the socialization of the law, on the one hand, along the lines of social-insurance laws which are based upon the public purpose involved in providing for the laboring classes a normal physical existence for the whole life consistent with a wholesome moral and social welfare, and in the regulation of hours and conditions of employment of women, and prohibiting the employment of children under a certain age, the fixing of a minimum wage, public health and morals; on the other hand, in providing such remedies by legislative action as eliminate the friction and economic waste arising out of conflicts between groups of employees and their employers over wages and conditions of employment.

All laws which have been developed by socialization processes into the groups of principles of jurisprudence just described are included in the primitive elements of the folkways described by Professor W. G. Sumner.

The late Professor W. G. Sumner, of Yale University, has shown by the results of an analysis<sup>1</sup> of the scientific discoveries of anthropology and ethnology of primitive men and society that underlying the development of manners, customs, and laws (in a broad legal sense) of a people are what he calls "folkways."

With primitive men the first task of life was to live. They began with acts, not with thoughts. Every moment brought necessities which must be satisfied at once. Need was the first experience, and it was followed at once by blundering efforts to satisfy it. The method is that of trial and failure, which produces repeated pain, loss, and disappointments. Pleasure and pain, on the one side and the other, were the rude constraints which define the line on which efforts must proceed. The ability to distinguish between pleasure and pain is the only physical power which is to be assumed. Thus ways of doing things were selected which were expedient. Along the course on which efforts were compelled to go, habit, routine, and skill were developed. The struggle to maintain existence was carried on, not individually, but in groups. Each profited by the other's experience; hence there was concurrence toward that which proved to be most expedient. All at last adopted the same way

<sup>1</sup> William G. Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 1 (Quinn & Co., 1911).

for the same purpose; hence the ways turned into customs and became mass phenomena. In this way the folkways arise. The young learn them by tradition, imitation, and authority. The folkways at a time provide for all the needs of life then and there. They are uniform, universal in the group, imperative and invariable.<sup>1</sup>

In speaking of the social force of folkways Professor Sumner says: "The operation by which Folkways are produced consist in the frequent repetition of petty acts, often by great numbers acting in concert, or at least acting in the same way when face to face with the same need. The immediate motive is *interest*. It produces habit in the individual and custom in the group."<sup>2</sup>

In the last sentences of the section just cited Sumner says:

The most civilized men, both in food quest and in war, do things which are painful, but which have been found to be expedient. Perhaps these cases teach the sense of *social welfare* better than those which are pleasurable and favorable to welfare. The former cases call for some intelligent reflection on experience. When this conviction as to the relation of welfare is added to the folkways they are converted into mores and, by virtue of the philosophical and ethical element added to them, they win utility and importance and become the source of the science and the art of living.

The folkways are not, therefore, creations of human purpose and wit. They are like products of *natural forces* which men unconsciously set in operation, or they are like the instinctive ways of animals, which are developed out of experience, which reach a final form of maximum adaptation to an interest, which are handed down by tradition and admit of no exception or variation, yet change to meet new conditions, still within the same limited methods, and without radical reflection or purpose.<sup>3</sup>

As a concrete example of a folkway, we quote from Sumner's work, sec. 360: "It [marriage arrangement] is a product of the folkways, being the resultant custom which arises, in time, out of the ways of satisfying *interests* which separate individuals, or pairs, invent and try. It follows that marriage in all its forms is in mores of the time and place."

Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century there were evolved out of the birth, growth, commercial domination, and perishing of world-powers two fundamental principles of the socialization of

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Negligence and Compensation Cases Annotated*, X, 33, note. (Chicago: Callaghan & Co., 1916.)

the law, in every respect in connascence with Sumner's principles of folkways, viz.:

The providing of eleemosynary institutions and elementary public-school systems by the state, which are sustained by general public funds of the state. The creation of these institutions is simply an example of "the extension of the Christian conception of the state."<sup>1</sup>

Thus through the discoveries of Sumner, Jhering's conceptions, "that rights are legally protected interests" and "the 'Zweck' or purpose of the law," are traced to their fundamental primitive basis. We are thus enabled to declare the fundamental axiom of jurisprudence of our democracy to be:

All law, whether it be that expressed by legislative acts, state or federal constitutions or judge-made law, is brought into existence for the purpose of correcting certain economic inequalities (direct or indirect), and the permanence of any law depends upon the accuracy with which it corrects the economic inequality sought to be cured.

It therefore was left to Professor W. G. Sumner to demonstrate in his definition of folkways and the proof of their characteristics not only what the fundamental attributes of "legally protected interests and the purpose ('Zweck') " are, but also those of Savigny's "organic principles of the law which have life and that 'law' to which all law is subject."

8. *Socialization of the law in its relation to the efficiency of the industrial and governmental organizations of the United States.*—Charles P. Steinmetz, in discussing "Industrial Efficiency and Political Waste," says:

There will be competition, whether gas-engine or electric motor is to be used, whether a local steam-turbine plant is to be installed or power brought from a long-distance transmission system. But the decision will be made on the basis of the relative economy.

Financial manipulation for the mere acquisition of more money, without regard to constructive economical organization, necessarily must be impossible. There must be an active co-operation between all producers, from the unskilled laborer to the master-mind which directs a huge industrial organization. Such active co-operation presupposes that everybody feels personally interested in the industrial economy. This presupposes that the fear of unemployment, of sickness, and old age has been relegated to the relics of barbarism, and

<sup>1</sup> Bismarck's speeches before the Reichstag, 1883-84.

everybody is assured an appropriate living, is assured employment when able to work, and protected against want, maintained in his or her standard of living when not able to work—not as a matter of charity, but as an obvious and self-evident duty of society toward the individual.

This can be done, as it has been done in other countries, by effective social legislation. . . .

As a structural foundation, on which to build such structure by evolution in correspondence with our democratic national temperament, we have our political governments—federal, state, and municipal—our large national societies, and our industrial corporations. Of these, the political government is the only one which is all-embracing, is controlled by and responsible to all citizens, at least nominally. Therefore, while its constructive power may be practically nil, due to its form of organization, it has a vast inhibitory power (in our country) far greater than any other power in our country. We have seen this and continuously see it in the action toward corporations in the national conservatism movement, even in the power exerted by subordinate governmental bureaus.

Thus no organization which does not include the political government as an essential part of the structure can hope to succeed. The natural suggestion, then, would be to have the federal government, with its subordinate state and municipal governments, organize, control, and administrate the country's economic-industrial system.

Thus the political government would acquire and operate all means of transportation and communication—railroads, canals, pipe lines, mail and express, telegraph and telephone. It would supervise and control all corporations and their relations with one another and toward the public. It would control the relation of employees within the corporation by mandatory arbitration, by unemployment, sickness, and old-age insurance; it would control the hours of work and working conditions, etc.<sup>1</sup>

Assuming that Steinmetz has correctly stated the outlines of the problem to be solved in order that the United States may establish industrial efficiency and eliminate political waste in the sense in which this problem has been solved by the Imperial German government, we believe that we have pointed out the lines along which the preliminary development of legislation should move.

<sup>1</sup> *Industrial Efficiency and Political Waste* (November 1916), p. 725-27.

## REVIEWS

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*Criminality and Economic Conditions.* By W. A. BONGER. Translated by HENRY P. HORTON, with an Editorial Preface by EDWARD LINDSEY and an Introduction by FRANK H. NORCROSS. (Modern Criminal Science Series.) Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1916. Pp. xxxi+706.

The present volume is one of a series selected for translation by the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology in order to make the best treatises in foreign languages accessible to English readers. The translation is based on the French edition of 1905, but it contains the latest corrections of the French text and a revised bibliography, and a few passages of a parenthetical nature have been omitted.

This is another attempt to reduce all social forces to one element, for the thesis of the book is that economic conditions are "sovereign" or "decisive" in the causation of crime. The author is not satisfied with the admission that economic conditions are very important, but insists on economic determinism in the original Marxian sense and contends that since this doctrine of economic determinism is winning ground consistently it needs no defense *in extenso*. By "economic conditions" he means, not merely poverty, but the entire system of producing wealth, which, also, is interpreted in the orthodox Marxian doctrines of class conflict, value, unemployment, concentration of capital, and increasing misery. This is therefore an orthodox socialist document and will be of interest to the student of socialism fully as much as to the criminologist.

This thesis in its strict form is, of course, impossible of verification. In the present state of development of socialist plans for the future, there is little value in the thesis for purposes of control, even if it could be verified. In addition, the author has a very peculiar idea of causation, since he contends that individual characteristics do not enter into the causation of crimes, though they may determine which individuals run the greatest risk of becoming criminals. The view is illustrated thus: "When two persons of different height are fording a river, and the shorter steps into a hole and is drowned, should we have the right to say that the difference between the height of persons is one of the reasons why



people are drowned? I think not. The only reason why there are people who are drowned is that a man cannot live in water, which in no way excludes the fact that a shorter person runs more danger of drowning than a tall one." Then he adds that if all women were equal there would still be the same amount of prostitution, which is equivalent to saying, in terms of his illustration, that if all bodies of water were equally deep (say, ten inches deep) there would still be the same number of people drowned. Such an "iron law" of crime is quite foreign to a serious attempt to determine the causes of crime.

But this book cannot be passed over lightly, for it is valuable in spite of its thesis, and the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology did not make a mistake in selecting it for translation. For it contains a large collection of statistical data regarding the relation between economic conditions and crime and unusually thorough interpretations of many details in this relationship. For that reason it is valuable both as an antidote to the legal doctrine of an inscrutable free will and as a supplement to the individual case-study method. In addition, more than a third of the book is devoted to a valuable critical review of the literature dealing with the relation between criminality and economic conditions.

E. H. SUTHERLAND

WILLIAM JEWELL COLLEGE

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*Truancy and Non-Attendance in the Chicago Schools: A Study of the Social Aspects of the Compulsory Education and Child Labor Legislation of Illinois.* By EDITH ABBOTT, PH.D., and SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE, PH.D. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1917. Pp. xiii+472. \$2.00.

Like previous writings of the authors, this study is an admirable union of careful attention to, and interpretation of, numerical data and appreciation of the larger theoretical and human issues involved. Truancy and non-attendance in Chicago, it is recognized, are aspects of a series of problems including health and housing of children and adults, the moral standards of parents, the attitude of the prosperous classes to the welfare of wage-earning and immigrant groups, and the wage levels of unskilled labor. In order to offer adequate suggestions for the betterment of a bad situation in Chicago, the existence of which the authors frankly and conclusively prove, a long historical detour is made: the history of the struggle to attain free schools in Illinois, the struggle for

compulsory attendance legislation, and the struggle for the necessary complement of compulsion—child labor laws—is concisely outlined.

Part II contains statistics of the extent of truancy and non-attendance in Chicago, discussing among other phases the relation of truancy to mental and physical defects of children, to dependency, to delinquency, and to immigration. Account is taken of the degree of success of the Parental School for boys, of the way in which the compulsory education law is enforced in the municipal court of Chicago, and of the value of the school census and the visiting teacher. Following a detailed statement of the employment certificate system and the necessity of compulsory education for children between fourteen and sixteen years of age is a chapter in which conclusions are drawn. Appendices contain appropriate documents, extracts from laws, and notes.

As a logical sequence of the writers' analysis of this complex problem, two directions of change are indicated, the details of which cannot be given. Statutory changes are advocated and, pending such changes, recommendations are offered which the authors believe can be adopted by the Board of Education of Chicago without additional legislative authority. The outline of the book given above does not presume to afford an adequate view of the wealth of detail and constructive suggestions to be found in this study of social causation.

E. L. TALBERT

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

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*Readings in Social Problems.* Edited with an Introduction by  
ALBERT BENEDICT WOLFE. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1916.  
Pp. xiii+804. \$2.80.

This admirable volume of readings provides abundant materials for the study of certain bio-sociological problems of the greatest importance. It brings together for the first time in convenient form data and balanced discussion by competent and often classic authors bearing upon the great problems of population, sex and race. No attempt has been made to cover every social issue, but rather to treat more or less by the historical method and with a fair degree of thoroughness a few of the more salient problems. Certainly no better beginning could be made than with the matter of population in its various ramifications. If the student can be led to understand the basic relations between population and land, the essentials of population growth, both by natural increase

and by immigration, and those domestic institutions which have grown up about the process of natural multiplication of population, he will have gone far toward acquiring a sound and adequate view of the physical basis of human society.

There still remains to be sure the entire field of social heredity involving the various psychic processes by which civilized institutions are built. Someone should give us a volume in which are brought together the most discerning studies of such topics as man's innate mental equipment, personal ascendancy, imitation, social control, education, public opinion, the organization of sentiments and ideals, the history of human knowledge, etc. These are within the field of social problems as truly as are birth-rates and marriage or divorce laws. Another crying need from the pedagogical point of view is a good source and case book for the study of poverty and crime.

One might wish that Professor Wolfe could have found the space to include in the discussion of population that tension between city and country, with its accompanying significant changes, which gives us our so-called urban and rural sociologies.

The type of compact and discerning comment with which thirteen out of the nineteen chapters are introduced will be indicated by the following citation from the introduction to the chapter on "The Modern Woman Movement":

Attention is here . . . directed to certain suggestions as to the social and ethical consequences of the old domestic traditions and of the new industrial opportunities (or lack of them, as the case may be) with regard to the character and ambitions and social economy of girls and women; to the larger psychological and ethical influence of work outside the home; to the deeply important question as to whether it is possible for women in any large numbers to combine and harmonize the function of maternity with a specialized economic work other than housekeeping; and to the ethics of economic dependence and economic independence, respectively.

ERVILLE B. WOODS

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

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*The Planning of the Modern City.* By NELSON P. LEWIS. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1916. Pp. xv+423.

This book is written from the point of view of the municipal engineer. Engineering problems are fundamental. Transportation and communication, the location of the primary industries, business centers, residential areas, parks, public buildings—all these are determined

finally by the natural situation and by the growth of the city itself. It is the business of the city planner to understand and deal with these natural forces, which determine the expansion of cities, in order to control and direct them. This book is first of all an attempt to bring together into the perspective of a single volume the experience which we have gained in regard to the natural history of cities. It seeks at the same time to indicate the bearing of this general knowledge upon the technical and administrative problems created by the efforts of the municipalities to direct and control their own development.

This is a large subject and one that tends to become increasingly important as, in the progress of our knowledge, the city plan is seen to be complicated with all the other problems, administrative, political, and moral, of modern city life. The municipal planner, who is expected to be an expert on land values, to understand the housing problem, and to be able to give expert advice on the land policy of the community—considering the intimate connection of this latter with problems of poverty, overcrowding, vice, and crime—must be something more than an architect or an engineer, as we have been accustomed to think of these professions in the past.

The present volume has the merit of presenting the subject in a large, luminous, and at the same time simple and practical way. Although it deals with the problem from the technical and engineering point of view, it is less a book for the expert than for the general reader. It is, in fact, such a book as any student of municipal problems and of city life would be interested in and would profit by reading.

ROBERT E. PARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Psychology of Religious Experience.* By GEORGE A. COE.  
Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1917. Pp. xv+365.

This work is intended primarily as a handbook in the subject. It affords a comprehensive survey of the literature and the points of view of different investigators. Ample, well-classified bibliographies are provided, and the extent of these gives an impressive indication of the rapid development of the subject since the first publications in 1900. Students of the social sciences as well as those especially interested in religion will find this book of great value.

The author frankly states his own position; not only that he is of the social-functional type of psychologist, but also that he is a Christian and an active member of a church. He maintains that the scientific

quality of his studies is enhanced by this sympathetic participation in the experiences with which he deals. He rejects both dogmatism and mysticism and applies the critical methods of general psychology under the prevailing hypothesis of the evolution of mind and society. No phenomena of religious experience can rightly claim exemption from such inquiry, and several of the supposedly exceptional experiences already have been analyzed and classified.

Emphasis upon personal self-realization as the most fundamental aspect of social relations is a prominent feature of this study. Society is defined as "persons communicating their desires and purposes to one another, and thereby co-operating with or opposing one another." The central problems are those of values; for example: What do men value? How are the values related to each other? In what order and by what method do valuations evolve?

The anthropological data are briefly treated in chapters on racial beginnings, the genesis of the idea of God, religion and the religions. In the discussion of religious leaders the successive types are presented under the terms shaman, priest, and prophet. The subject of conversion is also given small space here as compared with earlier works by the same author.

It is notable that religion is regarded, not as a merely conservative interest, but as achieving discovery and revaluing values. The great prophets displayed inventive initiative and constructive genius. Religion survives its particular doctrines and carries in itself a ceaseless conflict just as science does. "Science resists science just as a religion resists religion." Religion is everywhere viewed as organically bound up with the common social life and as moving forward with it. It is predicted that human nature will go on building its ideal personal-social worlds and transforming the thought of God "as an expression of the depth and the height of social experience and social aspiration."

EDWARD SCRIBNER AMES

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*The Education of the Ne'er-Do-Well.* By WILLIAM H. DOOLEY.

Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916. Pp. xii+164. \$0.60.

The ne'er-do-well is not a pauper, necessarily, though he is in a position to become one. The ne'er-do-wells, here considered, are the children of the schools who drop out of school early or pursue the later years of the elementary grades perfunctorily. The schools, as constituted, are constructed for "abstract-minded" children and are not

suited to the majority of these "motor-minded" children. Consequently the latter push into the automatic and "blind-alley" occupations, do not advance, become the dregs and burdens of society.

The experience of the United States and European countries in constructing courses of training which will really and suitably train these children is reviewed. The author would have manual-training work connected with every school to reach the motor-minded in a preliminary way. But the fundamental provisions will consist in providing various types of continuation schools and in establishing a co-operative system between schools and factories whereby pupils may work and train at the same time and thus beneficially correlate their efforts. There should be provided, also, vocational guidance and placement bureaus to direct children in the choice of vocations and to connect them with jobs. A proper system of recreation is likewise an essential factor in the system of training.

The volume offers a plain, factual statement of the situation obtaining in industrial regions and probably the right way out for the children he has in mind. There are symptoms that the author has an undue reverence for the industrial order which victimizes individuals (pp. 27-28). On the whole, the volume is constructive and wholesome.

JOHN M. GILLETTE

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

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*Social and Economic Survey of a Community in Northeastern Minnesota. No. 5, Current Problems.* By GUSTAV P. WARBER. (Research Publication of the University of Minnesota.) Minneapolis, 1915. Pp. 115.

*The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community.* By C. J. GALPIN. (Research Bulletin 34, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin.) Madison, Wis., 1915. Pp. 34.

Local studies of rural life began with the soil. They are now concerned, for the most part, with the community. The first agricultural surveys, made sometime in the early nineties, were merely field observations for the purpose of confirming and qualifying investigations made in the laboratory. These were followed by farm management surveys which sought, not only to enlist the interest and secure the participation of the farmer in the investigation of his own activities, but to make the

results of these investigations of immediate and practical benefit to him. It is the participation of the community in the investigation of its own activities which gives to these rural studies their practical character. It is this practical character which constitutes almost all that is novel or important in the social survey and the social survey movement.

In the investigation made in northeastern Minnesota by Warber, this participation of the community and the consequent practical character of the study do not appear. From the point of view of the academic mind facts are facts whether they have any immediate practical value or not. But it must be apparent by this time that such local studies as are now being made by the universities in various parts of the Middle West have so little general and scientific value that unless they serve the community studied they are not worth making.

This is not true of such communities studied as those to which Galpin has called attention in his little pamphlet *The Anatomy of an Agricultural Community*. The particular problem with which this investigation is concerned is the extent and character of the social and economic interdependence of a village community and the farm area surrounding it. To state it in Galpin's words: "From the point of view of the village, the problem was one of getting at the land-area of village influence; from the point of view of the countryman, it was learning what farms were connected with the same village."

In the changes which are now taking place in rural communities, under the influence of new means of communication and transportation, together with the new applications of machinery to the work of the farm, there are probably no facts so important as just those which indicate the relationship of the village to what Galpin calls its "land basis." It is with such knowledge as this that any rational readjustment of rural life must be made. This readjustment will involve in the end, as Galpin suggests, a rather complete political reorganization of the whole rural community. The economic changes will naturally come first, since the economic organization is more immediately responsive than political institutions to changes in the social situation.

Aside from its immediate and practical value, Galpin's method of reducing to relatively exact and measurable terms the rather intangible forces that he calls "influences" has other and wider applications. It offers, for example, a simple and practical method for surveying the outlines and measuring the mutual influences (interactions) of definite factors in almost any social group. This is particularly true where those interrelations of individuals and groups of individuals are based on

distance and space. There is probably no line of investigation undertaken in the field of rural sociology that promises so much to social science.

ROBERT E. PARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Indiana: A Social and Economic Survey.* By FRANK DOAN STREIGHTOFF, A.M., and FRANK HATCH STREIGHTOFF, PH.D., with a Chapter on Charities and Corrections by CECIL CLAIRE NORTH, PH.D. Indianapolis: W. K. Stewart, 1916. Pp. 261.

This is an office survey. It is based on the census, upon official reports and unofficial studies made for different purposes. All this information has been digested and then put together in a narrative and descriptive form with such comment as the facts and an intelligent and modern viewpoint seem to warrant. The contents of the volume are indicated by chapter headings. They are: (i) "Physical Basis"; (ii) "Trees"; (iii) "Agriculture"; (iv) "Manufactures"; (v) "Transportation"; (vi) "Labor"; (vii) "Labor Legislation"; (viii) "Government"; (ix) "Finance"; (x) "Constitution"; (xi) "Charities and Correction"; (xii) "Education." It is a useful book and not as dull as one might expect.

ROBERT E. PARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Plan of Elgin.* By E. H. BENNETT, for the Elgin Commercial Club. Elgin, Ill.: David C. Cook Publishing Co., 1916. Pamphlet illustrated with two maps. Pp. 46.

Elgin is a city of 27,485 population. This is the first sketch of a plan to remodel the present city and provide for an estimated population in 1960 of 64,400. This allows for an annual yearly increase of 2 per cent. The plan, which was first made for the Elgin Commercial Club, has now been accepted by the Elgin City Plan Commission and will be used as a basis for future development of the city. The purpose of the plan is first of all to determine and locate the industrial areas, to outline improvements in the transportation facilities, to determine on the basis of this outline the residential and business areas, and the location of public buildings and of parks. Incidentally the city plan is intended to stimulate civic pride and to advertise the industrial advantages of the city to the world at large. Aside from its value as an illustration of what



cities of 25,000 can and are doing in the way of city planning, it is an interesting illustration of the rôle which commercial clubs are beginning to play in the life and development of our smaller cities.

ROBERT E. PARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*The Boston Social Survey: An Enquiry into the Relation between Financial and Political Affairs in Boston.* By GROVER J. SHOHOLM. Boston: E. L. Grimes Co., 1916. Pamphlet. Pp. 89.

This is a lively, intimate, personal, and rather truculent account of the relations of what we sometimes call "high finance" to politics, the press, and social life of Boston. It is an attempt to give a picture of the actual government, of which one gets occasional intimations only, as over against the formal, external, and what may be called the ceremonial, government which one sees. The picture is interesting but not convincing. As the author portrays the situation it is all a seething mass of personal and conflicting influences without definite aims, tendencies, or ideals. It is a picture of blind strugglers groping for each others' throats in the dark. Without the least disposition to defend or apologize for "high finance" in Boston or elsewhere, it may be safely said that this is not a picture of human life and that it is not a social survey.

ROBERT E. PARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*First Annual Report of the Commission of Immigration and Housing of California*, January 2, 1915. From the office of the Commission, Underwood Building. San Francisco: State Printing Office. Pp. 123.

This report gives extensive information of specific and startling character on insanitary labor camps sheltering thousands of men, women, and children; on neglected tenements, lodging-houses, and dwellings; on ignorance and illiteracy of immigrants, and on the swindling and crime of which our foreign population are victims. It tells of progress already made following the work of the Commission and contains detailed, practical recommendations for further remedial action. It will be of interest to all who are concerned with problems of immigrants, or of housing of either immigrants or native-born.

EMILY W. DINWIDDIE

NEW YORK CITY

*A Social Study of the Russian German.* (University Studies.)

By HATTIE PLUM WILLIAMS. Lincoln, Neb., 1916. Pp. 101.

This is an excellent and exact study of what might be called the double-hyphen immigrant. Germans who have lived a hundred and fifty years in the Volga district of Russia, entirely cut off from any connection with the German Empire, now for part of a generation have constituted one-eighth of the population of Lincoln. In Russia their church preserved their identity. The question before us is whether their uniqueness will long continue. A large amount of well-balanced material has been collected displaying customs, vital and social statistics, and tendencies. The thoroughness with which it has been done makes one hope for its extension to include the Russian German from other regions, as for example that about Odessa, which was settled at the same time. One cannot help being somewhat disappointed because the study is essentially objective. Familiar as the author is with the people themselves, the reader does not get inside them so as to see their psychological life. One should not expect more than is possible, but it would be very helpful if we could find just what has been the influence of the Russian environment during these hundred and fifty years, and this might be profitably compared with the relatively isolated communities of Pennsylvania "Dutch" who represent a similar period and condition.

HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER

OBERLIN COLLEGE

*A Layman's Handbook of Medicine. With Special Reference to*

*Social Workers.* By RICHARD C. CABOT, M.D. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916. Pp. xviii+524.

\$2.00.

This "layman's handbook" will prove both a delight and a torment to laymen and social workers—a delight because of its sanity of tone and a torment because of its scarcity of specific rules. The author has only one evident fad and that is a wholesome skepticism regarding all fads. This spirit of scientific doubt characterizes the book throughout. The author refuses to commit himself to either camp in controverted questions, whether it be as to the harmfulness of tobacco or as to the causes of rheumatism. The intelligent reader will be very grateful for this quality, though he will be surprised to find a physician of such distinction so frequently telling the benighted layman that as a matter of fact the doctors themselves are in almost complete ignorance about so many

things. For this reason the book may not meet with approval among some of the medical profession; but one can say with assurance that, if it is widely read by the public, doctor's calls will be less numerous both because of less need and because of more popular wisdom in matters of health.

The book seems very inclusive, treating as it does all diseases known to the layman and many others, and devoting chapters to "Anatomy and Physiology," the diseases of all parts of the body, and such topics as "Diet-Constipation," "Infectious Diseases," "Poisons," "Industrial Diseases," "Emergencies—Home Medicine—Personal Hygiene," and "Miscellaneous Ailments, Trivial and Severe."

The book will prove unsatisfactory to many because it is chary of explicit advice, but to others this will be the book's most delightful trait. The author works from the generalization that each person is highly individual in matters of health and disease and that consequently general rules are as likely to be wrong as right. For example, we do not all need the same amount of sleep, but we should all get what we need; we each require different amounts and kinds of food and we should eat what we individually need in order to make us weigh what we ought to weigh; as to chewing, Fletcherism is a fad already defunct; iced water in moderate amounts is not a hindrance to digestion for most people; our stomach troubles, moreover, are usually not in our stomachs at all, but in our brain or kidneys or liver or heart; and, besides, the stomach is not nearly as important in digestion as commonly assumed, since its function is mainly mechanical and can be dispensed with entirely on occasion. This sort of discussion will not satisfy the crank or extremist, but it is doubtless the only safe sort of advice to put in the hands of the average layman.

F. H. HANKINS

CLARK UNIVERSITY

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*Retail Store Management.* By PAUL H. NYSTROM. Chicago: La Salle Extension University, 1917. Pp. viii+242.

This is a treatment of a multitude of practical questions relating to retailing in general, whether carried on in the corner grocery or in the great department store. The object of the book is to bring up-to-date methods to the attention of the vast number of retailers who now work by rule-of-thumb, tradition, hearsay, and inspiration. It is intensely matter-of-fact, not going into theoretical discussions even where they would be both interesting and significant. There is consequently much

minutiae and common-sense detail alongside new methods of buying, accounting, treatment of employees, etc. It is comprehensive, extending all the way from "Retail Store Location" to "Welfare Work" and "Democracy in the Store." And, in spite of its prosaic subject, it is interestingly written. The sociologist would doubtless have been more interested in a discussion of ways and means of reducing the number of retailers and their burdensomeness to private consumers, but this would, with equal certainty, not be of great value to the profit-seeking storekeeper.

F. H. HANKINS

CLARK UNIVERSITY

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*Women Workers and Society.* By ANNIE M. McLEAN, PH.D.  
Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1916. Pp. v+135. \$0.50, net.

We have here in very compact form a brief survey of the social problems connected with women in industry, both married and unmarried, and of the agencies, both public and private, which are attempting to aid them. The purpose of the book is to arouse interest in the needs of this growing class of workers by throwing into relief the conditions affecting them. It is popular and general in style and method.

On p. 29 the citation in the footnote is incomplete; on p. 46, there is a grammatical error in the verb "provides"; on p. 27, a printer's error, "is" for "it."

FRANCES FENTON BERNARD

MT. HOLYOKE COLLEGE

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*Handicrafts for the Handicapped.* By HERBERT J. HALL, M.D.,  
and MERTILL M. C. BUCK. New York: Moffat, Yard Co.,  
1916. Pp. xiv+155. \$1.25.

The authors have had in mind in the preparation of this book a textbook of a few crafts of special value to handicapped workers outside of institutions. It consists of detailed directions useful to the individual worker, to those dealing with handicapped labor in institutions, and to physicians in private practice. The book is based upon a conviction of the therapeutic value of work for those who are injured and idle, and upon the private and public economy involved in furnishing work which is partly or wholly a means of self-support to those whose regular occupa-

tions are gone. The crafts discussed are basketry, chair-seating, netting, weaving, bookbinding, cement-working, pottery-making, light black-smithing.

FRANCES FENTON BERNARD

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE

*Rest Days, A Study in Early Law and Morality.* By HUTTON WEBSTER. New York: Macmillan, 1916. Pp. xiv+325.

This book is an elaboration of the author's monograph of the same title, which appeared in 1911. It is a comparative study of those days of abstinence and quiescence which form such an important part of the lives of ancient and primitive peoples. A survey of the evidence from remote periods of time and remote corners of the earth indicates that the sabbatarian regulations have arisen chiefly, if not wholly, as pure superstitions, the product of an all-too-logical intellect or of a disordered fancy. In the last analysis they are based on fear and find their characteristic expression in taboo or prohibition. The taboo of persons, objects, or actions which are considered dangerous, mysterious, or uncanny insures a safety period of abstinence and quiescence. In fact, the taboo becomes the instrument of a crude education in self-restraint during periods regarded as critical for the welfare of the group because of threatened disaster or the beginning of seed-planting, harvesting, or war. Tabooed days occur after death because of animistic conceptions and because death is often regarded as a result of pollution. Rest days are widely associated with the lunar superstitions that the moon's rays are deleterious to the young, that lunar changes cause menstruation, that the apparent growth of the moon in the first half exerts a potent influence over the ripening of plants and fruits and the increase of animals. All business done in the latter half of lunation is therefore doomed to failure. Since phases of the moon are regarded as critical times, lunar day is a tabooed day. Lunar months are general throughout Australia, Polynesia, Africa and America. The Babylonian *shabbatum*, from which the Hebrew Sabbath is probably derived, is the day of full moon. Festivals and rest days consumed about sixty days of the year among the Athenians. In the old Roman calendar, on one hundred and nine festal days judicial and political business was unlawful. By the middle of the fourth century A.D. the number had reached one hundred and seventy-five. Many holy days in the religious calendar of Christendom were borrowed from ancient festivals. There is a multitude of saints' days in Russia. Counting Sundays, there are one

hundred and thirty-one in the Mexican calendar. The religious festivals of the Hopi Indians occupy more than half the year.

These rest days have hindered individual initiative and compelled fitful, intermittent labor, rather than continuous occupation, in this way seriously limiting production and retarding human progress. Gradually the modern holiday, a rationalized day of rest, has evolved out of the holy-day superstitions which have shrouded tabooed and unlucky days.

The book is a valuable addition to the field of social anthropology and will prove most useful as a reference work. It is another one of those careful and serious books wherein the extensive array of anthropological data seems to support the doctrine of the fundamental unity of the human mind—one of the most significant contributions of modern anthropology.

F. STUART CHAPIN

SMITH COLLEGE

*The Dack Family, A Study in Hereditary Emotional Control.* By MRS. ANNA WENDT FINLAYSON. Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, N.Y.: Eugenics Record Office, No. 15, May, 1916. Pp. 46. \$0.15.

In giving a description of the Dack family (fictitious name), Mrs. Finlayson summarizes the life-histories of three generations of a given socially troublesome family in Pennsylvania. She worked as a field psychiatrist, giving primary attention, not to feeble-mindedness and matters of intelligence, but to the emotional control and the social reactions of the individuals concerned. In this pedigree of a defective family, data were secured for 153 individuals twenty years of age and over. Forty members are classified as having shown no anti-social traits and as not having been a burden to society; seventy-two are described as being given to shiftlessness, illiteracy, sex irregularity, and heavy drinking; and forty-one are referred to as having been a distinct burden to society, because of insanity, criminality, and so forth.

The study is open to challenge from a scientific standpoint, since considerable hearsay evidence is used (wherever possible, however, the hearsay evidence was verified). The monograph is of distinct value to students of social conditions, for it indicates new possibilities in the way of throwing light on the problems in the field of social pathology.

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*Slavery in Germanic Society during the Middle Ages.* By AGNES MATHILDE WERGELAND, PH.D., Late Professor of History, University of Wyoming. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1916.

This work is reprinted from the *Journal of Political Economy* as a memorial to the author. Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, in the preface to the book, pays fitting tribute to the author's scholarly attainments, her literary excellence, her inspiration as a teacher, and her nobility of character.

The author treats the subject of slavery under three aspects: first, reduction, the downward course, the slave becoming more and more a thing; secondly, restitution, the amelioration of slavery; and thirdly, liberation.

Slavery and the slave trade were common in Europe till after the tenth century. Freemen were reduced to slavery through conquest, crime, and debt. In the downward course, the slave was a thing and not a person; his existence was vested in his master. The master could take the life of the slave with impunity, but if he killed the slave of another master he was liable for damages. If a slave killed or struck a freeman he was put to death, even if the act was unintentional. The master was under no legal obligation to his slaves, and treated them severely. They were much whipped, receiving sometimes 240-300 lashes.

Amelioration in the condition of the slaves was brought about by their military service, by the example set by the king in exalting slaves to places of dignity, and by the church through pressure upon the slaveholder. The personality of the slave first emerged when the law held him and not his master responsible for his crime. Land began to be granted to slaves and thereby many won partial freedom. The slaves were first liberated conditionally, later they purchased their freedom or received it as a grant by the nation, king, church, or private individual. Freedom was gradual, however, and merged into serfdom.

The chief value of the book is in its data, derived from original sources, which furnish the basis for a comparative study of slavery.

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## RECENT LITERATURE

### NOTES AND ABSTRACTS

**The Worship of the Cross among the North American Indians.**—Some of the ceremonial mounds of North America appear to represent the cross. The Spaniards found the cross revered by the natives of Central America. Pierre Le Clercq wrote of the Gaspésiens that these Canadian Indians "undertook [to do] nothing without the cross." It was used in diplomacy. Women used it as a charm during pregnancy. It was planted on the graves. It is evident to modern students that the cross had been associated with a true totem in earlier times by these tribesmen. The Sioux connected the cross with a species of dragon fly to which supernatural powers were imputed; the diagram of the cross was a representation of this fly. Another form, resembling our Greek cross, was also used in the Dakota ceremonies. The arms of this represented the cardinal directions and their properties (rain, warmth, health, etc.). Marquette was pleased to discover the inhabitants of a village on Green Bay adoring a large cross. The Ojibwas employed it in their initiation ceremonies, and with them, as with many other tribes, the cross symbolized, among other things, the human form. The upper limb of the cross was often associated with the human head and also with the (serious) north wind; the lower limb was likewise associated with the sexual parts of the body and the (passion-inspiring) south wind. The right and left arms of the cross were for similar fanciful reasons connected with the breath and the heart, and the west and east, respectively. The cross is a natural symbol of a primitive classification of phenomena in which all things appear in a group of four parts in correspondence with the cosmic energy, which is conceived in a quadruple aspect. Its ceremonial uses among North American Indians can be multiplied almost at pleasure.—P. Saintyves, "Le Culte de la croix chez les Indiens de l'Amérique du nord," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, July-August, 1916. C. C. C.

**The Problem of American Judaism.**—Freedom is accomplishing the disintegration of race and religious consciousness of the Jews, which centuries of persecutions and programs could not accomplish. Under this new influence Judaism has lost its disciplinary power and the Jews are sinking into a contented materialism. Their religious consciousness has become merely racial. Persecutions have stopped, but the Jew must still endure some petty social indignities. There are three classes of Jews: those who belong to the Zionist movement and have a definite aim and program; those who want to break away from Judaism and be Americans; and, lastly, those who drift with the general mass and have no program. To the last two classes—the great majority—Zionism offers nothing. The great problem of Judaism is that of being revived so that it will fit modern conditions and raise the Jews to dignity, nobility, and spiritual power.—Ralph Philip Boas, *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1917.

C. C. J.

**War among Animals and Man.**—The Schopenhauers, Nietzsches, and Treitsches of Germany have laid the theoretical basis supporting the practical methods whereby the house of Hohenzollern, having made Prussia supreme in Germany, has pressed on to make Germany supreme in Europe. They have replaced the former German idealism by a mystical materialism which the German people have accepted with the enthusiasm and held with the tenacity of a new gospel. This transition was facilitated by the discovery of the Darwinian theory synchronous with the rise of the power of William I and Bismarck. The doctrine that strength is the only virtue and weakness the only sin was apparently given the highest possible scientific standing. The Darwinian theory of the struggle for life in its crudest and most extreme form has been relied upon to justify disdain of all generous sentiments, contempt of all liberty, of



both individuals and states, and to glorify all means, whatever their moral value, which attain their end. But this whole philosophy is in error. Force is not the only factor, nor even the most important one, in evolution, and when it takes the form of aggressive warfare it is unknown in nature. All animals excepting man seek to satisfy natural physical desires only. But human aggression has seldom been motivated by actual needs. It has been a result of the ambition of rulers or ruling classes, civil and religious. It has retarded rather than advanced human progress. In view of the predominant rôle played by intelligence, co-operation, sympathy, etc., the burden of proof rests upon those who hold that warfare is an essential factor in the evolution of either animal or human groups.—J. L. de Lanessan, "La Guerre chez les animaux et chez l'homme," *Revue politique et parlementaire*, December, 1916. H. E. J.

**Is Ellen Key's School of the Future Desirable?**—Long before the war a strong individualistic tendency made itself felt in the school-reform movement in Germany. The source of this can be traced to Ellen Key and her book *The Century and the Child*. According to her statements, the old school produced nothing but a gregarious herd (*Herdenmenschen*). She, however, wants master-men (*Herrenmenschen*). Consequently the aim of the new school is to develop individuality. The child is trained for life and its realities. Up to the tenth year of age the child remains at home. In school he chooses his own subjects, and, since the child knows best what he ought to do, the teacher remains in the background. A big library, where the children choose their own reading-matter rather than the classroom, is the center of the school. There are no examinations, no punishments, no grades. All systems, methods, plans, and order are evil. Freedom must reign. Instead of grammar and other details, the great interrelations of life and nature are studied. If these principles be followed, there will be no more stupidity, no more collective conscience. A generation will develop, joyful and strong. Ellen Key's principles, however, are un-Christian and un-German. Her arguments prove that she does not know the child. She lacks all psychological and pedagogical insight, and fails to differentiate between individuality and personality. The principles which she advocates can produce nothing but a generation of whimsical, pretentious, sensuous, intolerant, and one-sided egoists and fanatics who know nothing of the benefits of discipline, co-operation, sacrifice, and devotion.—Professor Dr. Sellmann, "Ist die Verwirklichung der Zukunftsschule von Ellen Key erwünscht?" *Zeitschrift für Kinderforschung*, August-September, 1916. Z. T. E.

**The Fruits of School Surveys.**—In the minds of those who are aware of the recent rapid growth of the school-survey movement, there is a question whether or not the movement is, to date, justified by its fruits. To obtain evidence on this question, a letter was addressed to twenty-five superintendents in towns in which surveys had been made. Eighteen replies were received, fourteen of which were favorable, three unfavorable, and one noncommittal. The specific fruits reported range from one to fifty in number, averaging about ten per system. The various benefits listed cover all phases of school work. Not all such beneficial results are by any means entirely the product of the survey; a great deal of the credit for these improvements must go to other co-operating agencies. Yet the survey must be given credit for calling the attention of the public to these matters, and thus starting the general course of improvement. Even this incomplete array of the results of surveys points to an emphatic justification of the survey movement. It is a remarkable showing for so new an implement. With the advancement in school surveying that will be made we may hope for even more and better fruits in the future.—Leonard Koos, *School and Society*, January 13, 1917. R. W. S.

**The Organization of Workingmen's Compensation Insurance.**—Such insurance aims both to guarantee the payment of accident benefits and to distribute the cost thereof over the community at large. Both these objects are essentially involved in the public ends for which workingmen's compensation laws are enacted, and neither can be attained without effective insurance. Any system of work-accident indemnity which is at all adequate for its purpose must provide life-pensions for permanent disabilities and pensions for long terms of years to the dependents of those who are

fatally injured. The requisites of compensation insurance are: (1) perfect security of future payments; (2) prompt, full, and non-litigious settlement of claims; (3) equitable distribution of costs; (4) effective encouragement of accident prevention, and (6) it must be compulsory. Experience at home and abroad indicates that satisfactory compensation insurance will come either through compulsory state or through compulsory mutual insurance.—E. H. Downey, *Journal of Political Economy*, December, 1916. H. C. C.

**The Prison System of the Philippines.**—This prison system consists of five large prisons and about forty provincial and subprovincial jails, which can hold altogether a population of about eight thousand. The prisoners are treated kindly and humanely. They have reading-matter of various kinds, they can converse freely with one another, they have writing privileges, medical attendance and inspection, sports, games, and other activities to relieve prison monotony. The good prisoners who do industrial work share in the profits of the work. The Iwahig Penal Colony contains one hundred thousand acres, and to this place the best prisoners are sent. They can send for their families, or get married, and live on a small plot which they cultivate. The guards are unarmed, and the prisoners wear civilian clothes. When the prison term expires the erstwhile prisoner keeps all the accumulated property, except that he must reimburse the government for the actual expenses entailed. Even a life-terminer can, by good conduct, work his way out automatically in thirty years.—Walter H. Dade, *Delinquent*, October, 1916. C. C. J.

**The Restriction of Immigration.**—The proponents of the restriction measure agree in just one thing, namely, in their demand for restriction. The restrictionists cannot agree upon the facts upon which their arguments are based, but in the majority of cases no one person is responsible for more than a half of each contradiction. It is not at all unusual to see restrictionists argue that immigration causes the population to increase too rapidly, and then insist that a considerable portion of the immigration be cut off, and that no foreign workingman be allowed to land unless he brings his wife and children with him and declares his intention to remain permanently in America. The place of honor in presenting both arguments at the same time belongs to the Federal Immigration Commission. According to a gentleman's agreement religion and race superiority are to be left out of the immigration discussion. However, both play an important part in the solution of the problem, since the recent immigration strengthened the Roman Catholic element and established the Greek Catholic church.—Frank O'Hara, *Catholic World*, December, 1916. Z. T. E.

**The Psychology of German Action.**—The social customs, tendencies, and institutions of any nation have their root in the distant past. The Germans have shown their tendency toward group action through centuries. Every part of the whole social fabric is related to every other part. All German action must be considered from the two viewpoints of (1) construction and (2) preservation or conservation. The first is provided for by the state schools, the many *Turnvereines*, the music and singing organizations, and the economic and industrial organizations. The second is cared for by the military system. In all of these, but especially in the economic and industrial life, government co-operation expresses the dominant spirit of group action. Even the present war is a question of the efficient group action versus the individualistic mode of procedure. German action may be called "The Group Formula for Applied Action."—Otto C. Backof, *Open Court*, December, 1916. C. C. J.

**Influence of the War upon Patent Rights.**—Patent rights, long protected by law in all civilized nations, have secured an ever-increasing degree of international protection by the provisions of a succession of diplomatic conventions beginning in 1883. On the outbreak of the war the popular clamor for the abrogation of all patents and concessions held by alien enemies found expression in the newspaper press. Fortunately, however, action was delayed until the economic fallacy of such thoroughgoing abrogation became apparent to all but the most extreme nationalists. As a result, patent laws in nearly all countries, both neutral and belligerent, have passed through an interesting evolution determined by the exigencies of national defense. In general,

laws providing for the compulsory surrender to the government of all patents of military value and making the attempt to patent such inventions in foreign countries a military offense have been passed in all lands, while the statutes providing for the confiscation of patent rights held by alien enemies provide a number of exemptions which enable each nation to practice an almost unlimited degree of reciprocity in enforcing them against every other hostile nation. The Swiss "Bureau international de la Propriété industrielle," at Berne, has acted as a conservative force in restraining the destructive effects of the state of war and in maintaining as intact as possible the international rights of inventors. To this end the bureau has served as an intermediary between belligerents and, through its journal, *La Propriété industrielle de Berne*, has provided a means for the promulgation and discussion of their laws and policies relating to patent rights.—Fernand-Jacq, "La Situation des inventeurs pendant la guerre," *Journal des économistes*, December, 1916. H. E. J.

**The New National Consciousness.**—The new national consciousness is a modern sentiment, as different from the old patriotism as Christianity was different from the superstitions it displaced. It is based, not on biological and ethnological, but on psychological, affinities. Its bonds are purposes and ideals. Imperialism and colonial expansion have caused the leading nations of Europe to turn aside from the realization of their national purposes. They will resume their normal development only when new nationalities have arisen in the colonies, as has already occurred in the case of Spain and is now in process in the British Empire. The new national consciousness is preparing the way for the recognition of the diversity of peoples and the social and political folly of world-empire. It is laying the foundation for international peace in the mutual respect of free peoples.—Wincenty Lutoslawski, "La Conscience national," *La Paix par le droit*, September, 1916. H. E. J.

**Political Psychology: A Science Which Has Yet to Be Created.**—Political psychology deals with men acting in masses. The mass may vary from a very small company of individuals to the millions of a modern nation. Whether such a psychology can be raised to the position of a science is a question which can be determined only by years of future investigation. But one thing seems clear: that, owing to the nature of the material, the inquiry must proceed on the lines of observation rather than experiment. The political psychologist of the future will have to traverse a very wide world in order to obtain his facts, and that the world, not merely of today, but of past history also. He will have to be a traveler, a linguist, and a historian before he attempts to pose as a philosopher, and perhaps it will be best for him and for those for whom he writes if he remain a historian to the end. The temptations of a priori philosophy are so great that only a divine being can resist them.—G. B. Grundy, *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1917. H. C. C.

**Moral Valuations and Economic Laws.**—To think of the economic process in terms of social process is to believe that the element of law, as constraining our will, is the correlate of our unconsciousness of the process. As a matter of law, the economic process is a feature, not of the world of social consciousness, but of the larger world of social unconsciousness. No actual economic situation which implies the participation of living human beings can be dominated exclusively by economic law. Economic laws and moral obligations form the limiting terms in a graduated series between which lie all the relations of men in concrete life.—Warner Fite, *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Method*, January, 1917. H. C. C.

**The Chinese Attitude toward Japan.**—China still believes that the spirit is mightier than the sword; yet the younger generation notes the added respect and prestige that prowess of arms has won for Japan, and asks itself whether China also must resort to force rather than to reason and justice. Japan has North China commercially, militarily, and politically at her mercy. China's mind, however, is made up. Unless there is a change, not only in tone, but in deeds, Japan with her own hand and pen has written the brief indicting her policy toward China. Her acts comprise the evidence in the case. The Chinese suspect the motives which they believe responsible for what Japan most unfairly calls the "Japanese Monroe Doctrine of Asia." It

is too late to stem the flood of Chinese progress. Time and the vigorous labor of China's youth have tolled the curfew against aggression. The impulse to the change came, not from the government, but from the people themselves, who are building the new China. They have faith in themselves; therefore they will succeed. That is the reason why the present situation does not greatly alarm China.—Jeremiah W. Jenks, *Scribner's Magazine*, February, 1917. Z. T. E.

**Historical Determination and Social Idealism in "The Spirit of the Laws."**—There is both order and confusion in this landmark of social thought and investigation. One difficulty to be cleared up is the relation between the conception of historical determinism and that of *willed*, ideal progress. Montesquieu plainly had both in mind as he developed his work. The idea of wisdom, reason, intelligent guidance of events, acting in human affairs runs through all his studies. But determinism is equally evident. Divergencies of peoples and governments are products of natural conditions—climate, soil, and the like. Conditions rather than the genius of sporadic men determine the weal or woe of a society. He shows that monarchical government is a phase or function of a certain sort of social order. But there is a moral or mental as well as a physical element in the social world and in the later stages of development this becomes of increasing importance. In the mental world the human will can help shape events. It can even guide man's adjustment to the physical conditions of life. Discovering, for instance, that a monarchical government fits certain circumstances, human intelligence can perfect that government. Reforms not based upon knowledge of conditions avail but little. Study of social facts is essential for ideal social control. In emphasizing this, Montesquieu was applying the method of Bacon to human society and making a landmark in social knowledge. The study of nature furnishes men with the means to resist nature.—G. Lanson, "Le Déterminisme historique et l'idéalisme social dans l'*Esprit des Lois*," *Revue de métaphysique et morale*, January, 1916. C. C. C.

**The Nationality of Corporations.**—French law distinguishes between domestic and foreign corporations, but leaves the decision as to nationality in any particular case to the courts. Since 1883 they have recognized as French all corporations which have their chief center of operation in France, whatever may be the nationality of stockholders or directors. But since the outbreak of the war this principle has broken down, for it has permitted hostile interests to operate under the guise of a corporation. Nor does this principle furnish a basis for distinguishing between allied and enemy trade interests in a possible economic war following a cessation of hostilities. The Paris Chamber of Commerce has suggested that "French corporations" be defined legally as corporations at least three-fourths of whose directors are French citizens, and at least one-fourth of whose capital stock is owned by French citizens. But any such proportion could with difficulty be maintained. More feasible is the proposal of M. Pillet, who, in 1908, without reference to the new complications involved in the present situation, maintained that the concept of nationality is applicable to persons only, and leads to confusion and absurdity when applied to corporations with only an abstract or fictitious personality. If, then, France abandons this legal fiction of nationality of corporations, she will be able to deal with each case of ascertained activity of hostile economic interests on its own merit, and to fix personal responsibility for such activity.—Adolphe Landry, "La Nationalité des sociétés," *Revue politique et parlementaire*, November, 1916. H. E. J.

**Superstitions among American Girls.**—The difficulty of uprooting old beliefs is so great because they are usually incorporated or adapted by advancing culture. There is a persistency in human thought which is surprising. Many revolutionary movements have taken place, but we have never been able to get rid of our past. A study of 350 girls of good American families, between seventeen and twenty-one years of age, reveals that the following taboos and mental obsessions actually and frequently influence their conduct: (1) A silent wish made in passing a load of hay, or a piebald horse, will come true if you do not meet either one on the same day. (2) To pick up a pin means good luck for the day. (3) To open an umbrella in the house means trouble. (4) To put flowers on a bed means a funeral. (5) Never tell

a dream or sing a song before breakfast. (6) To spill salt at the table or to leave a pair of scissors open means a quarrel. (7) Give for every pointed gift a penny in return in order to preserve the friendship. (8) Tap on wood when boasting. There is also a widespread and firm belief in the unlucky "13," in "lucky" or "unlucky" days, in mascots, in "Fate," "Destiny," "Guardian Angels," or in "perfect Jonahs."—Iva Lowther Peters, *Pedagogical Seminary*, December, 1916. Z. T. E.

**Women's Work and Wages in the United States.**—The increasing amount of work done by women outside of the home makes more important the problem of women's work and wages. In 1913 there were nine states that had enacted minimum-wage legislation and as many others that were carrying on an active propaganda for it. The proposed legal wage of eight or more dollars a week is considerably above the actual earnings. The reasons for the low wages of women are: the immobility of female labor principally because of the interference of family ties, the youth and consequent inefficiency of most women workers, the temporary nature of much of women's work, the unrestricted competition of the youthful immigrant who is out of proportion in numbers to the nativity of the group, and the fact that woman's wage is usually a subsidiary source of family income. There is an immense amount of potential female labor. It is probable that the increased wage contemplated by the minimum-wage propaganda would draw some part of this labor supply into the industrial ranks. These potential laborers are the most efficient and if the active labor force is increased by the addition of any of these it will mean a loss of employment to a corresponding number of the least efficient workers. Some limitation on free immigration, a raising of the legal age for entering employment, and an increase in trade training should accompany all minimum-wage legislation.—C. E. Persons, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, February, 1915.

A. B. L.

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